

HISTORY
OF
THE FOUNDATION AND THE RISE
OF THE
COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE LOVANIENSE
1517-1550

BY

HENRY DE VOCHT

DR. PH. & LITT., DR. PHIL. TARTUENSIS AD HON.
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

PART THE THIRD : THE FULL GROWTH

published thanks to the generous help of the Belgian
FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE



LOUVAIN
LIBRAIRIE UNIVERSITAIRE

CH. UYSTPRUYST, publisher

1954

KRAUS REPRINT
Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1976

¶ HVMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

———— 12 ————

HISTORY OF THE
COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE LOVANIENSE
PART THE THIRD

HISTORY
OF
THE FOUNDATION AND THE RISE
OF THE
COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE LOVANIENSE
1517-1550

BY

^{*}
HENRY DE VOCHT

DR. PH. & LITT., DR. PHIL. TARTUENSIS AD HON.

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

PART THE THIRD : THE FULL GROWTH

published thanks to the generous help of the Belgian
FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE



LOUVAIN
LIBRAIRIE UNIVERSITAIRE

CH. UYSTPRUYST, publisher

1954

KRAUS REPRINT

Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1976

EN QUEM FINEM HABENT NOSTRA STUDIA !
CANESCIMUS ANTE SENECTUTEM :
MORIMUR ANTE FATA NOSTRA !
DUM PUBLICÆ JUVENTUTI⁹ CONSULIMUS,
MALE CONSULIMUS VITÆ NOSTRÆ !

SED BENE IMPENSUM EST
QUICQUID STUDIOSIS IMPENDITUR !

LAST WORDS OF
CONRAD GOELENUS
† January 25, 1539

Reprinted by permission of the original publishers

KRAUS REPRINT
A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1976

Printed in Germany
Lessingdruckerei Wiesbaden

Ce volume constitue aussi le 5^e fascicule (4^e série) du
RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX D'HISTOIRE ET DE PHILOGIE
DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LOUVAIN



PREFACE

The period under observation in this third part of the *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, is characterized by a constant development in the excellence of its study and teaching. Ten years before, the Institute was fighting a hopeless struggle for its existence; it had since patently been growing in value and importance: even the apparently unsurmountable opposition of the beginning had dwindled down to a welcome acceptance, and had only a few hours' revival in a spasmodic outbreak on July 12, 1530, at the *Magisterium* in Theology of Peter de Corte, known for his outspoken humanistic propensities ¹⁾; even then, the *Trilingue* does not seem to have been mentioned. Yet, that sudden outburst of the old discontent was most probably caused by the fact that, in those very summer months, President van der Hoeven was enlarging the lecture-hall ²⁾, which, though widened already in 1524-25, so as to provide space for six hundred hearers, had become too small again in the spring of 1528, when Goclenius was compelled to double his lectures for want of standing room ³⁾.

In fact, the great, almost the unique, cause of that wonderful growth of the *Trilingue* was Goclenius. Although Latin, at first, was considered as supplementary teaching, he brought it up to the most important of the three languages, and, above all, used it as an eminent application of Erasmus' principle about the source and method of all knowledge, applying it so convincingly that all his hearers became actual adepts in the most natural and rational way possible. He thus proved the peculiar realizer of the Spirit of the School. He was also its Protector: though being most clever, he was so simple and calm, so generous and affable that all opposition vanished before his prudent and candid good will; his colleagues readily followed his lead, and students flocked to his lectures in crowds that made the rooms to contain them smaller and smaller as years advanced. That magnificent expansion of the *Trilingue* and the eminent services it was rendering, explain the attempts at imitating it in neighbouring countries ⁴⁾: for, throughout the civilized world, the rumour was spread of what the poet ⁵⁾ hailed as

Lovanij decus, & terræ ornamenta Brabantæ.

No wonder that all the outstanding Artisans in the World's destinies, who happened to come into this country, paid the homage of respect

¹⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 132-35, 559.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 13-15.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 237, 347, and *inf.*, 13-14.

⁴⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 78-90.

⁵⁾ Janus Secundus: *JSecOp.* (Ep. II, 1), 189, sq; *AdriBurm.*, 7; cp. II, 248-49.

and admiration to the famous School; thus, in the first thirties, the great Polish Ambassador John Dantiscus spent some time here, and knit up a lifelong friendship with Goclenius, Campensis and Gemma ¹⁾; the Chancellor of Salamanca University, Francis de Mendoza y Bobadilla, Archdeacon of Toledo, honoured the Institute with a stately visit ²⁾; even Erasmus' bitterest adversary, Jerome Aleander, acting as Nuncio, came to express here the tribute of his admiration ³⁾. A similar distinction was bestowed by Nicolas Olah, Mary of Hungary's first minister, the future Primate of Hungary, who even passed several days here, whilst his Royal Mistress was hunting in the Forest of Soignes ⁴⁾. No less gratifying was the deep interest of the representative of the just then expanding Portugal, Damian a Goes, who abandoned his prominent position to get initiated here for the intellectual work, which made him into the first author on Human Geography and on the History of Missiology ⁵⁾. Meanwhile the remarkable men amongst the old students, like Cornelius de Schepper, ambassador to Turkey, ⁶⁾ Francis van der Dilt, minister in England ⁷⁾, and Viglius, well on his way up to the highest dignity in the country ⁸⁾, never missed an occasion to pay a call at Busleyden's Institute, where they had so largely benefited by its grand work.

That grand work was continued on an incessantly extending scale, as it was not only to answer the necessities of this country, but of the universe at large, in whose destinies the Netherlands were then playing the leading part. Here was formed the Antony Perrenot de Granvelle, who, for years, practically managed the wider extent of the Christian world ⁹⁾; here was trained his faithful collaborator Maximilian Morillon ¹⁰⁾; and so was Gerard van Veltwyck, the great statesman, who died before he had been able to realize the grand promises he gave ¹¹⁾. Here were instructed as well eloquent propagandists of truth and culture, like Nicolas Mameranus ¹²⁾, as wide-awake financiers, like the brothers Schets, who provided the means to realize all the greatness that was planning ¹³⁾.

Yet it was rather by accident that the *Trilingue* formed those providential statesmen and those able workers for the management of public affairs, since it was chiefly intended for the promotion of intellectual and scientific life. Indeed, it actually constituted the foremost factor towards the bringing about of the vast evolution that replaced the barren old tradition by the new spirit of study and research, teeming with highly availing knowledge and wholesome inventions, not beneficial only to one advantaged nation, but to

¹⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 15, sq, 563-64.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 28, sq.

³⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 50, sq; *MonHL*, 688.

⁴⁾ Cp. *inf.* p 556.

⁵⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 350-55.

¹¹⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 355-58.

¹³⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 358-61.

³⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 23, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 36, sq, 41.

⁶⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 15, sq, 557, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. *inf.* p 559.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 345-50.

¹²⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 466, sq.

mankind at large. Working on the magnificent principle advocated by Erasmus, that all knowledge is to be derived straight from the object under observation, or from unexceptionable testimonials ¹⁾, the Institute produced workers, who were admirably equipped either to continue its grand teaching, or to start quite new lines. Thus were fitted out here men who, in their turn, communicated to younger brethren the very principles according to which they had been taught : such as Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, who formed a galaxy of scholars, with Justus Lips at their head, and who, moreover, rendered an inestimable service to education by introducing reality into the study and the manuals of philosophy by sifting the essential from what is merely accessory or accidental ²⁾. Not less interesting were those who, after getting equipped at the *Trilingue*, struck new paths ; here Andrew Masius was developed into the first scientific Orientalist ³⁾ ; here Costerius and Vlimmer became leading patristic scholars ⁴⁾ ; here the attention of Antony Morillon, Arlenius and Visbroeck was directed to the old Roman Inscriptions ⁵⁾, which their fellow-student Martin de Smet gathered systematically as the object, the Corpus, of a new science, of which his very collection still forms the by far larger part ⁶⁾. Here Francis Baudouin was made to see that all jurisprudence is built on history, and has to be treated accordingly ⁷⁾ ; whereas one of his fellow-students, George Cassander, by looking for documents to test the anabaptistical vagaries, started the scientific study of the old Liturgies ⁸⁾.

Nor was all attention monopolized by linguistics or history : following the example of Gemma and Mercator ⁹⁾, Rembert Dodoens started the study of botany by real plants and flowers, although he had not yet the courage to break off with Dioscorides ¹⁰⁾. More clear-sighted decision was shown by Andrew Vesale, applying the *Trilingue* method to human anatomy : regretting the lack of occasions for dissections, he left Louvain for Paris, and worked there until the political situation made his stay impossible. Fully understood by his own Louvain masters, and frankly helped in his endeavours, as well by the town authorities as by his fellow-students, he could continue his work here so as to be able to publish, in 1543, his startling conclusions, which made him the Father of Modern Medicine, and which subsequent centuries corroborated and enriched ¹¹⁾. That wonderful atmosphere of the *Trilingue*, which produced all those innovators and benefactors of humanity, is admirably instanced in one of its most distinguished pupils, Ogier de Busbeek. Sent on an embassy to Turkey, where he

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 296-7, 303-6, 326, 343, sq ; II, 315-6, 628, 630, sq ; *inf.* pp 130, 372-3 : 'o método lovaniense', &c.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 270-82.

⁴⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 303-05, 489, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 316-322.

⁸⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 296-299, sq.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 337, sq.

³⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 282, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 305-316.

⁷⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 518-529.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, II, 542-65, 565-69.

¹¹⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 322-33.

staid longer than he expected, he related his impressions to one of his fellow-students in four letters, which he himself did not publish. Yet they prove him to be, not only a remarkable writer, but also a highly interested student as well of botany and zoology, as of comparative jurisprudence and human geography; he described the last flickerings of the Gothic language dying out in Crimea; he discovered the glorious Ankara Inscription, and filled the museum of his master, the Emperor of Austria, with a wealth of inestimable treasures ¹⁾. All those studies and successful researches, crowded in the very first decennia of the existence of the *Trilingue*, unequivocally testify both to the most judicious discernment and to the keen thirst for knowledge as characteristic results of its teaching. And that they were peculiar to that Institute is amply proved by the fact that the bitterest opponents to Vesale's *Fabrica*, were, not only his own Italian hearers, the famous Fallopio and Eustachio, but the very John Winter and James Dubois, Sylvius, who had taught him the practice of dissection in Paris ²⁾. They, for certain, provided the premises, from which he drew conclusions which they refused to admit in their blind belief in Galen's secular tradition.

Contradiction and disbelief, however, far from discouraging the *Trilinguists*, made them more prudent and yet more decided in their deductions; they were compared for their efficiency to the Greeks who conquered Ilium, and the Institute was glorified as a modern Trojan Horse ³⁾; they themselves gratefully attributed their success to the excellence of Erasmus' principle, which explains the outburst of their praise and thankfulness soon after his decease ⁴⁾.

* * *

The larger part of information about this history of the *Trilingue* is based on the documents of the University preserved in the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels⁵⁾, which I investigated during the first World War, and put into order in the years that followed. Unfortunately those documents are far from being complete; moreover, since the lectures in the *Trilingue* were delivered free, and could be taken by whoever had a mind, little information is found about the students, and, in a way even, about the professors, whose story has to be made up chiefly from their own writings, and from whatever the correspondence of those days tells us about them. It follows that the present history is the result of years of eager, but tedious, research work, for which repeated and lengthy stays were made at several old-time libraries, in order to gather information which had continually to be checked

¹⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 492-504.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 330, sq: Sylvius tauntingly called him *Vesanus*, declaring that V.'s theory had confirmed him in his faith in Galen.

³⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 412, 5, 453, 2.

⁴⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 402-453.

⁵⁾ Cp. FUL, especially 1434-38, 1450-51.

and arranged and completed : the 'List' of the 'Abbreviations' used as references in the notes ¹⁾, gives an idea of the literature that has served to build it up.

For the practical redaction of this volume as for the preceding parts, the transcriptions made, and notes taken, over a long series of years, in Brussels Archives, have been admirably supplemented, thanks to the great and patient kindness of the Archivist General of the Realm, Dr. Camille TIRON, by the extended loan of a few documents which have been constantly required for my researches and checkings : most hearty and appreciative gratitude is expressed in these lines for his kindness, which largely helped to realize the scrupulously strict exactitude aimed at in the references throughout the book.

For some documents made use of in particular chapters, or reproduced within the text, or in *Appendix IV*, I have applied for help to the Librarians whose treasures I perused some years ago. Thus the kindness of Dr. APERS, Librarian of Ghent University, provided me with a photostat of Eobanus Hessus' *Hodæporicon*, May 1519 ²⁾, whereas my old student, Dr. Fr. SCHAUWERS, of Brussels Royal Library, greatly helped me by the photographic reproductions of the unique memorial tracts of Erasmus, 1537 ³⁾, as well as of the dedicatory letter to Goclenius of Agricola's *Opera* by Alard, 1539 ⁴⁾ : I express my heartiest thanks for the great help supplied by those valuable texts. The exquisite kindness of Dr. M. BURCKHARDT, Keeper of the Manuscripts, University Library of Basle, has allowed me to publish for the first time Goclenius' letter to Jerome Froben : hearty thanks are offered to him ⁵⁾. For a similar generosity, I am deeply indebted to my old student, Dr. A. KESSEN, author of the fine *Cancellierboek*, 1932, Director-Librarian of Leyden University, who sent me the photostat of Goclenius' letter to Peter Vulcanius and the reply, both unedited up to now, for which I express my deepest and affectionate gratitude ⁶⁾.

A large amount of complementary information has been added to that derived from the Brussels Archives and from the printed sources : it was collected during several lengthy and busy stays at the Archives in England, Switzerland and Sweden, in Germany, Poland and Denmark. Besides the considerable amount of details, for which I indicate the origin, I intended publishing the Correspondence of Poland's great Ambassador John Dantiscus with the foremost personages in Charles V's estates, over a period extending from Nov. 19, 1516 to Oct. 18, 1547. Unfortunately circumstances upset the execution of that plan, of which the realization does not seem to become easier as time advances : in so far that instead of reproducing the full text of those interesting letters, I may be compelled to print only the abridgments I noted down ; at any

¹⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 614-28.

²⁾ Letter of Peter Gillis to Goclenius, *inf.* pp 542, 599-600, and II, 32-36.

³⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 403-32, 453.

⁴⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 560, 610-11.

⁵⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 605-6, 598.

⁶⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 488, 597, 602-4.

rate I have made free use in this volume of the information thus gathered, referring to it as to the 481 items of 'DantE', as the acquaintance of the great Ambassador with the *Trilingue* began only after his arrival in this country, in the first weeks of 1531; he left it in March 1532¹⁾, but he started a brisk correspondence with friends like Campensis and de Schepper, Goclenius and Gemma, who kept him, as Bishop of Culm and, from January 1538, of Ermland, regularly informed about the life and activity of Louvain and of the *Trilingue*, which he greatly admired²⁾.

From 1537, another source of information sheds light about the history of the *Trilingue*, namely the rough draughts of the correspondence of Cornelius Valerius, as well as his poems, his notes, and his occasional compositions, which I happened to light on. I already refer to the various numbers of that correspondence³⁾, which — Deo favente — I should like to publish at the very first opportunity.

* * *

It is natural that, thanks to the authentic testimonies hitherto unpublished and unused, several errors and unfounded opinions have been detected, especially about Erasmus, whose outspokenness roused many wild adversaries⁴⁾. Even about his great friend Goclenius, several details have been redressed, which had been marred by the wrong interpretation of circumstances badly represented or misunderstood: such as the difficulties with Barlandus at his appointment⁵⁾, and the so-called trouble attributed to his religious opinion⁶⁾. Mistaken interpretations, due to a lack of acquaintance with the exact situation, are found in the writings of authors who are generally well informed⁷⁾, and even are the primal authority on Erasmus and his correspondence. Thus P. S. Allen identifies the Basle '*viator publicus Augustinus*', who carried a letter of March 11, 1536 to Stephen Pratensis at Besançon⁸⁾, with a young man from Antwerp, whom his banker Schets sent to Erasmus in September 1535, but who remained only a few weeks with the great Humanist⁹⁾. Like several other authors, Allen quotes *inexact* details about Lambertus Coomans¹⁰⁾, and is mistaken about the identity

¹⁾ Cp. *inf.* p 17 and, before, II, 170.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 16-23.

³⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 271, 281, &c; and before, II, 112, 119, 177, 236, 480, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. *inf.* pp 393, 400, 549.

⁵⁾ *ErasRott.*, 111-15, 152; *BB*, B, 250, 16; Massebieau, 142; *Lindeb.*, 238; &c; cp. *inf.* p 571.

⁶⁾ *Altmeyer*, I, 324-5; *Pirenne*, III, 309; cp. *inf.* p 571.

⁷⁾ *EraSpain*, 288, 449; cp. *inf.* p 570, 1.

⁸⁾ Allen, XI, 3104, 3-5, 3115, 4-7, 37. ⁹⁾ Allen, XI, 3052, 18-20; *inf.* p 395.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, XI, 3052, 19; *inf.* pp 393-400; H. de Vocht, *Le Dernier 'Amanuensis' d'Érasme*: *RHE*, XLV, 174-86.

of the 'Ἀθυρόγλωττος of the letter of December 7, 1519 ¹⁾, as well as about Erasmus' pun on the *officium*, when mentioning the work which Goclenius was requested to do for him after his decease ²⁾.

* * *

The publishing of this volume has been made possible through the generosity of the lofty-minded President and Members of the FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE : after contributing most effectively to the bringing out of the two first parts of this History, they were as magnanimous as to accept efficiently to assist me for this third volume of my work, which, without their providential help, might have had to be abandoned on account of its very extent and its profusion of details. I offer them the expression of my deepest and most appreciative gratitude.

I have been particularly encouraged in my work by the discrete, though most efficient help, which my most revered Rector, Monsignor VAN WAEBENBERG is granting me, by making it possible for me to devote all my time and attention to my research, and, especially, by securing most generously the valuable assistance of an aid to check the ever growing number of references, as well as to prepare the effective and time-saving means to ensure depth and reliability to my History. May my work be as the lasting expression of my deep-felt gratitude !

Hearty thanks are also offered to my colleague Canon R. AUBERT, who granted to my work the great advantage of the wide-spread fame of the *Recueil* which he directs most masterly ; — as well as to several devoted friends, who constantly either help me with their precious experience, or encourage me, — like Mrs. J. Cox, — with their time-tried affection and well-wishing.

* * *

As for the preceding volumes, deep gratitude is expressed to the continuous and unremitting assistance of my secretary Miss Ch. SCHAEPMAN. Besides providing the precious and handy indexes for extensive treatises and studies, she continually confers a welcome help in the preparing and checking of texts and notes for the press, and seconds me patiently in the correcting of the long and tedious proofs. She, moreover, efficiently assists in composing and testing the lists of personages and references, which are building up whilst the printing advances. To her meticulous care and never lagging attention, this work is largely indebted, whereas by a cheering buoyancy, she prevents the spirit from flagging under the seemingly interminable flow of lines and quires.

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1051, pr, 12 ; *inf.* p 531.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.* p 549.

The benefit of a similar encouragement in the endless sequence of these pages was great-heartedly granted by my dear friend Canon R. DRAGUET : besides providing an admirable example of thoroughness and accuracy by his own editions of Oriental texts, for which he builds up huge lexica, comprizing all the words and forms, instead of just mere names of personages, he gives me regularly the most precious help of reading each revise, thus letting my work benefit by his keen perspicacity, his rich experience and his characteristic judiciousness. In a matter so abstruse and delicate as that of the history of thought and intellectual development in a century honeycombed, as the sixteenth was, by error and exaggeration, the constant control effected by his prudent and careful discernment secures to it an inestimable advantage.

Louvain, July 15, 1954.

HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION AND THE RISE
OF THE
COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE LOVANIENSE
1517-1550
PART THE THIRD : THE FULL GROWTH

CHAPTER XIV

PRESIDENCY OF
VAN DER HOEVEN

I. MANAGEMENT

A. RECAPITULATING

Renaissance and its ideal application to the intellectual development of Man's knowledge and his moral perfecting, — Humanism, — was far from being welcomed by the Universities founded for the fostering of erudite and scientific life. Paris ¹⁾, as well as Oxford ²⁾, was frankly hostile, and so were most German Universities, especially when impaired by the Reformation ³⁾, in so far that, in many places of culture, the old routine was continued for centuries.

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 292, &c. Difficulties were continually raised against the 'Royal Professors', as, a few years before, against all Italian teachers of languages; the study of Greek especially was denounced: *Aléandre*, 99-100; cp. also *Dolet*, 57-58.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 291-2, 308, &c.

³⁾ Erasmus often declared that the studies of languages and literature deperished where Luther reigned: cp. before, II, 39, 347, 556, 605. With few exceptions, things became worse when Universities became instruments in the hands of their princely masters: cp. Sandys, II, 258-59; *UniEur.*, 10, 32, *sq.*, 76, 109, 125-30.

Louvain, where scholars, like Becker ¹⁾, de Spouter ²⁾ and Barlandus ³⁾, moved restlessly onward in the modernizing of their studies, also had adversaries, who tried to stem that progress by all means, and even managed to turn one of its aptest protagonists, Dorp, into a censurer of Erasmus, — at least for a time ⁴⁾. No wonder that the latter, in his *Epithalamium* of Peter Gillis and Sandria ⁵⁾, makes the nine Muses reply to Alypius when he asks whether they are going to Louvain : ‘Quis nunc illic nobis locus, ubi tot porci obgrunniunt, obrudunt asini, obblactiunt cameli, obstrepunt graculi, obgarriunt picæ ?’ ⁶⁾ — evidently meaning the theologians James Latomus, teacher in the Porc ⁷⁾, Baechem ⁸⁾, the Carmelite (whom Erasmus always referred to as *Camelita*), and their associates. The bitterness in the tone of that colloquy finds an explanation in the fact that the difficulties raised to the typically humanistic institution, offered to the University by Jerome de Busleyden, were such that it hardly seemed possible that it should be accepted ⁹⁾. Notwithstanding the lofty spirit of generosity that had conceived the plan, and the admirable care with which it was arranged by the Founder and his executors, the grand scheme would have collapsed before it had properly started. The opposition was strengthened by the secular abhorrence of Greek ¹⁰⁾, and by the suspicion of partiality to the Innovators, which clung to its

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 201, 256-67, &c.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 206-14.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 217-18, 226-36, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 187-88, 215-22, 444-45, 561, &c; *MonHL*, 128-78.

⁵⁾ EOO, I, 746, D, sq. Peter Gillis married Cornelia Sanders in 1514 : when Erasmus published this Colloquy in Aug.-Sept. 1524 (Basle, J. Froben : *BB*, E, 453), he evidently inserted several passages, such as that of Busleyden's death and foundation, and the opposition of some Louvain divines. Cp. *BusL*, 464-65.

⁶⁾ EOO, I, 747, B.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 324-34, 347, 566-69, 586, &c.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 406, 460-61, 466, 562-64, 586, &c. In the colloquy *Apotheosis Capnionis*, printed first in the edition of 1522 : *BB*, E, 443, 1, 3, Brassicanus mentions that he has heard ‘Lovanii Camelum quendam... concionantem, fugiendum quidquid esset novum : EOO, I, 689, F.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, Chs. IV and VI.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, I, 271, 295-6, 310-12, 570, 589 ; II, 334-42.

great promoter and protector, Erasmus ¹⁾, so that the chances of being even allowed to exist were most precarious. Fortunately help came in the days of utter despair from the clear-sighted Adrian of Utrecht ²⁾, who had learned to appreciate the great Humanist ³⁾; he judged that heresies should be doomed, but not languages ⁴⁾, and, consequently, dissuaded the theologians from opposing the acceptance of the College ⁵⁾, whose patrons, meanwhile, had received tempting offers from Bruges and Tournai.

When, after the long and bitter struggle, the *Trilingue* came into being ⁶⁾, the opposition did not die out. It had manifested itself in the beginning chiefly by most violent obloquy in lectures and sermons ⁷⁾, or by claiming the application of the academical discipline for the imprudent use of an ungracious term or a rash disapproval ⁸⁾. Later on, it manifested itself in regular attacks on the works of Erasmus, whom the adversaries inseparably linked to the College : they bitterly criticized his doctrine, and worried the authorities for prohibitive measures expelling his writings from all classes ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., before, I, 355-56, &c, II, 280, 293-95, 334, &c. Still Erasmus often repeated most peremptorily his decision never to separate from the Church of Rome, as he did, for example, to Sadolet, on Sept. 16, 1523 : Allen, v, 1386, 43, sq. Referring to his connection with Luther he wrote about February 1520 to Martin Lips : Id postea sentient, non quod Lutero, sed quod Christianæ faueam tranquillitati : Allen, iv, 1070, 4-5.

²⁾ Cp. Opmeer, I, 465, a-466, b ; Busl., 312-18.

³⁾ He caused the succession of Francesco de Crema to be offered by 1502 to Erasmus : cp. before, I, 186.

⁴⁾ Allen, ix, 2466, 64-67 : Bonas litteras non damno, hæreses et schismata damno ; cp. before, I, 525-26.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, iv, 1225, 32-36, 1153, 149, sq, 1161, 22, sq, ix, 2466, 64-67 ; AdriBurm., 7, b, and before, I, 525-26.

⁶⁾ After many vain attempts (cp. before, Chs. III, V, VI), the *Nuda Acceptatio* was obtained on March 12, 1520 : cp. I, 530, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, Ch. IV, especially pp 348, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 314-16, 470-78 ; the first offence was the term *ματωολογί* used by Rescius for the Theologians, alluding to *ματαιότης* and *ματαιοτεχνία*, frivolity, frivolous art : Quintilian, II, 20 ; *EckDed.*, 25 ; *EOO*, IX, 440, c ; *RhenE*, 173 ; *MonHL*, 232 ; and before, I, 315-16, 473, 477, 602.

⁹⁾ Hezius managed to have them banished from the Liège school in 1530 : cp. further in this Chapter, 6, A.

Meanwhile the new Institute had the inestimable advantage of starting its work; it thus gave the actual proof of its spirit, of its aim and of its principles, which Erasmus had exposed in his *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, November 1518, taking divinity as an example ¹⁾. He vindicates as the only right method of study and research, the one based on the investigation of the nature of the object, considered and examined in itself: the one founded either on the reality of things in the universe, on the logic sequel of the conceptions of the mind, or on the attestation of authentic proofs and documents. According to that method, languages were not taught any longer by means of the *Doctrinale* or the *Græcismus* ²⁾, but by the reading and commenting of the proper texts written by a Cicero or a Xenophon, and by proposing them, and all other works of genuine literature, for a proper investigation.

That return to the reality of the object studied, that resorting to the authentic sources of all knowledge, was diametrically opposed to the system of tradition adhered to since several centuries, according to which the word of the master, or the authority of a Villa-Dei or an Ebrardus, of the *Liber Sententiarum* ³⁾, or of any *Summa Theologica*, constituted an unquestionable evidence, which was considered almost as stringent as the dogmas of the Church. It was most natural that many stood staunchly by their formalism and the old custom: they had believed and had been teaching for years what they themselves had been taught, without any wish, or idea even, of testing or enlarging that so-called knowledge: without even adapting it to any more practical purpose than retailing it in their turn, or using it in the debates. Especially the latter practical use was decidedly proscribed by Erasmus ⁴⁾, who, with all upright humanists,

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 303-6, &c.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 80, sq; *ErAge*, 36-49; Zarncke, 346-55; *CochlHum.*, 11-20, 189-96; &c.

³⁾ Cp. Thomas More's views about Petrus Lombardus' *Sententiæ*: *MoreLuc*, 397, sq, 400, sq.

⁴⁾ The scholastic debates, in which dialectics had taken the place of theology, were bitterly criticized by the Humanists: Erasmus, in his *Laus Stultitiæ*: EOO, IV, 463, A-471, A; More, in his letter to Dorp (*MoreLuc.*, 372, sq, 376, sq, 378-84, &c); Vives, in the *In Pseudo-Dialecticos*

held that knowledge and erudition have a far loftier aim than serving merely as a means for verbal contests, which do no good to science, but only flatter the egoism of the sharp debater. On the contrary, he assured that whatever enriches the mind, should also make the heart and the soul purer, loftier, better ; it should make the erudite the more human, move him the nearer to the ideal which the Lord conceived of Man ; moreover, he held that the advantage thus gained, brought along with it the necessary, inherent duty of imparting the benefit acquired to fellow-men and to humanity at large : not merely by the communication of the erudite or scientific advance realized, but also by the help of the example of a life rendered that way more worthy of 'humanity'.

The struggle in favour of learning and sound erudition was very bitter : for the advocates of tradition kept stubbornly to custom and to the material profits which it provided, and which, in some places, lasted for centuries to come ¹⁾. Looking out for arguments, in the first years of the existence of the *Trilingue*, they interpreted in favour of their view, the defection from the faith of some men renowned for their linguistic ability, and they attributed that impairing as an unavoidable result to the knowledge of languages and literature ; so, for example, Goclenius wrote to Erasmus, on October 7, 1528, when announcing that Nicolas of Hertogenbosch and John de Munter, with other priests of the Antwerp school, were said to have married, and to have left the country : Quæ res hostibus literarum rursus luculentam prebuit ansam calumniæ, quod Nicolaus literarum habebatur non ignarus, et nunc prædicatur doctissimus etiam ab inimicis : quo melius procedat accusatio, neminem peritum literarum a pravis opinionibus huius tempestatis esse alienum ²⁾.

Perhaps the worst mischief was done to the *Trilingue* by making the School and its principles responsible for whatever

(VOO, III, 37-68), and others : that bitterness is fully explained by the dejecting description of those University functions in Paris by Valentine Tchudi, June 22, 1518 : Lefranc, 60-63 ; Herminjard, I, 38-40.

¹⁾ In some universities, physicians were not equipped with other means to cure their patients, up to the end of the XVIIIth century, than which Hippocrates or Dioscorides could supply.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 2063, 38-45.

Erasmus said or wrote in his ruthless struggle against the misuses of the time ¹⁾. Some of his satires do sound very malicious at present ; yet, as we have no knowledge of the facts and the sayings that elicited them, we are at a loss to judge adequately, for we ignore the purport of a retort in a controversy of which we can only guess the gist, and it is exceedingly difficult now to sift in several writings of the great Erudite, what he actually meant ²⁾ from what is merely chaff, whereas in his time, that must have been easy to those who knew both his opponents, and the misuses he was striving against ³⁾. Thus the fact that, after some years, his bitter criticisms were banished from the schoolroom and dissuaded from ordinary readers, is not necessarily equivalent to a condemnation ; it even rather looks as a most decisive proof that they had done their work so well that the misuses did not exist any longer, except by their mention in the *Colloquia* : the latter thus had become reminders of past wrongs, which had fortunately been eradicated, and were better ignored ⁴⁾.

Erasmus always generously attracted upon himself the trouble he caused, in his sincere wish to liberate his *Trilingue* from all difficulties ; he did what he could to prevent that the displeasure felt on his account, should spread to the College :

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 356, *sq.*

²⁾ Even during his life the text of his writings was often insidiously changed by pseudo-friends who wished to favour Luther by what his erudite opponent wrote : an example is the famous letter to Albert of Brandenburg, Cardinal of Mayence, of October 19, 1519, intercepted and issued by Hutten : Allen, IV, 1033, *pr.*, VI, 1765, 14.

³⁾ Friends of Erasmus expressed to him their solicitude about the way his writings were going to be interpreted : if John Becker, on February 27, 1527, only advocated adding a proper chronology (Allen, VI, 1787, 24, *sq.*), Vives urged him, on August 6, 1526, to express quite clearly what he really thinks and means : those who know him and the circumstances, understand rightly : later on, it will not be so easy, and the reader will hardly be able to distinguish between various texts and editions : Allen, VI, 1732, 14-25 ; VOO, VII, 184.

⁴⁾ The *Colloquia* and other writings were amongst those which it was prohibited to read and translate in Spain ; they were also placed on the Louvain Index in 1555 by order of the Brabant Council : *EraSpain*, 303-4, 310, 449 (this prohibition, of November 1531, only referred to the Louvain Dominicans), 592, 759-67.

at least, as far as the trouble and displeasure should be the result of his excess in censuring misuses and misconceptions. For the Institute readily accepted his opinions about studies and methods, and, moreover, about a sound, intellectual faith, and truthfully imparted them to the students : it thus greatly contributed to the spread, not only of the literary, but also of what might be called the 'Christian', Humanism, namely the soundly intellectual and truly pious Christianity, which Erasmus, and, on his example, Vives and other humanists, advocated, and which seems to have been universally accepted and recognized, if not yet universally approved of, by 1530 ¹⁾.

That the opposition against the *Trilingue*, once it was founded, actually proved ineffective, follows from the fact that, from the very beginning, the number of hearers continually grew against all expectation, as the insufficiency of the lecture-room, and that of its subsequent enlargement, amply attest ²⁾. The intellectual enjoyment of the teaching was too great and too real to all those who earnestly sought linguistic or scientific development, than that they should mind the cavilling of the adherents to the old order. Thanks to Busleyden College, the great significance of languages, which Melanchthon, not only ignored, but frankly denied as late as 1517 ³⁾, became universally recognized. Latin had,

¹⁾ *EraSpain*, 633. It is a mistake to consider the Erasmian concept of faith and religion as different from the Catholic one, at least in the essence, and it is certainly wrong to make it consist of his censuring. For that censuring was neither directed against faith, nor liturgy, nor against religious practices, nor the Orders, but merely against wrong notions about them, and about the misuses which had already been denounced by all Clamanges, and Gersons, and Cardinals de Cusa of the past. It consequently sounds absurd to state that, after Erasmus' death, there were no Erasmians any longer, but merely either good Catholics or Protestants : *EraSpain*, 533. Erasmus was a downright Catholic : his principles of exegesis and of the study of religion have since long been accepted ; his concept of intellectuality still pervades the spirit of the Church, and nearly all the misuses which he criticized have been corrected by the subsequent General Council, for which his help had been insistently requested by Adrian VI and by Paul III.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 123, 247-49, 328, 347, 349, 606, 621.

³⁾ *Melanch.*, 93 : although useful, he did not consider them indispensable, and he contended against Spalatin, March 1, 1517, that

since about 1495, been carefully cultivated in Louvain ¹⁾ : it had been as the chief motive which, in the first years of the century, had kept Erasmus there, not only a few weeks, as he intended when arriving in September 1502, but as late as 1505 ; and even then, he certainly did not leave, 'las de la vie médiocre qu'il menait à Louvain', as one of the foremost Historians of Humanism ²⁾ states : for he had found in Brabant, not only the finest knot of Latinists on this side of the Alps, but also the subject to which he actually devoted the larger part of his life, as well as protectors who readily helped to defray the expenses of his studies ³⁾. The result of that constant attention devoted to languages was such, that it has been said that the Latin of Erasmus and Vives, and that of the Louvain friends, in the first half of the xvith century, sounds more clear and felicitous, more natural, more authentic even than that of the great Justus Lipsius ⁴⁾.

Through that paramount interest in Latin, the *Trilingue* soon made Louvain into the centre of humanistic culture ; it, moreover, showed the indispensability of Greek, which Quintilian had already indicated ⁵⁾, and caused the production of several of the first editions of the works of Hellas' authors to the North of the Alps ⁶⁾. It further organized the first systematic lectures in Hebrew ⁷⁾, and made their advantage and their interest, roused by the fine teaching of Campensis and Balenus, felt to such extent, that, in 1563, the students of theology in Louvain requested a daily lesson in that language ⁸⁾. No wonder that Busleyden's Foundation became the model for similar institutes in Spain and England, in France and Germany : for the crowd of excellently equipped young men, trained in that College by the method prescribed

St. Jerome, familiarized with five languages, did not come up to St. Augustine, who knew only one.

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 194-226.

²⁾ Renaudet, 477 ; he already contradicted himself on p 490, referring to the 'richesses qu'il <i. e., Erasmus> avait accumulées à Louvain et à Londres'.

³⁾ *EraLouv.*, 92-94 ; *Erasmus*, 12-13 ; *EraVocht*, 56, sq ; Allen, I, 171, 10-15.

⁴⁾ *NèveMém.*, 172.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 194-98.

⁶⁾ Iseghem, 103-6 ; and before, II, 9, sq.

⁷⁾ *Reuchlin*, 282 ; Allen, v, 1496, 170, sq ; *UniKöln*, 196 ; and before, I, 358.

⁸⁾ *VAnd.*, 284.

by Erasmus, proclaimed throughout Europe the eminent value of the education they had enjoyed.

Besides that ideally humanistic instruction, and that most welcome linguistic equipment, the *Trilingue* provided even a much more precious advantage to civilization and humanity, by giving the example of applying the method of research to all sciences, and by proclaiming the duty of every fully educated man to enlarge and deepen the knowledge gained in any field of intellectual activity. It opened the way to the scientific study as well of astronomy as of theology, of medicine as of history. By the thorough application of Erasmus' grand principles, it formed clever and richly equipped workers, eminent leaders, who introduced the modern spirit in science and knowledge; and even those who had not in them the stuff to become pioneers, became helpers and generous protectors of their cleverer fellow-students. That way New Intellectual Realms were opened to any and all earnest workers at the *Trilingue*: for in Busleyden's Institute were shown at work the wealth of useful and precious principles with models for research in every direction; whereas almost all other Universities continued the time-worn practice of just passing on what they had received, Louvain actually started the wonderful development of human conquests in all directions. That widening of the horizons and that constantly enriching of intellectual experience brought an immensity of advantages to all workers, and extended to all domains of human knowledge, the praise which Janus Secundus décerned to the Institute, merely for languages, in his *Epistola* to Giles, the Founder's brother ¹⁾:

Lovanii decus, & terræ ornamenta Brabantæ,
Quæ nunc cum populis merito certare Latinis
Audet, & ingeniis felix contendere Grajis,
Et sancta Hebræum mysteria pandere vatum.

B. THE NEW PRESIDENT

Nicolas Wary's successor, Judocus van der Hoeven, started his presidency on December 1, 1529 ²⁾. He was probably a

¹⁾ *JSecOp.* (*Ep.*, II, 1), 189, sq; *AdriBurm.*, 7.

²⁾ *AccHoevI*, 1, r; he was present at the checking of the account of Wary's executors, on September 20 and 21, 1530: *AccMarvIII*, 1, r, 86, r.

native of Louvain, where a John van der Hoeven was elected burgomaster by the people in 1528 and 1530 ¹⁾. After having taken the degree of Master of Arts, he was appointed *bedellus* of the Faculty of Divinity ; he had married Catherine Maes ²⁾, who died prematurely : probably care and concern made him neglect his office on that occasion, so that his masters, at the yearly resignation and reappointment on September 30, 1515, accepted his services only on condition that he should carry out his office 'fidelius et diligentius' ³⁾. On September 30, 1517, the Faculty requested him to observe carefully all the customs, and to avoid, as far as he honestly could, all expenses for those who wanted to promote ⁴⁾. On December 22, 1520, the University Senate allowed him an assistant ⁵⁾, John van den Hove, who, on September 30, 1532, succeeded him as *bedellus* ⁶⁾. He, meanwhile, had married Anna Loens, from whom he had a son Antony ; he is further recorded to have requested on February 29, 1524, as 'syndicus' of St. Martin's Priory, the incorporation of that community into the University, as, a few years before, had been granted to the Carthusians ⁷⁾ : it was conceded in 1525 ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Joannes van der Hoeven was also elected burgomaster in 1523 and 1539 : Mol., 381-82 ; DivAL, 75-79 ; LouvBoon, 215 ; the Judocus Vanden Hoeven, Lovaniensis, of the Lily, who promoted M. A. as *gratiosus* in 1545 (ULPromRs., 134), may have been a relative of the President.

²⁾ They made their will in common on August 14, 1511, bequeathing to each other whatever they possessed : FUL, 1663.

³⁾ de Jongh, *39.

⁴⁾ de Jongh, *41 : ipse vitet, quantum honeste fieri potest, expensas promovendorum. — Most probably he was the messenger who took the judgment of the Louvain professors of divinity on Luther's *Opuscula* of February 1519, to their colleagues of Cologne, asking for their advice, — which was their prohibition of August 30, 1519 : cp. before, I, 425 ; CorpInq., iv, 12-14.

⁵⁾ de Jongh, *39.

⁶⁾ de Jongh, *60, *61.

⁷⁾ The Carthusians were incorporated on February 28, 1521 : FUL, 2465 ; Mol., 295 ; PF, II, *201 ; BaxH, x, 169 ; ULDoc., v, 565, sq. — On May 13, 1517, the Carthusians granted to Judocus van der Hoeven the communion of their good works : as Catherine Maes, his first wife, is not mentioned, she probably was not any longer alive : FUL, 1663.

⁸⁾ LibActVI, 21, v ; de Jongh, *30 ; Mol., 284, sq ; BaxH, x, 164 ; ULDoc., v, 568, sq ; LouvEven, 482, sq ; FUL, 2845-48.

Josse van der Hoeven had become widower for the second time when he was entrusted with the management of the *Trilingue* ¹⁾, no doubt on account of his experience of academical life and of circumstances : he was an old acquaintance of Bartholomew van Vessem ²⁾, and was most probably no stranger to the affairs of the College ; he seems even to have been appointed during the last weeks of Wary's life, whose fatal illness had prompted the executors to provide a successor in good time ³⁾. He, moreover, was well known to Erasmus, who, in his letter to Goclenius of May 3, 1532, adds : 'Saluta D. Iodocum præsidem' ⁴⁾. On account of his many friends and of all the acquaintances he had made during his several years' experience in the most active of the Faculties, he certainly gained sympathy for the *Trilingue* amongst those who, up to then, had been the least encouraging. Whereas former presidents merely noted down in their accounts that some *doctorandus* or *licentiandus* had come to invite him and his staff to an *actus* or a *magisterium*, and was treated to a glass of wine ⁵⁾, Hoeven generally took the trouble of mentioning the names of his old friends ⁶⁾ : thus he wrote down that, on August 17, 1534, 'dominus <Martinus>

¹⁾ On entering the College, van der Hoeven sold out his own household things : some of them were bought by the *Trilingue* : *Jnden eersten voer twee coperen eemers jnt vercoopen van Joes vander hoeven huys-raet by den scatters getaxeert op xxiiij st. Jtem de groote lynwaet-scrapraeye jnde neercamer hyden putte desgelycks getaxeert op iiij Rf xij st. &c : AccHoevI, 38, v.*

²⁾ He made several bequests to van Vessem in his will of 1536 : cp. further, Ch. XVII.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 635-36.

⁴⁾ Allen, x, 2644, 33.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 73.

⁶⁾ *AccHoevII*, 42, r. On that same page, Hoeven noted down that on February 9, 1534, two *doctorandj jn Jure* came to invite him for their doctorate : they were, no doubt, Francis Sonck, of Delft, and John Lobellius, of Boulogne, a relative of Philip Nigri (cp. further, Ch. XVII); they promoted on February 10 : *VAnd.*, 186-87. A few days before, four *licenciandi in theologia* had come : their names are not mentioned in Hoeven's account, but they are given in the abstract of the *Acta Facultatis Theologiae* in de Jongh, *62, as having passed that act on February 3 ; they were Martinus Cuper, prior, and Frater Gummarus <Molle> de Lyra, of Mechlin, Walter Roest, of Louvain, and Nicolas de Castro, also of Louvain, who, a few years later, became President of the *Trilingue* : cp. Chs. XXII-XXIII.

Cuyper, prior carmelitarum' ¹⁾ and 'D. gommarus molle, religiosus mechliniensis', came to invite him and his professors to their *vesperiae* and their *aula magistralis* ²⁾; and that, on September 30 of the same year, 'dns michael rollay de hafligem' called to request them to attend his promotion to doctor of divinity ³⁾.

C. BUILDING ENLARGED

The new President reaped from the very beginning of his management the harvest of earnest and zealous labour accomplished during the glorious regency of his predecessor ⁴⁾. On account of the constantly increasing number of the auditors, his attention was necessarily directed towards concluding

¹⁾ On *AccHoevII*, 42, r, the name is given as 'Johannes', which is a mistake : on that same page is mentioned that, on January 26, 1534, President van der Hoeven received the visit of 'iiij theologi pro gradu licencie'; their names are given by de Jongh, *62, mentioning for the *Actus licentie* of February 3 : 'Martinus Cuper, prior Carmeli in Mechlinia'. There can hardly be any doubt about this native of Mechlin, son of alderman John de Cuyper, Lord of Riemen, and Jacqueline van Springale, who attended St. Gregory's school, Mechlin, and entered the Carmelite Convent there in 1520. He studied in Louvain under Nicolas Baechem, and, having promoted B. D. in 1529, was appointed prior in Mechlin in 1532 (cp. before, II, 342). He continued his studies in divinity, and was elected Provincial of Lower Germany in 1540. On November 14, 1541, he was nominated Bishop of Calcedonia, and served, as suffragan, Robert of Croy, Bishop of Cambrai, and his two successors. By 1547, he was endowed with Crespin Abbey, then still in Hainaut, and, as abbot, he became a close friend of the venerable Louis de Blois, Abbot of Liessies (cp. further, Ch. XVII). Martin was most active as suffragan throughout the large diocese, ending his busy life in the Abbey of Forest, on July 26, 1572; he had taken refuge there against the trouble caused to religion, which he had tried to stem by patience, according to his device *Tempora Tempore Tempera*. He left an oration to the Cambrai Synod, 1550, but his other writings were lost in the stormy years that followed his death : cp. Paquot, xi, 209-14; Berlière, 48, 94-103, 147, 149; *BrArEc.*, vi, 63; before, II, 73, 513.

²⁾ Martinus Cuperus, de Cuyper, Cuypers, prior of the Carmelites of Mechlin, and Gommarus Mol, of Lierre, a friar of his convent, promoted *Magister* in Theology on August 25, 1534 : *VAnd.*, 107; de Jongh, *62.

³⁾ Michael Rullegius, sive de Rollario, vulgo Roelley, from Wavre, a Benedictine monk from Affligem Abbey, promoted Doctor of Theology on October 6, 1534 : *VAnd.*, 107-108.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 636-37.

the work of the widening of the lecture-hall. That room, which, in 1520, was constructed to contain three hundred hearers ¹⁾, had become too small within a few years, so that John Stercke had bought on January 28, 1524 ²⁾, part of the premises of a neighbour, Henry van den Borre, glazier and glass manufacturer ³⁾, and his wife Catherine van Rode. The property, acquired for the account of Bartholomew van Vessem, consisted of a building and adjoining ground, touching the lecture-room, which, probably in the summer holidays of 1524, was enlarged for the account of the College ⁴⁾, in the same style and architecture as that of the original hall : at any rate Erasmus could refer, already on April 8, 1525, to the six hundred hearers who regularly gathered in the magnificently constructed room ⁵⁾. Three years later, the auditory had become too small again, for Goclenius was

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 236-37 ; Allen, IV, 1221, 15-17 (Auditorium... non pauciores habens trecentis), v, 1322, 5-6 (November 24, 1522 : nihil amplius desiderare possis, nisi forte ampliores scholas).

²⁾ *Inv.*, 7, v (xxij) : Item eenen scepenen brief van Louene vander daten xv C ende vierentwintich Januarijs xxvij waer mede henrick vanden borre glaesmakere ende kathlijne van Rode zyn huijsvrouwe ouergegoet hebben heeren ende meester Jannen van meerbeke tot behoef van meester Bertholomeus van vessem een huys dwelck plach te stane achter der scholen vander collegien metter plaetsen daer aen doen ter tijt staende. Geteekent Joerdens (the inventory was made up in 1542). In 1541, a difficulty arose between the President van der Borch and John Schades, mercer, for a transverse wall behind the 'schole', against which an oven had been built ; the question was solved by the land-surveyor and the aldermen of Louvain : *Inv.*, 7, v (xxij).

³⁾ Viz., *glaesmakere*, manufacturer of glass : there used to be in Louvain a most prosperous industry of glass, for the round or lozenge-shaped slices, put into the comes of lattice windows ; also for small vessels and ornamental vases ; — in the neighbouring Ship Street several old cellars still show traces of the furnaces used for the melting.

⁴⁾ Of that enlarging no mention is made in the account of the execution of Busleyden's will, which goes to the end of 1521 for the College, and was made up by March 14, 1524 : *Rek.*, 99, r ; unfortunately only one account by Stercke is extant, the first one, from October 18, 1520 to the same day of 1521 : *AccMeerb.*, 1, r.

⁵⁾ In his letter to Henry Stromer, professor of Leipzig University, of April 8, 1525, Erasmus wrote about the Louvain *Trilingue* : Est aliquid in loco magnifice extructo habere sexcentos auditores : Allen, VI, 1564, 11-12.

obliged to double his lessons, as he announced to Erasmus on May 10, 1528 ¹⁾. On that account the new President decided on widening once more the hall in the summer months of 1530. The building on the property bought from van den Borre was demolished in May 1530, probably with the exception of one wall, which was incorporated into the College by means of two new walls ²⁾, constructed with the materials coming from the parts broken down ³⁾. The hall on the groundfloor was thus enlarged, and so was the room over it, which had first been occupied by Rescius, and was then in use by Cornelius Suys, an inmate student ⁴⁾.

The extension of the lecture-room, for the cost of which John Stercke, the first President, advanced some money to van der Hoeven ⁵⁾, was apparently an arrangement of the structure of the property acquired six years before ⁶⁾, for the account mentions that the air-hole of a cellar opened into it, and had to be closed by glass ⁷⁾. In one of the new-built walls a large window was constructed on the groundfloor, having six partitions, with stone mullion and cross bar, like the others in the same hall; in the room over it, on the first floor, a window was added, similar to those which were already there. The neighbour Henry van den Borre provided the glass and the trellis-shaped came for the two windows: the four lower partitions in each of them were plain; the two upper ones were adorned with the Founder's crest in

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 347; Allen, VII, 1994^a, 26-27.

²⁾ *AccHoevI*, 42, v: lambrecht ooghe gewrocht heeft beyde mueren, ende twee cruysvinsteren te makene...

³⁾ The bricks, white stones and other useful materials were cleaned and employed for the lecture-room: *AccHoevI*, 42, r, 47, v, as well as for fences between the College and van den Borre's property, and that of Peter van den Putte, in the issue toward Augustines Street; part of the timber was sold to the 'provisores' of St. Barbara Chapel, in May 1530: *ManHoev.*, 1, v; *AccHoevI*, 50, v; cp. before, II, 44, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 376-78, and further, Ch. XVI.

⁵⁾ *ManHoev.*, 1, r: Recepti mutuo a dñō licenciato meerbeke vt credo xv^{ta} marcij <1530>... xxxvj Rf; cp. before, II, 298.

⁶⁾ *AccHoevI*, 47, v, mentions the cost for clearing the part of the house demolished to make room for the 'schole'.

⁷⁾ *AccHoevI*, 42, v: Jtem van... gelas jn de keldervinster jn de schole comende van iij3 voeten.

that of the lecture-hall ¹⁾, whereas Cornelius Suys had his own put in at his expense in those of his room ²⁾).

2. DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

A. JOHN DANTISCUS

From the beginning of van der Hoeven's management, great honour was bestowed on the *Trilingue*, not only by the widening of the auditory, that glorious testimony of the increasing audience, but also by the visits of august personages. The Imperial ambassador Cornelius de Schepper was one of the first and most frequent callers at the famous Institute ³⁾, animated as he was with solicitude for his brother-in-law, Cornelius of Zegerscapelle ⁴⁾, and, even more, with gratitude to his former professors and with affection for his old fellow-students and the many friends he made on the occasion of his connection with his dear *Trilingue*. One of them was Peter Nannius, with whom he chatted about the etymology of names like Flanders ⁵⁾; another was Haio Cammingha ⁶⁾; and so was the renowned linguist Andrew Masius ⁷⁾, whom he most probably introduced to John de Langhe, secretary of the Privy Council ⁸⁾, as well as to another intimate friend of his, John de Weze, Bishop of Constance, administrator of the Abbeys of Waldsassen and Reichenau ⁹⁾. The latter took Masius into his service as secretary and as preceptor of his nephew Henry Rudolph up ten Haitzhovel ⁹⁾: the remains of his correspondence show

¹⁾ The lower partitions of the window in the lecture-room measured four square feet; those in the room above a trifle more; the partitions, with the crests, measured each five: *AccHoevI*, 42, v.

²⁾ *AccHoevI*, 42, v: beyde de opperste vinsteren die heeft Cornelis suys selue met synen wapenen doen maken ende selue betaelt.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 166-71, 609-10.

⁴⁾ He was the son of Jacqueline van Clichtove, widow of Peter d'Onche, wife of Christian of Zegerscapelle: he was an inmate of the *Trilingue* from August 10, 1529 to October 9, 1534: *AccMarvIII*, 1, v; *ManHoev.*, 3, v; *AccHoevII*, 5, v; cp. before, II, 385-6.

⁵⁾ Cp. Polet, 166; P. Nannius, *Miscellanea*, Louvain, 1548: 309.

⁶⁾ Gabbema, 537-40, 542.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XVII, XXIII.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁹⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XVII, XXIII; *Masius*, 428-29.

the intimate connection which bound him in gratitude to de Schepper. As late as 1550, when, at the death of John de Weze, his nephew, and successor at Waldsassen, thought of marrying, de Schepper wished to have Masius appointed at the Imperial Court; he himself had had a bad fall from his horse in Zeeland, as de Langhe wrote, Aug. 16, 1550 ¹⁾, and was brought back to Brussels, by ship and by litter, to the young, fine and rich Margaret Loonis he had just married: still he corrected Masius' epitaph on de Weze, and helped him onward ²⁾. By May 1553, although lame, he was full at work again, and in return of some assistance offered to Masius in his Hebrew studies, he wished him to intercede for him with his new master, the Duke of Cleves, for the hire of a house which he possessed in Brussels ³⁾.

As could be expected, de Schepper, as old student of the *Trilingue*, introduced there his particular friend John Danticus and other chief personages of the Imperial Court, when, from March 13 to 16, 1531, Charles V came to the University town to meet his sister Mary, Queen of Hungary ⁴⁾, who was to take the place of their aunt Margaret of Austria († Dec. 1, 1530) as Regent of the Netherlands. From the allusions in subsequent letters, it is clear that Busleyden's Institute and its staff were hardly at any other time of their existence the object of greater favour and honour with the foremost intel-

¹⁾ MasE, 59.

²⁾ MasE, 63-66, 70; *ScheppRech.*, 9; — his first wife, Elizabeth d'Onche, died August 20, 1548: *BB*, I, 34.

³⁾ MasE, 136, *sq*, 142, *sq*, 168; Tytler, I, 382-83; *MarHon.*, 112. — Cp. AgripE, 293-95. — In the Faculty of Arts, on June 1, 1534 and February 1, 1536, was procurator of the Holland Nation Cornelius Scepperus de Duuelandia; on September 30, 1535, he was elected Dean of the Faculty; he was also Bachelor of Divinity, and was nominated to a vacancy by dint of the Privilege of the Faculty: *LibNomI*, 262, v, 275.

⁴⁾ Le 13^e de mars à Louvain, jusques au 16^e, au-devant de ladicté royne Marie. — In December of 1530, John de Hennin, Lord of Boussu, had been sent by Charles V from Cologne 'pour aller querre la royne Marie... pour venir ès pays d'embas': Gachard, 97-98; according to another itinerary, made up for 1531 from an account of councillor Henry Sterck for 1527-31, Charles V was also in Louvain from April 13 to 16 in that same year: Gachard, 49; the first of those visits, celebrated by a procession and a solemn Mass, is mentioned in *LouvBoon*, 79; cp. *MarHon.*, 35, *sq*; DantE, 112, 114.

lectual and diplomatic celebrities of the Empire, as were then adorning the Emperor's and Mary of Hungary's '*familia*'. It brought to Goclenius, Rescius and Campensis ¹⁾ the honour of the personal acquaintance and the lifelong friendship of men like the Polish ambassador John Dantiscus, like Bishop Francisco de Mendoza, like the learned Imperial secretary Guy Morillon, and caused others, like the eager humanist Nicolas Olah, who had followed his Queen to the West, deeply to regret having missed that unique opportunity, for which they wanted to make up as soon as possible.

As those eminent visitors were intimately connected with all the events that happened in this country and throughout the Empire, their correspondence naturally became as the perfect mirror in which literary and intellectual life was reflected as accurately and completely as the policy prevailing. Part of it survives : namely that of Olah, from 1527 to 1538 ²⁾, and that of Dantiscus, which is far more abundant ³⁾ and extensive, from 1515 to 1548 ⁴⁾ : those and similar collections

¹⁾ John Campensis had called on his old student de Schepper at Court in the first days of March, and the latter wanted to introduce him to Dantiscus : still they failed to find him, which induced the professor to write a letter, along which was sent an astrolabe and a pamphlet teaching its use : DantE, 112.

²⁾ OlaE; cp. A. Roersch, *La Correspondance de Nicolas Olahus*, in *Bull. de la Soc. d'Hist. de Gand*; 1903; *Cran.*, 275, a.

³⁾ Erik Benzell, Uppsala Librarian from 1702 to 1723, afterwards Bishop of Linköping, was one of the first to study the correspondence of Dantiscus : *Cran.*, 287, pr; in 1717, he started a collection of copies of letters of famous men to Dantiscus, which is said to have become part of the manuscript treasures of the Berlin Library. In the third volume of his *Monumenta Inedita Rerum Germaniæ* (Leipzig, 1740), E. J. von Westphalen gave extracts of some letters. Fr. Hipler, in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und des Humanismus aus dem Briefwechsel des Johannes Dantiscus*, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Ermlands* : Braunsberg, 1891 : ix, 471-572, published sixty letters to and from various humanists. In the *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo* : Madrid, 1899 : i, 385-412, Edward Boehmer reprinted forty letters or notes to or from Alonso de Valdes. Cp. FG, 335-36.

⁴⁾ It is dispersed, and parts are preserved in the Archives of the Diocese, and those of the Chapter, of Ermland, East Prussia, in the Library of Uppsala, and in the rich collections of the Museum Czartoryskich, Cracow, the Kórnik Library, of Poznan, and the Institut Ossolinskiego, of Lwów. Cp. before, II, 170.

proclaim the glory of Busleyden Institute, and the admirable influence it had on the intellectual development and on the culture of the nation ¹⁾).

The first of those glorious visitors of the *Trilingue* in Charles V's Court was John von Hoven, Höfen, *a Curtis*, Flachs binder, *Linodesmon*, *Dantiscus* ²⁾ ; he was born at Danzig, the son of a well-to-do brewer, on October 31/November 1, 1485, and studied at Cracow from 1500 for a few months before he entered the Polish Court. He found the opportunity to journey to Italy, from where he went off, about 1505, by Greece on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and back by Arabia and Sicily. On his return to Poland in 1507, he re-entered the Court, and having been a royal secretary for several years, he was sent, in 1515, as ambassador by King Sigismund I to the Emperor Maximilian, for whom he was active in Italy against Venice. In 1519, he journeyed to the Court of Charles, his grandson, in Spain, whom, from 1522, he mostly followed in all his movements, until, in the spring of 1532, King Sigismund allowed him to return to Poland. He had been knighted in 1516 by the Emperor Maximilian when created D. V. J. and *Poeta Laureatus* ; his grandson also greatly appreciated him, in so far that he did not feel offended in the least when Dantiscus served with particular zeal the interests of his own King and his nation ³⁾ ; on the

¹⁾ As already announced before, II, 170, the contemplated edition, — or, if circumstances should prevent it, at least, the systematic analysis, — of all the letters that interest humanism and Dantiscus himself in that correspondence — yet not those about the policy of Poland and of East Prussia — has been made ready from the originals, studied at Uppsala, Frauenburg, Cracow, Lwów and Poznan by the author of this *History* with a view to publish it. It is referred to here as 'DantE' (*Jo. Dantisci et Amicorum Epistolæ*).

²⁾ He called himself *Linodesmon*, *Flachs binder*, after his grandfather, a rope-maker, in his first youthful poems ; having been promoted to Doctor *Utriusque Juris* by Maximilian, he preferred the name *a Curtis*, *von Höfen*, as he was thus raised into German nobility ; later on he only styled himself *Dantiscus*.

³⁾ He tried to secure for Isabella, mother of King Sigismund's wife, Bona Sforza, the Duchy of Bari, in Southern Italy, bequeathed to her by Jane, Queen of Spain and Naples, and at her mother's death in 1524, for Queen Bona, in which he succeeded. He also endeavoured to rouse the Christian Princes to attack the Turks, whereas he did what he could

contrary he promoted him to the Spanish nobility, and had a medal struck for him in 1529 with his portrait and his crest ¹).

Dantiscus had been nominated Bishop of Culm in 1530 ; it procured him his release from the embassy, so that he left Charles V's Court at Ratisbon in 1532 ²). He was ordained and consecrated by Peter Tomiczki, Bishop of Cracow ³), in 1533, and he ruled his diocese as a father in the most difficult times through which his flock passed, on account of the danger of Reformation and of the political complications ; for they belonged to the land which the secularized Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, Albert of Brandenburg, still held from the Polish Monarchs. He had to leave more than once his residence of Löbau to serve his King, who had him nominated, by the end of 1537, as successor to Maurice Ferber on the see of Ermland ⁴). Having taken possession of his new diocese in the first weeks of 1538, he organized there Catholic reform, especially through the education and instruction of his clergy, with an efficiency that has kept the province of Ermland in staunch orthodoxy up to this day. He refused the offer of the Cardinal's dignity, which both the Polish Court and Charles V intended obtaining for him, and after having, for several years, ruled his diocese well, wisely and prosperously, he died on October 27, 1548, and was buried in his Cathedral at Frauenburg ⁵).

to excuse his peace-loving King Sigismund for having been compelled to make a truce with the Sultan.

¹) *DantKop.*, xx-xxii ; *DantSil.*, 8-12.

²) Charles V reached Ratisbon on February 28, 1532, and held there the Diet, after which he decided to move to Vienna, which the Turks besieged : he set out on September 2 : Gachard, 102-103. Dantiscus left the Netherlands in the first days of March 1532, and stayed some time at Ratisbon before journeying to Poland, which he reached by July.

³) Peter Tomiczki was then Bishop of Cracow and Chancellor of Poland : cp. before II, 394 ; Allen, vii, 1919, *pr* ; *Cracow*, 69, 119, 147, 164-65.

⁴) Prowe, II, 167, 168, *sq*, 294-99 (his last illness and his decease on July 1, 1537) : Copernicus had attended Bishop Ferber, and so he did his successor, whom he cured from a serious disease in 1538, and afterwards accompanied on his tour through the diocese, not merely as canon, but chiefly as friend and medical adviser : Prowe, II, 300, *sq*.

⁵) Opmeer, I, 472, b ; *DantKop.*, ix-xlvi ; Prowe, I, ii, 251-54, 338, *sq*, 352 ; FG, 335-36 ; *Cran.*, 57, *pr*, 287, *pr* ; Allen, viii, 2163, 138 ; *DantCar.*, ix-xxxiv ; *DantSil.*, 3-16.

Besides patronizing generously all fine arts ¹⁾, Dantiscus had been, the whole of his life, a favourer of erudition and literature; his friendship with the great Nicolas Copernicus ²⁾ is a warrant for the former, and his own poetical works amply prove the latter. When at Cracow, he wrote courtly poetry, from 1510 up to 1518 ³⁾; in his maturer experience as diplomatist, he celebrated important political events, and expressed his views on the state of Europe : 1529-1532 ⁴⁾; whereas in his later age he chiefly composed religious and devotional poems ⁵⁾ : all of which ensure him a most honourable place

¹⁾ His large collection of pictures, with several by Holbein, was kept at Heilsberg : *Ermland*, 147-9; besides the medal of 1529 (cp. before, p 19), one was made in August 1531 by Christoph Weiditz : *Hill*, 56; and another in 1532 by Janus Secundus, who also offered him copies of those he made of Charles V, and of his Julia : cp. before, II, 437; *Simonis*, 54-59, III & V; he sent him a small statue in clay from Spain on April 28, 1534 : *DantE*, 287; on the same day Nicolas Grudius dispatched to him a leaden copy of the medal which his brother had made of him : *DantE*, 288. Another kind of artistic work, highly appreciated by Dantiscus, were the splendidly adorned gloves which he liked to distribute amongst the ladies at Court : *DantE*, 232.

²⁾ *Prowe*, I, II, 251, 326-71; *DantKop.*, xli.

³⁾ He celebrated his protectors and friends, as well as his youthly love to *Perla* (*DantCar.*, 38, 35), and to the 'Grynea' he met at Augsburg in November 1516 (*ib.*, 87-92); he also wrote allegoric romance, like *De Virtutibus & Fortunæ Differentia Somnium* (Cracow, 1510; *ib.*, 4-27), of which he made great use for the double *Epithalamium* of Sigismund I, one with Queen Barbara (Cracow, 1512), the other with Queen Bona (Cracow, 1518) : instead of descriptions of the nuptials, they become glorifications of the King and of Poland, no less than the poems extolling his victories over the enemies : *DantSil.*, 6, sq. Cp. *EllLyr.*, 1-4.

⁴⁾ *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva*, addressed to Clement VII and to Charles V : Bologna, Dec. 9, 1529; *NijKron.*, I, 683, II, 2745; *DantSil.*, 18-32; *DantKop.*, xxii, sq.

⁵⁾ *Prowe*, I, II, 342; *DantKop.*, 81, sq. To the latter period belongs one of his finest poems, viz., the reply to the metrical welcome to the new Bishop by Eustace Knobbelsdorf, son of the mayor of Heilsberg, the *Carmen Paræneticum*, — which describes his career, and, as a warning, depicts the temptations of the voluptuous life to which courtiers are exposed, and which did not leave him unscathed : no doubt, he alluded to his liaison with Isabel Delgada, at Valladolid, which made him the father of the Juana whom James Gracian de Alderete married in 1537 (cp. before, II, 410-11). He vividly describes the sense of remorse he felt, and that of the ruin he was exposing himself to, and he makes his own sad experience serve as lesson of the danger of sloth and sensuality,

amongst the neo-Latin literators ¹⁾. Dantiscus' early poems, devoted to the praise of his masters the King and Queen, as well as to love, show the influence of Ovid, of Claudianus and Statius, but chiefly of Virgil ²⁾; whilst those of a maturer age are free from direct imitations and ostensible reminiscences of antique literature, which imparts a simplicity and a reality to the sound ideas and deep feelings expressed. The wording betrays haste in the lack of filing and correcting, and is not free from misconstructions ³⁾, to which he owned readily, as, for example, in the prelude to his *De Nostrorum Calamitatum Silva* :

Cum sensum teneas, nil ego verba moror ⁴⁾.

He amply redeems those occasional shortcomings by witty or lofty passages, beautiful descriptions, subtile comparisons, and, above all, by the powerful truth of his arguments. His poems, edited separately in his lifetime, and often reprinted ⁵⁾, gratefully recall his Princes as well as his benefactors, like Sigismund of Herberstein ⁶⁾ and Peter Tomiczki ⁷⁾, Cardinal Lang ⁸⁾, John Tarnowski ⁹⁾, and many other friends ¹⁰⁾. As warp and weft, they evince a deep interest in the events of Europe, especially those written in his ripe age : in fact, he took a most active part in them, even in those in which he was not called upon to act as ambassador. Thus, in his wish to investigate Reform, he went to see Luther in 1523, and gave a judgment about him, which after times have fully

as well as of the necessity of study and of fidelity to the faith of the fathers : that deeply-felt and moving admonition was called the great Man's *cygneum melos* by William Gnapheus : *DantKop.*, *xliv*, *sq.*, 2-76 ; *DantCar.*, 169-208.

¹⁾ Prowe, I, ii, 342 ; Baumgartner, 602-3, &c.

²⁾ *DantCar.*, *xxvii*, *sq.*

³⁾ *DantCar.*, *xxxiii*, *sq.*

⁴⁾ *DantCar.*, 140, 16.

⁵⁾ The undoubtedly authentic poems have been edited as *Ioannis Dantisci Poetæ Laureati Carmina*, by Stanislaus Skimina : Cracow, 1950. In the preface a list of the editions, 1510-1934, is given : *DantCar.*, *ix-xv*.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 392 ; *DantCar.*, 92-98, 117.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, II, 394 ; Allen, VII, 1919, *pr* ; *DantCar.*, 167-68.

⁸⁾ *DantCar.*, 67, 97, *sq.*, 68, 115, *sq.*, 86, 33 ; cp. before, II, 489, 543.

⁹⁾ Count John Tarnowski was a famous army-leader : cp. *DantCar.*, 111, 250-66.

¹⁰⁾ Such as Caspar Ursinus Velius, and Joachim Vadianus : *DantCar.*, 73, 248, *sq.*, 84, 22.

justified ¹⁾; he also did his utmost to induce Melanchthon to return to the old obedience ²⁾. In that solicitude for the welfare of humanity, he was seconded by his intimate friend and colleague Cornelius de Schepper, who loved him as a father ³⁾, and he was highly appreciated by Erasmus ⁴⁾, whilst, as poet, he was affectionately venerated by literators like Janus Secundus ⁵⁾.

That a man who was so universally known and honoured throughout Europe, and so intimately associated with the destinies of so many nations, considered it meet and fit to become personally acquainted with all its activity and its staff, is a most flattering appreciation of the *Trilingue*, and that the visit was highly gratifying, is proved by its most momentous results. It led to a comparatively brisk corres-

¹⁾ Letter to Chancellor Tomiczki, Cracow, August 8, 1523 : DantE, 9 ; Prowe, I, ii, 161-64.

²⁾ *DantCar.*, 213, 41 ; *MelaVers.*, 9, sq, 11-14, 18, sq, 31, 78.

³⁾ DantE; cp. before, II, 168-70, 437 ; at Court, Dantiscus had made the acquaintance of Francis de Cranevelt (*Cran.*, 287), of John and Olaus Magnus, and of Godschalk Ericksen, as results from the correspondence.

⁴⁾ Alonso Valdes wrote to him from Barcelona, May 15, 1529, that he had given his greetings to Dantiscus, and Erasmus mentions him amongst his friends to Jost. Lud. Decius on November 1, 1533, whereas on November 7 following, he announces to Goclenius that he had learned from a letter sent by the Bishop of Culm, that a fire had almost destroyed his residential town Löbau : Allen, VIII, 2163, 138, x, 2643, 1-5, 2874, 192, 2876, 2-5. On February 3, 1530, John Choler wrote that Erasmus was highly praised by Dantiscus, to whom, on April 30, 1532, the great Humanist dedicated his translation of *Opus de Spiritu Sancto ad Amphiloichium*, by St. Basil the Great : Allen, VIII, 2269, 28-37, x, 2643 : Basle, March 1532 : *EraBib.*, II, 13.

⁵⁾ Secundus wrote to Dantiscus his *Elegia IV*, and his *Epistola 7^a* : *JSecOp.*, 56, 169 ; *DelPoBel.*, IV, 189, 275. Cp. also before, II, 437-39, 441, 445-47, 449 ; DantE, 101, 229, 287 ; Schroeter, 193. — Dantiscus had also made the acquaintance of Nicolas Grudius : cp. DantE, 288 ; and before, II, 445-47. He had become acquainted with other literators on his embassies : with Cornelius Agrippa, at Ghent, in 1531 : AgripE, 295 ; with Charles Uutenhove : cp. before, II, 468-69 ; with Hilary Bertolf, who, after a displeasure, was admitted again to his friendship and his house in Brussels in November 1531 : FG, 193, 22, sq ; with James Jespersen : Allen, x, 2644, 24-25, and especially with Vives : cp. before, II, 401 ; DantE, 188.

pondence with Goclenius ¹⁾, who repeatedly thanked the ambassador for his princely presents, and in return offered a most precious picture of their friend Erasmus by Holbein ²⁾; it caused Rescius to be chosen as printer for the first edition of *Victoria Poloniæ Regis contra Vayeuodam* ³⁾; it gave to Campensis the occasion of meeting the protector who was going to shield him in his publishing, and to provide him with the wherewithal to follow the bent of his genius ⁴⁾; it moreover brought to the great man's knowledge several of their old students and friends: such as Nicolas Beken Clenardus, whom he was requested to help in his lawsuit ⁵⁾, and Gemma Phrysius, who almost at once was taken into his service ⁶⁾.

B. FRANCIS DE MENDOZA Y BOBADILLA

The letter in which Dantiscus relates the victory gained on Aug. 22, 1531, by his King over the Vaivod of Moldavia, and which was printed, as just mentioned, by Rutger Rescius ⁷⁾, mentions, in its first lines, his talk with his intimate friend Francis Bobadilla, Archdeacon of Toledo and Chancellor of the Salamanca University; as well as with two others, Alonso

¹⁾ Goclenius wrote to Dantiscus on April 27, May 12, June 2, August 16, Dec. 2, 1531, Jan. 21, 1532, July 24, 1534, in a most friendly and intimate way: DantE, 121, 127, 132, 154, 181, 188, 290; MonHL, 420; GocCorr.

²⁾ Letter of April 27, 1531: DantE, 121: along with Erasmus' picture, Goclenius sent to his new friend some εἰκόνα of the Emperor in plaster, — probably moulds of medals by Secundus: cp. Simonis, 72, v.

³⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, October 21, 1531: DantKop., xxiii; the letter translated in Flemish, was printed at Antwerp by Henry Peetersen of Middelburch, 1531: NijKron., I, 684, 685.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XV, XVI; DantCar., 161-62.

⁵⁾ MonHL, 420-423; FraSpain, 448, 852; and before II, 507-8, 580.

⁶⁾ Cp. before II, 547-50.

⁷⁾ *Victoria sereniss. Poloniæ regis contra Vayeuodam Muldaviæ, Turcæ tributarium & subditum*, 22. *Augusti parva* (1531). — Ioannes Dantiscus... Reuerendissimo in Christo Patri, domino Stephano Gabrieli, Patriarchæ Indiarum, Archiepiscopo Barrens., Episcopo Gienens., Cæs. Ma. a Consilijs Secretis: the letter starts on A 4 v, and ends on A 4 r: it is dated from the Emperor's Court, Brussels, September 24, 1531: NijKron., I, 684. — It is found amongst the *Acta Sigismundo I. Rege...* of *Corpus Naruszevicianum*, 46, pp 643-46, where it is followed by the *Victoria Polonorum de Valachis*, by Stan. Gorski, canon of Cracow, pp 647-70: BbCzart., MS. 46.

Valdes ¹⁾ and Francis de los Covos ²⁾. If the latter were politicians before all, Bobadilla was most alike to the Polish ambassador in his predilection for erudition and for literature, and it is most natural that the young and eager Spaniard should have joined his elder and more experienced fellow-statesman in the visit of veneration and appreciation paid to the *Trilingue* on the occasion of the presence of the Emperor's Court in Louvain in the first months of 1531 ³⁾.

Francis de Mendoza y Bobadilla, Bouadilla, was born at Cordova in 1508 from a most noble family; his father, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, was the third Marquis of Cañete, or Zenete, and his mother was Doña Isabel de Bobadilla ⁴⁾; his niece, Menzia, daughter of his brother Roderico, Marquis of Zenete, married Henry III of Nassau-Dillenburg ⁵⁾. He was, moreover, related to Cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, called the third King of Spain; to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Cardinal and Archbishop of Sevilla ⁶⁾, and to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, (1503-April 1575), son of Íñigo, Count of Tendilla and Marquis of Mondéjar, who served Charles V as ambassador, and his nation as literator and erudite ⁷⁾; whose sister, Doña Maria, at the execution of her husband Juan de Padilla, in 1521, took his place as defender of Toledo against the Royal army until February 1522 ⁸⁾. Francis was sent to Alcala, and thence went

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 408-9; also *SpanRef.*, I, 65-130; Schäfer, III, 787 (Al.), I-III *passim* (Juan); SepulvO, I, 105-8, II, 119-26, III, 120; J. Heep, *Juan de Valdes*: Leipzig, 1909.

²⁾ Francisco de los Covos was Secretary of State for the Spanish territories, in succession of Gattinara († June 6, 1530): cp. *Gran.*, 273, a; Walther, 154, 165.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 16.

⁴⁾ Bonilla, 230.

⁵⁾ Cp. *VivVal.*, 77-78, and further in this Chapter, 6, c.

⁶⁾ *Mendoza*, I, 4-5, 41.

⁷⁾ *Mendoza*, I, 6, sq, II, *passim*.

⁸⁾ *Mendoza*, I, 6-7, 42; for her intrepidity, Doña Maria de Pacheco y Mendoza was called 'maritus mariti'; at her defeat she left for Portugal, where she died in 1531. Besides Diego she had four other brothers; one of them, Francis, served the Emperor as governor in Flanders and as Admiral of Aragon, until he became a priest; he was Bishop of Jaën from 1538 to 1543: *Mendoza*, 6; *EraSpain*, 367; *Acuña*, 8, 11, 40, 49, 52-3, 57-69, 72-5, 83, 99-101, 105, 111, 113-5; Altamira, III, 30, sq.

to Salamanca, where he studied under Fredenandus Nuñez de Guzman, Pintianus ¹⁾, who, in 1544, dedicated to him his *Observationes... in Loca Obscura aut Depravata Historiæ Naturalis C. Plinii* (Salamanca, 1544) : he was so proficient that, at sixteen, he replaced his master as 'gymnasiarchus' for a while. He became Chancellor of the University, and was appointed Archdeacon of Toledo, where the great favourer of Humanism, Alonso de Fonseca, was Archbishop ²⁾. He soon afterwards entered the Emperor's Court, and followed him to the Netherlands.

The Louvain *Trilingue* no doubt highly interested the young Chancellor of Salamanca, who had even taught Greek there, and had realized the indispensableness of that language, as well as that of a thorough acquaintance with Latin, for the studies of jurisprudence, which he had started. Most probably he made in Louvain the acquaintance of Vives, whom he afterwards met also in Brussels, and who dedicated to him, in 1532, from Bruges, his treatise *De Ratione Dicendi* ³⁾, mentioning that since Francis proved already most studious of eloquence when he was only Archdeacon, he certainly would become even more so, having, since, been appointed Bishop of Corio ⁴⁾. It is quite possible that he met here other countrymen ; for Spanish students were rather numerous in the Brabant University ⁵⁾, as many families from beyond the Pyrenees had settled in the Netherlands in the service of the Emperor.

Already in 1527 the future Bishop of Corio was known as a particular well-wisher to Erasmus, who expressed his gratitude to him, as well as to the Archbishops Fonseca and Manrique and other eminent and erudite men in Spain in a letter to John Maldonatus of March 30, 1527 ⁶⁾. On the other

¹⁾ *EraSpain*, 366-67 ; Bonilla, 231.

²⁾ That great admirer and protector of Erasmus was appointed as successor to Cardinal William of Croy, on December 31, 1523 ; he died on February 5, 1534 : Allen, vi, 1748, *pr* ; *MonHL*, 442.

³⁾ VOO, II, 89, *sq* ; *VieNam.*, 78, *sq*.

⁴⁾ *EraSpain*, 366-67 ; *EraCab.*, 21.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 416-17 ; and further, Ch. XIX. — A 'Fernandus gue-uære hisp.' matriculated on 17/18 January 1515 : *LibIntIII*, 210, *r*.

⁶⁾ Allen, vii, 1805, 367.

hand, one of the great Humanist's friends announced to him from Ratisbon, probably in August 1532 ¹⁾, that many of the leading men assembled for the Diet, were most desirous of meeting him before leaving Germany; amongst them was the 'Archidiaconus Toletanus : juuenis, he wrote, tui studiosus, ingenij et eruditionis longe quam pro ætate maioris, in quem hinc fortuna, inde gratiæ omnes sua munera abundantissime contulerunt' ²⁾. That Bobadilla's interest in Erasmus was not only mere admiration, results from the *Constituciones* which he prescribed for his diocese in 1537 ³⁾, even though he was bound to spend the greater part of his time at the Court as 'Consejo de sus Majestades' : he required well-behaved and carefully-trained men for his clergy; he checked the preaching of indulgences; took measures to eradicate superstitions; prevented the misuse of old privileges; restricted the number of holidays, and realized many more of the prescriptions which the great Humanist had since long advocated most insistingly. The Bishop also was in favour of allowing the Bible to be read in the vernacular : when his countryman Fadrique Furió Ceriol, of Valencia ⁴⁾, studying in Louvain, where, already in 1548, had appeared Nicolas van Winghe's Flemish translation of Holy Scripture, approved of by professors of divinity ⁵⁾, issued a most decided plea for a Spanish

¹⁾ The letter is not dated, and only signed by what looks like a capital J or j; it is for certain addressed to Erasmus, and refers to his letter of 'xvi Cal. Augusti', July 17, announcing the purchase of a house in Freiburg, *Zum Kind Jesu*, Schiffstrasse, 7, and the installation of a *Caminum Italicum* : the house was bought in July 1531 : Allen, ix, 2462, pr, 2512, 10, 2517, 27, 2530, 1-3, 2534, 24, &c; after some changes, the removal took place : FG, 345. — The letter seems to be from Cornelius de Schepper (*BbCzart.*, 1615, 13-15) : he was at the Diet of Ratisbon, but invited Erasmus to meet him at Speyer, if possible, so as to make the epistolary acquaintance into a personal one.

²⁾ DantE, 230.

³⁾ *Constituciones y Actos de la Sancta Synodo del Obispado de Coria* : hechas por el Rev. Sr. D. Francisco de Bouadilla, Obispo... en el anno 1537 : *EraSpain*, 367.

⁴⁾ He matriculated in August 1557 (after having his book printed in Basle) : Fredericus Furius Cereolanus Valentiniensis : *LibIntIV*, 332, v; cp. further, Ch. XXV.

⁵⁾ *Biblia Sacra, Dat is Alle de Heilige Schriften van het Oude en Nieuwe Testament* (examined by Peter de Corte and Ruard Tapper, the

version against his opponent, 'Bononia', he dedicated it to 'D. Francisco de Bobadilla y Mendoza', on January 3, 1555 ¹⁾. Having been made a Cardinal by Paul III, Dec. 19, 1544 ²⁾, he stayed a few years in Rome, where he had as secretary in 1546, the humanist Laso de Oropesa ³⁾, as well as, for some time, Andrew de Laguna, the physician at work on Dioscorides ⁴⁾. In 1550, Francis was appointed Bishop of Burgos, and afterwards resided in Spain, where he was 'el principe más celebrado de los hombres doctos de su tiempo, italianos y españoles, por la grandeza con que favoreció á los estudios y letras' ⁵⁾. He gathered an admirable collection of books and manuscripts, chiefly Greek, and was, with all that, one of the great glories of the Church of Spain. From 1558 he had as secretary and librarian Bonaventura, the son of Peter Vulcanius, of Bruges ⁶⁾, whom he loved as a father, and who remained in his service until his death, December 1/3, 1566, after which he served his brother for some time ⁷⁾.

The collection of his books and manuscripts, joined to those of his relative Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza ⁸⁾, late Imperial ambassador, form the nucleus of the Greek treasures in the National Library, Madrid, and those of the Escorial ⁹⁾. So eager was the Cardinal of Burgos in his love of humanistic study, that he learned Hebrew at an advanced age with the help of an Alcala professor, Alfonso Zamora; the example

two 'provisores' of the *Trilingue*): Louvain, Barth. Gravius : 1548 : *MonHL*, 557, sq.

¹⁾ Fadrique Furió Ceriol, *Bononia sive de Libris Sacris in Vernaculam Linguam convertendis Libri Duo* : Basle, 1556. Cp. *EraSpain*, 592-93.

²⁾ Pastor, v, 508, 434-5 (he protected the Jesuits in Salamanca against the attacks of Melchior Cano, 1548), 610.

³⁾ *EraSpain*, 523 ; *Vie Vita*, 216-18 : Laso translated Lucan's *Pharsalia* into Spanish.

⁴⁾ *EraSpain*, 719-35, 722.

⁵⁾ Bonilla, 230.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 182-84 ; *VulcE*, 5, 36-7, 59, 264, 492, sq ; on September 4, 1576, the future professor of Leyden declared to Thomas Eraste that he owed his formation and his vocation as humanist to Cardinal de Mendoza : *Accendit vero studium meum Franciscus a Mendoza, cardinalis Burgensis* : *VulcE*, 178 ; *Gomez*, 27.

⁷⁾ *VulcE*, 59, 60, 145.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁹⁾ Ch. Graux, *Essai sur les Origines du Fonds Grec de l'Escorial. Épisode de l'Histoire de la Renaissance des Lettres en Espagne* : Paris, 1880 : 43-44 ; Bonilla, 230 ; *EraSpain*, 722 ; *Gomez*, 20-22.

given by that great figure of aristocratic humanism in Spain, was followed by the Archbishop of Valencia, Juan a Ribera, who, in the evening of his life, studied Greek under Juan Mingues, and Hebrew under Luis Balistario ¹).

C. JEROME ALEANDER

Another famous visitor of the *Trilingue* was Jerome Aleander, Archbishop of Brindisi since August 8, 1524; he had gained a great renown as Hellenist, and had been sent to the Netherlands and to Germany in July 1520 to counteract Luther and his partisans ²). Unfortunately he then lost a good amount of opportunity to success by diverting his efforts and attention from the real danger: he started a violent campaign against Erasmus ³), bringing into the field against

¹) *VivVita*, 121-23; Bonilla, 230-31; Andr. Schottus, *Hispaniæ Bibliotheca*: Frankfurt, 1608: 544; Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*: Madrid, 1783-88: I, 447-48; Allen, VII, 1805, 367; *EraSpain*, 366-67, 699, &c; Kuiper, 193 (dedication to him of Seb. Foxius Morzillus' *De Imitatione*: Antwerp, 1554).

²) He reached Antwerp by the end of September 1520, and met Charles V there: *Aléandre*, 142-55.

³) Cp. before, II, 294-95, 613. — Erasmus, like many Catholics, even amongst those distinguished by prudence and circumspection, had not lost all hope of retrieving Luther, especially since in Western Germany, there had been since 1506, similar most animated controversies about Peter of Ravenna and John Reuchlin (cp. before, I, 419-23), in which the contending parties had been almost the same, and in which no satisfactory conclusion had been reached. That hope had been fostered by the up to then apparent regularity in life and preoccupation of the Wittenberg Monk, whereas the two chief opponents were not free from blame: John Eck, with all his violence, was made judge in his own cause by his mission as Legate in 1520, and Aleander, his colleague, can hardly have inspired more confidence; he had examined, in 1512, Cajetan's treatise about the Pseudo-Council of Pisa-Milan for the Paris Faculty of Arts, and his moral disorders, which lasted as late as 1525 and 1526, can hardly have been a secret, any more than his complete lack of theological formation at that period. No doubt he himself was conscious of his inability in the most difficult question, which he fancied to be able to solve by the public burning of Luther's books, to which was replied by that of the Papal bull; most probably, he tried to find a derivative in accusing Erasmus of being worse than the Augustinian, who, after all, became a decided heretic only by the end of 1520: *Aléandre*, 58-63, 143-46, 187, sq, 347-49; *AléaE*, 123-26; cp. before, I, 482-83; *KaLuEnt.*, 274.

him some of the Louvain theologians and some members of the orders who had been criticized ¹). There is hardly any possibility of denying his animosity, as the reports about his Legation to Julius de' Medici, then Vice-chancellor of the Roman Court, represent Erasmus as more dangerous than Luther, and are directed as much against him as against the Wittenberg Reformer ²). The unequivocal favour bestowed by Adrian VI on the object of his hatred, made Aleander more circumspect, although he continued to harm the Humanist wherever he could; in so far that Erasmus' suspicions, which seemed excessive in those days, are strangely materialized by the correspondence and the documents which have since come to light ³). In September 1531, the physician of the Bishop de la Rovere, of Agen, Julius Cæsar Scaliger ⁴),

¹) Cp. before, II, 294; Seck., I, 124-29, b, 141, 147, b, 148, b-150, b, 179, a, b, 262, a; ErasBur., II, 191-204; ErasLaur., I, 630, 654.

²) That results even from the considerations expressed by the editor of Aleander's reports, P. Balan, in his preface to the *Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae*, 1884: BalaRef., xvi-xx.

³) Viz., BalaRef.; Læmmer, 94-99; AleaE; AleaJour.; AléaLiège; &c. Aleander's hostility remained to the last: in his letter to Goclenius of June 28, 1536, Erasmus wrote, referring to him and his friend Thierry Hezcius at Liège: 'Habet <Aleander> Leodii, qui suffundit frigidam et hominem ad maliciam instruit': Allen, XI, 3130, 19-20. The letter of Hezcius to Aleander of June 15, 1536 and Aleander's reply of July 1536: AléaLiège, 302-306, are striking illustrations of how exactly the Humanist gauged the spirit and the feelings of those two personages: cp. further, p 34; and before, II, 300, 305-6, 309-11.

⁴) Julius Cæsar de l'Escale, Scaliger (1484-1558), had been soldier under Maximilian de la Scala, of Verona; then, student at Bologna, and, in 1525, physician to the family de la Rovere. In 1528, he married Andiette de la Roque Lobejac, who was much younger than he was, and bore him 15 children; amongst them Josephus Justus, whom J. A. de Thou called the 'foremost scholar of his age': he made up for his father's injustice to Erasmus. In September 1531, Julius Cæsar wrote an *Oratio pro Cicerone contra Erasmum*; when he heard that Erasmus suspected Aleander to be the author, he made a second *Oratio*, worse than the first, having meanwhile written most virulent letters to Arnold Le Ferron, a young friend at Toulouse: he even was highly displeased at Dolet's libel in 1535, as if his was not sufficient: Dolet, 213, sq, 120, sq; SchelAL, VIII, 561-618. By June 1536, he saw his mistake, and apologized to Erasmus, who probably died before the letter reached him; he made an epitaph which is a real apotheosis: SchelAL, VIII, 620-21. Cp. Opmeer, I, 498, a; Allen, IX, 2564, 2; Sandys, II, 177-78;

had his attack on Erasmus printed in Paris under the supervision of Noel Beda and with the permission of the Lieutenant-Criminal John Morin. His *Oratio pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Desid. Erasmum Roterodamum* ¹⁾ was a defence of Longolius ²⁾ and the Ciceronians ³⁾, although not written in a very Ciceronian style, consisting almost wholly of abuse so violent, that Erasmus and his friends could in no way be injured by the wild language, which its author bitterly deplored before he was five years older ⁴⁾. As there seemed to be hardly any reason whatever, why a perfect stranger like Scaliger should come to such outrageous libelling, Erasmus suspected Aleander to have been the author, or at least the inspirer, of the *Oratio* : he voiced that suspicion in his letter to John Choler, November 7, 1531, to whom he declared : *ego illic phrasim Aleandri non minus agnosco quam noui faciem* ⁵⁾. He repeated that statement to Boniface Amerbach ⁶⁾,

SchelAL, I, 273, sq, 269-83, VI, 508-28, VII, 129-30, VIII, 554-61 ; *Dolet*, 201-2, 212-17, &c ; *CrenFasc.*, III, 405 ; — and, for Joseph Scaliger, SchelAL, II, 382-83, V, 183 ; Nisard, 149-308 ; Sandys, II, 199-204, &c ; Gabbema, 385-92, 401, 721 ; *Casaubon*, 2, sq, 63, sq, &c.

¹⁾ Paris, G. de Gourmont & P. Vidoue, 1531 ; SchelAL, VI, 514-25, VIII, 554, sq, 579, sq ; Boniface Amerbach sent it to Erasmus in November 1531 : Allen, IX, 2564, 1, sq.

²⁾ Th. Simar, *Christophe de Longueil Humaniste* : Louvain, 1911 : 124-138, 207 ; cp. Orbaan, 209. As late as August 18, 1535, Erasmus asserted in his letter to Damian a Goes that Longolius was neither French, nor born at Mechlin, but Dutch and a native of Schoonhoven, quoting as evidence the attestation of his uncle, Peter Longolius : Allen, III, 914, pr, 955, 55, sq, XI, 3043, 60-75.

³⁾ *Dolet*, 201, sq ; *ErasBur.*, I, 562, sq ; *ErasDrum.*, II, 293 ; Nisard, 157.

⁴⁾ *ErasBur.*, I, 565-71 ; *ErasDrum.*, II, 293 ; *ErasLaur.*, I, 615, 676.

⁵⁾ Allen, IX, 2565, 24-30. The insisting assertion that he recognized Aleander's *phrasim* in Scaliger's *Oratio*, and later on in Dolet's *Dialogus* (1535), does not apply, apparently, to the style, as he had made the same statement about Pio's *Expostulatio*, but rather to the details of facts and events, and even the wording of some quotations, which Erasmus must have heard from Aleander's mouth, in one or other of the quarrelsome interviews they had had in Louvain and in Cologne in 1520-1521. Moreover Scaliger taunted him with gluttony, drunkenness and parasitism during his stay with Aldo at Venice, referring to *Jerome Dominus* as one of his two informants : *ErasLaur.*, I, 91. Still Scaliger, who had resided a long time in Italy, may have heard all that at Venice : *Dolet*, 199 ; Nihac, 37-38 ; *ErasDrum.*, I, 170-73 ; Smith, 52.

⁶⁾ Letter of November 29, 1531 : Allen, IX, 2575, 6-9.

to Lorenzo Campeggio ¹⁾, to Nicolas Olah ²⁾, and to Hilary Bertulphus, who was then in the Imperial Court ³⁾, and if he did not name him in his letter to the Paris Royal Bailiff, John Morin, who had given the privilege necessary for the printing, he certainly depicted him in such a way that it is not surprising that, as is said, the necessary steps were taken by authority to suppress the book and destroy the copies ⁴⁾.

Meanwhile Aleander probably had been told of Erasmus' suspicions, as he had left Rome, on August 27, 1531, for Germany as Papal Nuncio ⁵⁾. He travelled by Venice, Speyer ⁶⁾ and Liège and reached Brussels on November 2. With perhaps an occasional visit, like that to Tournai ⁷⁾, he remained there ⁸⁾ until January 8, 1532, after which day he journeyed to Liège, returning to Brussels. On January 17, the Emperor left that capital for Ratisbon, where he arrived on February 28; the three first nights of that journey, 17, 18 and 19, were spent successively in Louvain, at Diest and at Curange, the Cardinal of Liège's country-seat ⁹⁾, where Aleander may have preceded him as a guest of his former patron.

¹⁾ Letter of December 2, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2579, 37-38.

²⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Olah, February 27, 1532 : OlaE, 202.

³⁾ Letter of December 10, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2581, 1-13.

⁴⁾ Letter of Erasmus to <Morin>, November 30, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2577, 23-25 : *Novi autorem, scurram mitratum, possemque pro dignitate retaliare hominem non fictis, sed veris criminibus, at non libet imitari furiosum*. In the first months of 1532, the Paris Royal Bailiff suppressed the pamphlet, as Erasmus learned from their common friend, James Omphalius, of Andernach (Keussen, 507, 60; cp. further, Ch. XVII); he expressed his gratitude in a letter, and once more laid the blame on Aleander : Allen, x, 2635, 1-11, 31-34.

⁵⁾ Pastor, iv, ii, 432.

⁶⁾ On November 23, 1531, James Spiegel announced to Erasmus that, at Speyer, he had met Aleander, who had told him that it was a *nebulo* who had persuaded Erasmus that he had made Pio write against him : Allen, ix, 2572, 7-16.

⁷⁾ AleaE, 142; he was at Tournai on December 3, 1531.

⁸⁾ On December 21, 1531, was celebrated, in Brussels, the birth of the King of Portugal's son, on which occasion the *Jubileu de Amores* by Gil Vicente was acted at the ambassador's house, to which the Legate greatly objected, especially since his own vestments were made use of in that travesty : *ErasPort.*, 13; Læmmer, 92; cp. before, II, 399.

⁹⁾ Gachard, 100-102; Aleander wrote to Giberti from Brussels on January 4 : AleaE, 142-43.

Certain it is that, on one of those journeys to Liège, the Nuncio passed through Louvain and called at the *Trilingue*, where one of his old students of the Paris' time, Rutger Rescius, was teaching ¹⁾, and where his *Tabulæ* were used at the lectures ²⁾. He also called on Goclenius, through whose interference he wished to find a secretary. A John of Dordrecht, *Dordracensis*, was recommended, who, having been made acquainted with the terms, readily accepted, on condition that his parents and his family would approve of it. Aleander had promised to return to Louvain, where, meanwhile, the approval of the family had been received. Since the Nuncio did neither call again, nor send word, as he had promised, Goclenius wrote to him on January 26, 1532 ³⁾ and asked him whether the appointment still held good, and whether the young man was to start on the journey to rejoin him; in case another secretary had been appointed in the meantime, he should like to hear of it, as it would be ruinous for the candidate to resign his comfortable scholarship, — *nequaquam contemnenda emolumenta*, he calls them ⁴⁾, — in the case he was not sure of being appointed, as it would be like the dog and its shadow in the fable. No doubt, that John of Dordrecht was a student, possibly even a bursar, of the *Trilingue*, as most probably, the secretary required was to be very proficient in languages. In that same letter, Goclenius mentions his ardent wish to oblige Aleander in any way, considering his great deserts for the study of the *bonæ literæ*, and he praises him for the tenacity with which he pursues the conservation of the Christian faith in the most perturbed state of affairs: it suggests that the Louvain professor is in some way a debtor to the Nuncio, for he wants to be the last of his *clientes*, although the most observant of all. Evidently Goclenius had availed himself of the opportunity to recommend his lawsuit for the Antwerp canonry to Aleander, who was both influent at the Emperor's Court and in that of Rome,

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 277-79.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 9, 117.

³⁾ *Bb Vat.*, Lat. 6199 : f 91 ; Brom, II, 33-34 ; *Aléandre*, 361.

⁴⁾ *Ipse non solum frustra ad te susciperet iter, verum etiam nequaquam contemnendis emolumentis hic privaretur, quæ... mox ad alium transferrentur.* — Maybe he was the 'Joes verlane de dordraco', placed 6th as M. A. in 1526 : *ULPromLv.*, 10.

on which his adversary based his claim ¹⁾. In his turn, Aleander had made full use of the occasion which he had to try and soften down Erasmus' animosity through his most faithful friend, so as to prevent all disagreements possibly resulting from the suspicion of having written Scaliger's *Oratio*. In his letter, Goclenius promises not to forget the message entrusted to him : *Quæ domino Erasmo Roter. per me scribi voluisti, memoriter memini omnia, et res curabitur cum summa fide* ²⁾. He kept his promise ; for in his letter of May 3, 1532, Erasmus refers to the question : he had expostulated with Aleander for writing that squib ³⁾, and had got a reply in which the Nuncio, to disculpate himself, '*excusat se literis accurate scriptis, sed utitur lemmatibus multo frigidissimis*' ⁴⁾. He then remarks that, if Goclenius had almost been convinced, he knows Aleander far better : *Vt video*, he writes, *tibi propemodum persuasit : at ego qui domestico conuictu,*

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 618.

²⁾ Brom, II, 34.

³⁾ That letter is no longer extant : Aleander refers to it in his replies ; it, no doubt, accused him of instigation and help towards Alberto Pio's *Responsio* (1529) and Scaliger's *Oratio* (1531) ; he mentioned it in his letter to Sanga of January 28, 1532 : Laemmer, 99 ; Allen, IX, 2565, 4, 2578, 31, 2587, 9.

⁴⁾ Jerome Aleander sent a reply to Erasmus from Ratisbon, April 1, 1532, in which he denies all cooperation to those tracts, but claims the composition of the Brief which Adrian VI sent him on December 1, 1522 (Allen, v, 1324). He announces that, since several years, he studies theology, and advises peace and concord rather than invectives and hostility. In a rather long postscript of the same date, he dwells on the little influence he can have had on Alberto Pio, and mentions his disagreement with Glapion ; he finishes by declaring : '*tu tibi persuadeas te a me amari plurimum*', expressing the wish for '*longissimas literas*', so that his friends might see : '*complanatas esse omnino cicatrices eorum vulnorum, quæ mihi ex ista falsissima vel delatione vel suspitione inflixisti*' : Allen, x, 2638, 2639 (54-55, 64-66). To those letters Erasmus replied, and received in return a new expression of Aleander's friendship, which was entrusted to Felix Konings at Ratisbon on July 4, 1532. He assures that he has incited neither Alberto Pio, nor any others in Paris, where he has not been since 18 years, and wishes that by a letter or, better even, by a book, their common friendship might be publicly asserted : Allen, x, 2679, 23-26, 44, sq ; without doubt 2680, instead of being a postscript to this letter, is ten or eleven years older : cp. IX, 2590, 14-15 ; *Bb Val.*, MS. Lat. 8075, f 73, v.

ac lectuli quoque contubernio ¹⁾, totum intus et in cute noui, tam scio <orationem> esse ouum illius quam scio me viuere. Sed huic tempori seruiendum. Pro verbis dabuntur verba ²⁾. And as to Aleander's interference in the lawsuit, he is afraid that, far from helping, he may have made things worse : Fortassis, he wrote, Aleander nihil tibi profuit in causa tua. Et τεχνῶν δεινῶν δεινός artifex ³⁾. At any rate, far from accepting as genuine and reliable the protestations of friendship and the full agreement expressed by Aleander in his letters of April 1 and July 4, 1532 ⁴⁾, Erasmus considered them as mere *verba et voces* : as already mentioned, documents, of which he had no knowledge, and which were brought to light only recently, — such as the correspondence between Aleander and Hezius ⁵⁾, — illustrate the exactness of the Humanist's opinions about the deceitful assertions and the real mind and feelings of the old 'protégé', who had completely changed towards his former protector, since he himself had got on the top of Fortune's Wheel.

Erasmus' *Ciceronianus* had also greatly displeased Stephen Dolet ⁶⁾ : having been trained by Simon Villanova-

¹⁾ In 1509, Erasmus and Aleander had long lived together in one room in Manutius' house at Venice : Allen, I, 207, *pr* ; Nolhac, 40, 49-51, 135-37 ; cp. RhenE, 328.

²⁾ Allen, x, 2644, 12-15.

³⁾ Allen, x, 2644, 32-33.

⁴⁾ Allen, x, 2638, 2639, 2679.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 29 ; also *AléaLiège*, 286, 302-7, and Aleander's reports to Sanga, e. g., of December 30, 1531 : Laemmer, 94-95 ; his acquaintances, like J. Choler and J. Jespersen, for example, remarked on that evidently ill disposition : Allen, ix, 2570, 64-82 ; *CochlSpahn*, 190.

⁶⁾ Stephen Dolet, born at Orleans, April 3, 1509, studied in Paris under Nicolas Bérault (cp. before, I, 390), and Padua ; he became secretary to John de Langeac, ambassador in Venice. He started the study of law in Toulouse, where he met James Bording (cp. before, II, 577-78), but had to leave for his opposition to Parliament and his religious opinions. On his way to Padua, in 1534, he stayed at Lyons and became Seb. Gryphius' corrector. During a short visit to Paris, he wrote the pamphlet against Erasmus, which his friends disapproved of for its violence. He worked at the *Commentarii Linguae Latinæ*, grouping the Latin words according to their meaning, in which he glorified the memory of Erasmus by an ode on his spirit and his science, although he bitterly criticized him in the book itself. He had become an atheist by 1536, and after repeated difficulties with the magistrates, he started a printing-office by 1538, and he produced translations from Cicero,

nus ¹⁾, Longolius' pupil and friend, he felt acutely the attack on his master's preceptor, as well as the insult to Budé, by being placed on a level with Badius ²⁾. On his arrival in Paris from Lyons in October 1534, he started a scurrilous pamphlet against the great Humanist, *Dialogus de Imitatione Ciceroniana aduersus Erasmus pro Chr. Longolio*, which was printed at Lyons in 1535 : Thomas More is introduced as defender of his friend against Villanovanus, whom he meets at Padua ³⁾. The impudent attack highly displeased Melanchthon ⁴⁾, and irritated Scaliger, who prepared a second *Oratio*, directed not only against Erasmus, who did not deign to answer, but also against Dolet, who apparently judged that his *Oratio* was neither right nor sufficient ⁵⁾. Erasmus had heard about it early in 1535, for, on March 18, he mentioned it to Peter Merbelius and J. B. Laurentia, of Milan, adding that he was not going to answer it ⁶⁾. On Sept. 2, 1535, he had evidently read the libel when he wrote to Goclenius : Aleander denuo emisit librum furiosum sub nomine Doleti : quo et Morum, quem acceperat esse in carcere, vlciscitur, et Villenouanum mendicum mortuum. Facit imperiosum Morum timide loquentem ⁷⁾. Ten months later when, by his last letter, he wishes to advise his dear friend Goclenius about the

Erasmus, Melanchthon and the Bible, which served to express his rationalism, and caused him various trouble, against which he wildly protested in subsequent writings, until he was sentenced and executed in Paris on August 3, 1546 : cp. *Dolet* ; *DébAgMod.*, 286-7, 294-5, 549-50 ; Allen, xi, 3005, 18 ; FG, 338 ; *BudERép.*, 237-8 ; *MargAng.*, i, 209, 302, 312, &c ; Roy, 4, 37, 75, 88, 137, 140, &c.

¹⁾ Simon de Villeneuve, Villanova (who in *Dolet*, 27, is said to be from Neufvilles, Hainaut, although *Stielers Hand-Atlas* records for France 18 places called Villeneuve, and 6, Neuville, besides 63 Villanova or Villanueva), was born in 1495, and studied in Pavia from 1515 to 1521, partly under Longolius, whom he succeeded as private professor, becoming Dolet's master in 1527 ; he died in 1530 : *Dolet*, 27-35, &c ; *Longueil*, 88, 95, 193-94 ; Lefranc, 95-96.

²⁾ Cp. Roy, 37-41.

³⁾ *Longueil*, 125-27 ; *Dolet*, 209-210.

⁴⁾ *Dolet*, 211 ; *MeLELey.*, 91.

⁵⁾ *Dolet*, 212-15 : it was printed by P. Vidoue, in Paris, 1537 (*viz.*, 1536) as *Contra D. Erasmus Oratio II* : that edition was suppressed by Joseph Scaliger : cp. Allen, xi, 3005, *pr.*

⁶⁾ Allen, xi, 3005, 17-20.

⁷⁾ Allen, xi, 3052, 28-29.

Antwerp canonry that never had given him much confidence ¹⁾, he sadly concludes that his old enemy is to be blamed for all the trouble. Suspicion, he writes on June 28, 1536 ²⁾, harum molestiarum τεχνίτην esse eum qui Scaligeros, Doletos et Merulas in me subornat. Non sat habet homo Judaice vindex ³⁾, impetere me, nisi et meos impetat. In furioso Dialogo Doleti vexatur Morus. Habet Leodii, qui suffundit frigidam, et hominem ad maliciam instruit ⁴⁾. It thus appears that one of the last sorrows that weighed on the Humanist's mind was his anxious solicitude for his friends on account of that worst of his enemies; from his hand he had experienced so many cruel and ungrateful turns, that he thought he recognized it in the trouble that beset, not only himself, but also his most affectionate friends: it was a strange fate that thus connected an obstinate foe with the *Trilingue*, Erasmus' great glory, and with the chief artisan of the prosperity of that Institute ⁵⁾.

3. FRIENDS

A. NICOLAS OLAH

The secretary of Mary Queen of Hungary, Nicolas Olah, who followed his Mistress to a country of which the language and the people were completely strange, familiarized himself only quite gradually with his new work and his new sur-

¹⁾ Erasmus wrote: Mihi nunquam arrisit Antuerpiensis præbendæ negotium. Id posteaquam euiceras, credebam nihil non successurum: Allen, xi, 3130, 8-9. One month before, on May 29, 1536, he had written at his friend's request to thank a councillor, probably Adolphus van der Noot, for what he had done in the matter: Allen, xi, 3124, 5, sq.

²⁾ Allen, xi, 3130, 18-20.

³⁾ Erasmus incessantly repeated his belief in Aleander's Jewish origin, asserted in the *Acta Acad. Lovan. contra Lutherum* (*ActAcLov.*, 6-17, 99-107, 171-72, 195-99, 205-8); in his *Expostulatio*, Hutten reproaches Erasmus with having first spread that rumour: HUTE, II, 207, 120.

⁴⁾ No doubt Thierry Hezius, as actually results from their correspondence: *AléaLiège*, 302-306; cp. before, II, 269-70, 275-77.

⁵⁾ Cp. further in this Chapter, 6, B, c, and Chs. XVI, XXIV; FG, 292-93; Renaudet, 612-13, &c; letter of Heresbach, July 28, 1535: de Aleandro quod scribis auaritiæ ambitionisque mancipio nihil te moretur, cum eius calculus iam pridem ob detestandas impietatis notas non magni momenti sit: *HeresMon.*, 46, 46-48; Nohac, 49-52, 136-37.

roundings. Even before he took into his service as reader James Jespersen ¹⁾, he knew all about the *Trilingue* and the professors, one of whom, Rescius, had applied to him for the privilege protecting his printing, as early as November 20, 1531 ²⁾. He at once realized the importance of Busleyden's Foundation, interested as he was in studies and literature, in so far that, on January 10, 1533, he wrote to Rescius : *Ego cum audiuero Academiam vestram istam insignem prælectionibus calere, si aliquid ocli consequi potero, tui et aliorum amicorum, vestrique gymnasii videndi causa istuc proficiscar* ³⁾ : six months later, in July 1533, he stayed several days in Louvain as guest of the College and its staff.

Nicolas Olah, Olaus, was born on January 10, 1493, at Nagy Szeben, Transylvania, where his father Stephen, a relative of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1458-90), was Judge ; his mother was Barbara Huszár. He served first at the Court of King Ladislas II, 1510, and became secretary to George Szatmári, Bishop of Fünfkirchen and Chancellor, 1516, who, appointed Archbishop of Gran, *Strigonium*, in 1521, made him canon and archdeacon of Komorn. At his decease, 1524, Olah entered the *familia* of King Louis II, and at his death in the disaster of Mohács, 1526, he remained in the Queen's employ. He had been endowed with the treasurership of *Alba Regalis*, Stuhlweissenburg, 1527, and with the Abbey of Tapolcza, 1528, besides the archdeaconry of Komorn, 1522. In the struggle between Ferdinand of Austria and John Szapolyai, he lost those and other benefices ⁴⁾, and followed Queen Mary to the Netherlands. As her secretary and councillor, he devoted himself to her service until 1539, when he returned to his native country ⁵⁾, where, in 1543, King Ferdinand appointed him as his Chancellor ; he was promoted successively Bishop of Zagabria, Agram, in 1543 ; Bishop of Agria, Erlau, 1548 ; in 1553, Archbishop of Gran, *Strigonium*,

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

²⁾ OlaE, 167-68.

³⁾ OlaE, 271.

⁴⁾ He entrusted, on January 14, 1533, Cornelius de Schepper with the care of seeing what might be reclaimed from his lost property : OlaE, 273, sq.

⁵⁾ From 1540, he was at the Court of Ferdinand (*BB*, I, 25, 3, 29, s-s) to see to Queen Mary's interests in Austria and Hungary.

and Primate of Hungary ; in 1563, he crowned Maximilian II, and he died on January 14, 1568 ¹⁾).

Olah was a great friend, too, of literature and erudition, and at the Diet of Augsburg, he ventured to write to Erasmus on the encouragement of several of his friends : that letter, of July 1, 1530 ²⁾, was the first of a long and hearty correspondence with the Great Humanist, whom he tried by all means to induce to return to Brabant ³⁾. He took into his service the Scholar's former amanuensis Livinus Algoet ⁴⁾ on de Schepper's recommendation ⁵⁾, and sent him, already in July

¹⁾ Cp. *OlaE*; *OlaCar.*, *iii*, *iv*; *OlaO*, *iii*, *iv*; *FG*, 399-400; *Allen*, *viii*, 2339, *pr*; *Cran.*, 275, *a*, 276-86. In his correspondence, John Dantiscus, who was equally interested in erudition and studies, is often mentioned in letters from or to Olah : *OlaE*, 156, 163, 212, 228.

²⁾ *Allen*, *viii*, 2339.

³⁾ Olah urges Erasmus on February 12, 1532, to return to Brabant, assuring that there is no need to fear any contradictors, to which Erasmus replies on May 3, 1532 : *OlaE*, 197, 211. Olah then repeats the invitation in the name of Queen Mary and of John de Carondelet on January 31, March 29, June 21, 1533, March 12 and June 25, 1534 : *OlaE*, 277, 328-30, 380-81, 477, 509. Nicolas Grudius was requested to arrange everything about it with the Emperor in Spain, April and May 1533 : *OlaE*, 354-55, 361-62; John de Carondelet wrote himself to invite Erasmus on March 27, 1533, and once again on March 8, 1534 : *OlaE*, 325, 472-74. In June 1533, Livinus Algoet was sent to Freiburg with a personal letter of Queen Mary, June 13, 1533 : *OlaE*, 378-79, 392. Erasmus replied to the invitation on February 7, April 19, August 23 and November 7, 1533; on January 23, 1534, he is suffering, but expresses the hope to start on the journey in April; on April 22, 1534, he had once more to announce his illness : *OlaE*, 278, 351-52, 399-400, 424, 448, 449, 491-2. Meanwhile the news of his return, and the hope of it is mentioned in several of the letters of that time from Livinus Ammonius : *OlaE*, 397, 408, 428, 479, 506-8; and those of Olah to John de Weze, to the Chancellor of Hungary, and to Camillus Gilinus : *OlaE*, 378, 392, 505.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, *II*, 136-39.

⁵⁾ Cornelius de Schepper, who had met Algoet at the Augsburg Diet, had taken him provisionally in his service, July-October 1530 (*Gachard*, 48), as is mentioned before, *II*, 137, *n* 9, where the information that he did not enter straight on his duties, but went from Trent to the Netherlands by Venice and had to borrow money, which occasioned Schepper's remark of May 9 to Dantiscus : *semper sui similis*, probably does not apply to 'Levinus Algoet', but to 'Leuitius', John Levicius, one of Dantiscus' agents in Italy : cp. *DantE*, 87.

1531, with letters to Freiburg ¹⁾; he tried to have him appointed by Queen Mary ²⁾, and meanwhile used him to various purposes himself, even including the teaching of Greek ³⁾. After the hasty marriage of the young man with the granddaughter of Antony Clava, at Ghent, in the summer of 1532 ⁴⁾, the search for an appropriate employ became more imperative ⁵⁾ : Olah used him as much as he could, and dispatched him to prepare Erasmus' return in the summer months of 1533, which was prevented by ill health ⁶⁾. It was only on March 12, 1534 that Olah could announce to Freiburg the gratifying news that Algoet had been entrusted with the teaching of the pages at the Court ⁷⁾.

Meanwhile Olah had secured the services of a more zealous scholar than the Algoet characterized by his continuous lack of zeal for all studies : an enthusiastic and literary pupil of the *Trilingue*, James Jespersen, of Aarhus, was engaged as reader and teacher of Greek ⁸⁾. It is recorded that, with him, Olah studied Lucian's *Περὶ Πρασίτου* as late as February-March 1534, and even applied for some difficult passages to Adrian Amerot ⁹⁾, who may have been at the Court as preceptor in Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle's family ¹⁰⁾. The eagerness of Jespersen, no doubt, charmed his illustrious pupil, with whom, it is said, he even studied a Greek text when journeying with him on horseback to Vienna in 1539 ¹¹⁾. It was, no doubt, Jespersen's enthusiastic gratitude which greatly helped towards a more intimate connection of Queen Mary's secretary with the staff of Busleyden Institute, whose acquaintance he

¹⁾ OlaE, 144. Erasmus wrote on December 11, 1531, a letter to recommend Algoet to Olah, and on December 12, one to Queen Mary, telling her that his old amanuensis would be delighted to enter her service, were it only as cubicularius : OlaE, 174-76.

²⁾ OlaE, 176, 196, 200-2.

³⁾ OlaE, 212.

⁴⁾ OlaE, 219-32 ; cp. before, II, 138.

⁵⁾ OlaE, 277, sq, 323, 352.

⁶⁾ OlaE, 381, 392, 396-7, 399, 408, &c.

⁷⁾ OlaE, 477, 492, 515.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XVII, XVIII ; Jespersen is already recorded in Olah's correspondence on November 20, 1531 : OlaE, 168.

⁹⁾ OlaE, 470-71. On March 10, 1537, Nannius mentions that Olaus was working at translating Demosthenes' and Æschines' orations, in which he would gladly take a share : OlaE, 598 ; he afterwards published a rendering of those speeches : Polet, 96, sq, 254-55.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *Gran.*, 273, a ; and Ch. XXIV.

¹¹⁾ Cp. *BB*, J, 25, 3.

had made soon after his arrival in the Netherlands. Especially with Goclenius, whom Erasmus called his only *vere sincerum amicum* ¹⁾, a hearty friendship developed, in so far that if Olah helped the professor in his lawsuit ²⁾, the latter was always ready to provide the Councillor in grateful return with anything that Louvain could provide ³⁾ : he corrected his compositions, and in particular his *Athila* ⁴⁾ ; so that Francis van der Dilft, and other old students requested him to introduce them to his influential friend ⁵⁾. Goclenius, moreover, who probably had recommended James Jespersen, kept an interest in his late hearer, which was as lively as it was hearty ⁶⁾. That already in February 1532, Campensis was invited by Olah to dinners at which great personages sat down, might be attributed to his growing acquaintance with Dantiscus, if his letter of February 10 did not testify to so much admiration of the paraphrases on the *Ecclesiastes*, that he wished for a similar interpretation of the prophet Daniel ⁷⁾. As to Rescius, he found in Olah a ready helper to secure the privileges to print books, which the great '*audiencier*' had to grant ⁸⁾, and, at the same time, a never satiated reader who was interested in whatever he published ⁹⁾.

Although acquainted with the professors, Olah had delayed visiting the *Trilingue* : on January 10, 1533, he wrote to Rescius that he intended coming to see the staff and the famous '*gymnasium*' as soon as he should find any leisure ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ OlaE, 201 : letter of Erasmus to Olah, February 27, 1532.

²⁾ Letter of Olah to Erasmus, March 29, 1533 : OlaE, 330.

³⁾ Thus he saw to the *globus* which Camillus Gilinus wanted : letter of Olah to Gilinus, April 13, 1534 : OlaE, 488.

⁴⁾ Letters of Goclenius to Olah, November 10, 1536, June 1, 1537 : OlaE, 594, 600 ; letters of Nannius to Olah, October 18, 1536, March 10, September 28, 1537, April 1, 1538, &c : OlaE, 593, 598, 604, 615, 616.

⁵⁾ Letters of Goclenius to Olah, January 2, March, 27, 1534, and of Olah to Goclenius, January 15, 1534 : OlaE, 438, 444, 484.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁷⁾ OlaE, 192-94, and further, Ch. XV, 6.

⁸⁾ Letters of February 25 and March 25, 1532 : OlaE, 199, 210.

⁹⁾ Rescius mentions copies of books sent to Olah, in his letters of November 20, 1531, July 9 and October 13, 1533, November 6 and December 27, 1534, January 27, 1535, &c : OlaE, 167, 386, 418, 538, 565, 568.

¹⁰⁾ OlaE, 271.

That was offered him in the third week of July of that year, when Queen Mary went hunting in the forest of Soignes ¹⁾, and Olah came to stay in Louvain, where Goclenius, as he wrote to Erasmus on July 26, enjoyed his company for days, and rejoiced especially in hearing that Erasmus was expected, and that Livinus Algoet had been sent on purpose to bring him back to Brabant ²⁾.

It thus appears that both Goclenius and Rescius, to whom Nannius ³⁾ joined, were in continual intellectual connection with Olah. Two of Rescius' publications were dedicated to him, namely, Francis de Cranevelt's translation of St. Basil the Great's *Contra Ebriosos Homilia*, July 28, 1535, and Peter Nannius' *Declamatio de Bello Turcis inferendo*, January 13, 1536 ⁴⁾. In the spring of 1537, Olah had made some epitaphs and elegies on Erasmus, which, joined to similar poems by Francis de Cranevelt, he had printed through Nannius' care by Rescius ⁵⁾: he chose the type and the — peculiarly small

¹⁾ Goclenius announced, on July 26, 1533, a Saturday, that, the whole week before, *supertore tota hebdomade*, Queen Mary of Hungary amused herself at the hunt in *nemore Zontano*: probably from Monday, 14, to Saturday, 19 of July: Allen, x, 2851, 1-2.

²⁾ Goclenius wrote: *interim* (cp. preceding note) *mihi cum Dño Olao quotidiana fuit vitæ consuetudo*: Allen, x, 2851, 2-3: he mentioned O's efforts to make Erasmus return, and the sending of Panagathus to that effect: he himself expressed his great pleasure and his conviction that he could not foresee any harm, as all his enemies, who might have caused any trouble, had disappeared: *ibid.*, 3-9.

³⁾ The future successor of Goclenius, Peter Nannius, who had left Alkmaar on account of the incessant hostilities which had ruined his school, settled in Louvain, in St. Jerome's College *ad Leidam*, as private tutor; on December 29, 1535, he dedicated to Olah his *De Bello Turcis inferendo*, a *declamatio* spoken in the recent *Quodlibeticæ*: it was published on January 13, 1536: Polet, 9, 71, sq, 243-48.

⁴⁾ NijKron., i, 254, 1585; *Cran.*, 275, 276; Polet, 246-47. — Cornelius Grapheus, Antwerp town-clerk, dedicated to Olah, *Monstrum Anabaptisticum, Rei Christianæ Pernicies* (Antwerp, J. Grapheus, 1535); also *Ad Mariam, Hungariæ Reginam, Sacrorum Bucolicorum Æglogæ Tres* (Antwerp, J. Grapheus, 1536); and John Placentius' *Lecianus Avlicus*, October 12, 1534 (Antwerp, Sim. Cocus, November 1, 1535): NijKron., i, 1021, 1024, ii, 3732; Nannius also inscribed to him his *Demosthenis de Immunitate adversus Leptinen* (Paris, Ch. Wechel, 1542): Polet, 104, 277.

⁵⁾ *Des. Erasmi Epitaphia per Clarissimos aliquot Viros conscripta* (R. Rescius, March, 1537): NijKron., ii, 2842; *EraCat.*, O 3, r-P 2, v; *Cran.*, lxxv-vi, 277-78; *OlaE*, 580-81; and further, Ch. XVIII.

— size, and defrayed the cost; to those verses were added some other elegies, but only those by a few chosen friends, so as not to harm Olah's *bona carmina*, as Nannius flatteringly wrote, *multitudine malorum* ¹⁾).

That same flattering exclusivism characterizes the judgments pronounced on other occasions by Nannius about Olah's compositions from about 1536 : namely his poem *Athila*, and some historical notes with the description of various parts of Hungary, mentioning the different places, and the peculiarities and customs of the people ²⁾). Those compositions passed from one friend to another, and, each in turn, spoke his praise, or suggested some change or some correction ³⁾). Whereas Goclenius, with his customary good sense, pointed out the vividness and graphic representation of most interesting information ⁴⁾), Nannius stood in admiration before style and verse, at least, so he said in his letters, quoting Virgilius' *Nec uidisse semel satis est, iuuat usque morari*, and assuring even to Olah : *neminem... Louanii, qui tecum paria faciat* ⁵⁾). Notwithstanding the repeated commendation and the request to have those compositions printed before he left the country, Olah's *Athila* was only published in 1568, a few months after his death, and *Hungaria* not before 1735 ⁶⁾). His poems, with the exception of those on Erasmus, published by R. Rescius in 1537, were only printed in the present century : the complete edition by I. Fögel and L. Juhász, 1934 ⁷⁾), evokes all the friends of the hearty and affectionate Prelate : the Mechlin councillor Francis de Cranevelt ⁸⁾) and the Vienna humanist, Ursinus Velius ⁹⁾); the Antwerp graphiarius Cornelius Graphæus ¹⁰⁾), the poet Francis of Burgundy ¹¹⁾), and his own secretary James Jesper-

¹⁾ Letter of March 10, 1537 : OlaE, 597, 598.

²⁾ Cp. OlaE, 599, 600, sq.

³⁾ Francis de Cranevelt writes to Olah on April 28, 1537, requesting to be allowed to read his *Chorographia Hungariæ* : OlaE, 599 ; Cran., 283.

⁴⁾ Letter of Goclenius of June 1, 1537 : OlaE, 599 ; letter of Nannius, April 1, 1538 : OlaE, 616.

⁵⁾ *Æn.*, vi, 487 ; letter of Nannius of January 6, 1538 : OlaE, 615 ; also Polet, 253-64.

⁶⁾ Cp. OlaO, iv-vii ; OlaCar., 35.

⁷⁾ OlaCar., iii-iv.

⁸⁾ OlaCar., 5, 7, 12, 37.

⁹⁾ OlaCar., 24.

¹⁰⁾ OlaCar., 1, sq.

¹¹⁾ OlaCar., 4, 8, 41.

sen ¹⁾; his friends at Court : the Councillors Gerard Mulaert ²⁾ Francis van der Dift and Philip Nigri ³⁾, the marchioness Menzia de Mendoza, wife of Henry III of Nassau, learning Greek ⁴⁾, the councillor and historian Hubert Thomas, of Liège ⁵⁾, and the Bishop of Brixen, George of Austria ⁶⁾; they bring as the echoes of the sadness and the joys of those days long past : the jolly night feast at Bruges ⁷⁾ and the sorrowful fate of Princess Christina of Denmark ⁸⁾; the vanity of de la Marck, proudly building a peerless palace ⁹⁾, and the recreations of Queen Mary, his revered Mistress, resting from the burden of governing by emulating Diana in the shady woods of Turnhout or Soignes ¹⁰⁾.

If not in his *Carmina*, he brings a hearty homage to Cornelius de Schepper, bound to him by an 'arctissima familiaritas ob eius virtutes', in his *Hungaria*, mentioning some of the interesting features which that stout traveller before the Lord had admired in his dear friend's native land ¹¹⁾. That interest of the erudite ambassador may have incited Olah to make a full report of the history and the culture of his native country, if it had not yet been suggested by his friends in Busleyden College. For the lively interest taken in humanity and in the history of its adaptation to the conditions of time and of the various parts of the world chosen as abode, was one of the characteristics of humanistic research, which, a few years later, prompted another great friend of the *Trilingue*, Damian a Goes, to describe the nations of the Iberic Peninsula, as well as those of Æthiopia, Lapland and India ¹²⁾. The correspondence of Queen Mary's Councillor, at any rate, testifies to a most lively intercourse with the Louvain professors, facilitated by the presence in Louvain of the young John Henckel and of Rutger Pathius' brother as students ¹³⁾; it is nearly exclusively devoted to literary study and composition, to

¹⁾ OlaCar., 8, 9, 17, 18, 23, 24; his wife 'Margaris', 19, 23.

²⁾ OlaCar., 24; cp. before, II, 439-40.

³⁾ OlaCar., 18.

⁴⁾ OlaCar., 18, 21.

⁵⁾ OlaCar., 29-30; cp. *LiègeBiog.*, 203.

⁶⁾ OlaCar., 3.

⁷⁾ OlaCar., 23.

⁸⁾ OlaCar., 19, sq.

⁹⁾ OlaCar., 25, 18.

¹⁰⁾ OlaCar., 3.

¹¹⁾ OlaO, 28-29.

¹²⁾ Cp. further in this section; also *MonHL*, 621, sq, 688-91.

¹³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XV, 1, c; OlaE, 602-4, 606-7, 612, 616.

which Goclenius especially contributed the treasures of his experience and of his unfailing taste, and his assistant, the younger Nannius, the encouragement of an unbounded admiration ¹⁾).

B. GUY MORILLON

Equally brisk and hearty as the intellectual intercourse of the staff of the *Trilingue* with Olah, was that which, in the first thirties, connected the professors of Busleyden College with the Imperial Secretary Guy Morillon. Although there is no collection of letters to substantiate it, the new friendship was really glorious and illustrative of the beneficent influence which the Institute exercised.

Guy Morillon belonged to a Burgundian family ²⁾; he probably studied in Paris, and may have made Erasmus' acquaintance there. Certain it is that, by 1507, he was tutoring some students in his house, for he edited for them the text of, and a commentary on, Horace's *Epistolæ*, which he had printed in January 1507, by Denis Roce. In August of the same year, the same printer issued for him Ovid's *Heroides* and *Ibis* ³⁾; some months later, in August 1508, Morillon edited Suetonius' *De XII Cæsarum Vitis*, from a manuscript belonging to the Abbey of St. Victor; it was printed by Denis Roce and Giles de Gourmont, with an introduction about the author by Angelo Poliziano, as well as with marginal notes by Morillon, and his dedicatory letter to Francisco de Campogirauldo, in which he points out the interest of Suetonius' golden book, as faithful picture of the morals and manners of those times, and as a warning of the dreadful results of the licentious lives of several of those rulers ⁴⁾. He also was

¹⁾ Olæ, 601-5, 614-18, &c.

²⁾ His family does not seem to have been wealthy, for he mentions in his dedicatory letter of Suetonius' *Vitæ*, that he had entered the literary career thanks to somebody's liberality : *ULAnn.*, 1859, 277.

³⁾ Paris, D. Roce. The book seems to have been reprinted at Lyons by Gryphius, in 1543, as Ovidius Naso, *Heroides Epistolæ et Sabini Responsiones, cum Guidonis Morilloni Argumentis ac Scholiis*.

⁴⁾ Cp. *ULAnn.*, 1859, 275-81; Morillon's dedicatory letter was reproduced by Peter Burman, in his edition of the *Vitæ* : Amsterdam, 1736 (in two volumes), II, 441-43.

interested in the work of Titus Livius, and he even applied to Budé for the understanding of some difficult passages ¹⁾; several years afterwards, Nannius made use of Morillon's notes, and gratefully refers both to the generosity and to the modesty of the erudite who was too diffident to edit his own comments ²⁾.

By June 1515 Morillon was residing in Brussels, as results from Adrian Barlandus' letter ³⁾ to Adrian Ælius Barlandus ⁴⁾, sending and dedicating to him one *Prologus* ⁵⁾, adding his greetings to *Guidonem Morillonum, magna virum facundia et bonitate* ⁶⁾. He soon entered the service of the Chancellor John le Sauvage ⁷⁾, as secretary and colleague of Peter le

¹⁾ Cp. *ULAnn.*, 1859, 273-75; *Budé*, 92, 274.

²⁾ Nannius, *Miscellaneorum Decas Una*: Louvain, 1548: 141-66; Polet, 158-59, 266-67.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 217-18, &c, II, 10, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 256-57, II, 518, 521, 522: Adrian Ælius Jacobi Barlandus, related to John Becker, as well as to the physician Hubert Barlandus (II, 518-23), had studied in Louvain, matriculating in December 1504 (*Excerpts*, 94), and had become a priest when, in 1515, he was tutor in a rich family in Brussels. Before January 1518, he became preceptor to Antony of Berghes, Lord of Grimbergen (Allen, III, 760, 14), whom he accompanied to England in 1519-20, staying at the Royal Court (Allen, III, 969, 24). In the beginning of 1526, he was back in the Netherlands, and, on February 28, 'mgr. adrianus jacobii elius de barlandia' entered the Academic Senate (*LibActVI*, 52, r). He was appointed to the first vacancy at the disposal of the Abbot of Villers, March, 8, 1526 (*LibNomI*, 182, r, 199, r). Meanwhile he obtained from his old pupil a canonry at Bergen-op-Zoom, where he died in Sept. 1535: *Cran.*, 62, b; *BB*, B, 250, 16, 291, 9, 292.

⁵⁾ Adrian Ælius had come from Brussels, in June 1515, to see his namesake at the Porc in Louvain, and as result of their conversation the latter sent, a few days later, his prologue to the *Aulularia*, dedicated to him, probably printed along with the short letter and a second prologue, that to *Dido* (Daxhelet, 208-10, 213-15). Those texts, which took up seven 4to pages, were joined to several other poems and published under the general title of *Carmen Pastorale* by Cornelius Grapheus, on June 13, 1515: (Iseghem, 248, 251-2; *NijKron.*, II, 3122: F 3, r (in part) to F 5, v (in part). Cp. *GeldColl.*, xxxi-xxxii; Daxhelet, 254-55.

⁶⁾ Possibly Morillon had accompanied Ælius Barlandus on his visit to Louvain: at any rate the professor of the Porc asked his countryman: *Guidonem... saluta verbis meis*.

⁷⁾ John le Sauvage, Lord of Schoubeke, Sterrebeek, &c, Great Chancellor: cp. *Busl.*, 93-94.

Barbier ¹⁾. Quite naturally the casual acquaintance with Erasmus became a close connection after the Humanist settled in the Netherlands, and found a most welcome 'friend at the Court' in the old Paris fellow-student ²⁾.

The letter, which he wrote on February 18, 1517, suggests the familiar footing on which he stood with Erasmus ³⁾, whom he evidently seconded where he could with his employer, the Chancellor, as results from the note, by which he advised him to come and see Sauvage before his leaving for Spain ⁴⁾. In the same letter, Morillon announced his intended marriage with Elizabeth de Mil ⁵⁾. After his master's decease, he seems to have been appointed as Imperial secretary ⁶⁾, in which quality he followed Charles V to Spain in 1522, and remained there until 1531. He took care there of the interests of Erasmus ⁷⁾, who, on March 25, 1524, even wrote to him that he regretted not to have settled in Spain, where, thanks, no doubt, to the influential friends at Court, he found so

¹⁾ Cp. Allen, II, 443, *pr*; *Busl.*, 464.

²⁾ The letters which are preserved, seem to be only the scanty remains of a brisk intercourse; in some others (those between brackets) Morillon is referred to: Allen, II, 532, 587, (III, 695, 51), V (1270, 23), 1287, (1302, 1) 1431 <Hessels, I, 1-2>, (1507, 5, 6, VI, 1585, 102, 1791, 26, VII, 1814, 495), VIII 2083.

³⁾ Allen, II, 532, 1-20, 28: he refers to chaplain Barbirius, *theologus Indicus* (he had been provided with a benefice in India: Allen, II, 476, 12, III, 913, 6), who had left for Cambrai, and, as *Decanus Vtopiensis*, he had given to Morillon the order to do his work as *Vicarius*, but not the right to perceive any emoluments: cp. *Busl.*, 464.

⁴⁾ Reich, 206, 227.

⁵⁾ The marriage was announced on June 5, 1517: *Helena suo obtigit Paridi. Vxorem duxi*: Allen, II, 587, 1, *sq.*

⁶⁾ 'Guido Morillon, a secretis', signed Charles V's acknowledgment and recommendation of the second edition of Erasmus' *Paraphrasis in Matthæum*, dated April 1, 1522: Allen, V, 1270, 23; *GeldColl.*, 62-63; *EraSpain*, 146. That letter was reproduced in the edition, and also in its translation into Dutch printed by Corn. Henricz. *Lettersnijder*, at Delft, c 1523: *Nijkron.*, II, 2980.

⁷⁾ On his way to Spain, Morillon wrote, about May 27, 1522, from Mark Laurin's house, at Bruges, to Erasmus about the best mode of securing the payment of his imperial pension; also, to silence slandering monks and friars, he advised him to apply, not to the Emperor, but to the Bishops, so much the more since Erard de la Marck was accustomed to talk most eulogistically about him: Allen, V, 1287, 26, *sq.*, 37, *sq.*; *EraSpain*, 84, 88, 148.

much favour ¹⁾). Indeed the great Man's influence in Spain extended and deepened as years went on, in so far that, on January 6, 1529, Morillon could mention, besides a new favourer, the growing number of translations of his works issued, as well as the general desire that he should bring out the *De Ratione Concionandi* promised since long, and do for the whole Psalter what he had done for the first four psalms ²⁾).

By 1531, Morillon had returned to Brabant, and seems to have decided on settling in Louvain, as he bought a site and had a house built in Dominican Street ³⁾). He lived there in close friendship with the professors of the *Trilingue*, especially with Rescius, whom he helped in obtaining the necessary grants from the *Audientarius* for the printing of his publications ⁴⁾). It was only natural that a man, wholly taken up with humanism and studies, after having been hampered in his work of predilection, should devote to it again all his time and attention when opportunity offered, and avail himself, in the pursuit of gentle things, of the companionship of those very men who had been entrusted with that work in Louvain by his great friend Erasmus. The naturally close connection of Morillon with the *Trilingue*, where his sons became students, probably brought the characteristically superficial John van Gorp, of Beek, *Becanus* ⁵⁾), to the wrong statement, repeated by Molanus, that he was the first Greek professor of that Institute ⁶⁾). His three sons, Guido, Maximilian and Antony, matriculated in the University as 'minorenses' on April 4, 1532, and Adrian Bandelle, probably their tutor, took the oath for them ⁷⁾). Morillon's little family grew up, although he was not to enjoy home life for very long. Judging

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1431, 32, sq.

²⁾ Letter from Guy Morillon, Saragossa : Allen, VIII, 2083 ; *EraSpain*, 340, 393, 852.

³⁾ On February 25, 1532, Rescius wrote to Olah : Guido cæsareæ Maiestatis Secretarius ad tempus Louanii habitaturus... : OlaE, 199 ; *LouvEven*, 219.

⁴⁾ On February 25, 1532, Morillon tries to obtain for Rescius the *privilegium* required to print Barlandus' *De Rebus gestis Ducum Brabantiae* and *De Ducibus Venetorum*, leaving to the theologians the care of seeing to Driedoens' *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus* (1533 : *NijKron.*, I, 744) : OlaE, 199-200.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XX.

⁶⁾ Mol., 607.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV*, 45, r.

from a letter of Erasmus to him 'in hispanijs', of August 30, 1534, he had gone back to the South since some time already ¹⁾, and probably only returned to Brabant in the train of Charles V, journeying through France ²⁾ at the end of 1539, and in the first weeks of 1540; when he was in the neighbourhood of Paris, on January 8, 1540, William Budé sent him a letter, in reply to his recommendation of an old friend, Giles Perrin ³⁾.

The last years of Morillon's life were spent in the family home of Dominican Street, of which a few remains still attest to its former elegance ⁴⁾. In the spring of 1540, Nannius renewed the old connection with the dear *Trilingue*: the Latin professor refers in his writings to some of their talks and walks with their friend Damian a Goes ⁵⁾. He thus heard from Morillon how the Secretary of State, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, was interested in the Lives of Plutarch, which led to the inscription of that great minister's name on some of the *Vitæ* in 1540 ⁶⁾. Two years later, Nannius stated that his memorial speech at Goclenius' death had been preserved thanks to the care of Morillon ⁷⁾, who himself was still

¹⁾ Erasmus sends him news about his health and the state of things in Germany, as well as about Barbirius' treachery and the sad plight of some friends; he expresses his surprise at: iam annis aliquot me nullis admoneri litteris quid isthic agatur, — prob. ignoring or forgetting his stay in the Netherlands: Hessels, 1, 4-5; *ErasJort.*, 11, 415; on Sept. 2, 1535, he expresses his surprise in a letter to Goclenius for not having heard of Morillon since his return from Spain: Allen, xi, 2965, 3052, 12.

²⁾ Hoyneck, in his notes to Viglius' autobiography, says that Guy Morillon had been both Charles V's, and his sister, Queen Eleonore of France's, secretary: Hoyneck, 1, i, 172: it may be a way to explain how he was in France, and how he corresponded with Budé, — although it may also merely apply to the time that the future Queen of France was still in Spain.

³⁾ Hessels, 1, 6-7; in the 7th of *Aduersaria*, or manuscript notebooks of Budé, there is an entry: Guido Morillon, secretarius imperatoris, amicus officialis de losas ad me scripsit et ei rescripsi: *Budé*, 274.

⁴⁾ LouvEven, 219 (with a sketch of the quaint tower), 232.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, p 62.

⁶⁾ Polet, 266: dedicace of Nannius' *Catonis et Phocionis Vitæ* to Granvelle: Louvain, R. Rescius, June 1540.

⁷⁾ In his dedicatory letter to James Fieschi, Bishop of Savona, Jan. 1, 1542, of the *Funebris Oratio* (Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1542): probably the text had been communicated to Morillon by his sons, and he had preserved it: Polet, 50, 275.

working on Titus Livius, of which the *Trilingue* possessed a manuscript, whilst there was another at the College of Arras. When Nannius was preparing the comments on some passages of that author, which form the fifth book of his *Miscellanea* ¹⁾, he worked with Morillon's help; he declared that nobody had ever interpreted the Roman historian with more truth and profit than he did, and regretted that, notwithstanding all entreaties, he never published the result of his researches ²⁾; in fact, his notes and comments on Ovid's *Heroides* and *Ibis* were edited by strangers ³⁾. And yet he encouraged others to impart to the public the outcome of their work ⁴⁾. Morillon died on October 2, 1548 ⁵⁾; his wife followed him on December 20, 1552; they were laid to rest in St. Peter's Church, where their son Maximilian raised a magnificent monument to their memory and to that of his brother Antony, who died on October 10, 1556 ⁶⁾; it had a triptych by Michael Coxie ⁷⁾ with the portraits of Guy and

¹⁾ Συμμίχτων, siue *Miscellaneorum Decas Vna*: Louvain, S. Zassenus, June, 1548: Polet, 144, sq.

²⁾ Polet, 158-59. The Morillon who provided the notes from the *Codex Blandinianus antiquissimus* of Horace for the edition of Muret, Venice, 1555, was Guy's son Antony: Polet, 152.

³⁾ Mol., 607; NèveRen., 218, sq. quotes as editions *Ovidii Heroidum Libri*, L. A. Sabini *Responsiones cum Guidonis Morilloni Argumentis et Scholiis*: Lyons, Simon Vincentius, 1535, reprinted by Gryphius, Lyons, 1543, Simon Colinaeus, Paris, 1545; also at Basle, 1541, 1543, 1544, Frankfurt, 1563, 1601, Antwerp, Plantin, 1593: Schweiger, *Handbuch der Class. Bibliographie*: Leipzig, 1834: II, 634.

⁴⁾ At least so it seems from Nannius' dedicatory letter to Odoard de Bersaques, imperial almoner, of the *Epistolæ Synesii et Apollonii* (Louvain, S. Zassenus, November 1544), to which edition and dedication Morillon had prompted him: Polet, 284-85; cp. further, Ch. XXII.

⁵⁾ Towards the middle of October 1548, Cornelius van Auwater announced from Louvain to Peter le Barbier, Dean of Courtrai: 'D. Morillonus optimus senex, superioribus hisce diebus ad superos concessit': ValE, 28: the *Decanus Vtopiæ* thus outliving his *Vicarius*.

⁶⁾ Cp. for Antony and Maximilian, Ch. XVII.

⁷⁾ SweMon., 209; E. van Even, *Mausolée de la Famille Morillon à Louvain*, in *Messenger des Sciences Histor.*: 1857, 269-84: reproducing Coxie's painting, which is also amongst the pictures printed and described in *Kunst te Leuven*, published by the Louvain 'Davidsfonds' in 1946: 34, Pl. xxvii. That painting represents, in the middle, Our Lord resuscitated, surrounded by St. Peter, St. Paul and angels, one

his wife, their two daughters and their sons Maximilian and Antony; for their brother Guido must have died very young. One of Guy Morillon's daughters, Frances, married Jerome de Winghe ¹⁾; the other, Mary, was the wife of Didier van 't Sestich, who became Chancellor of Brabant ²⁾: with their brother Maximilian they kept up the grateful memory of their great father ³⁾.

C. DAMIAN A GOES

One of Guy Morillon's friends, the Portuguese nobleman Damian a Goes, conferred a similar honour on the *Trilingue*

carrying the Cross. On the right wing is Elizabeth de Mil with her two daughters, and, over them, St. Elizabeth; on the left wing, under the protecting St. Guido, is Guy, in his councillor's robes, with his sons, Maximilian, in a surplice, and Antony: in the right corner below is a young boy, no doubt Guido, and a still smaller one, probably a fourth son, also deceased in infancy.

¹⁾ Jerome van Winghe, a rich and influential citizen of Louvain, was occasionally appointed by the Court of the Regent as trustee for some tax to be levied: *LouvBoon*, 105: 1569; his and his children's generosity to works of charity is recorded: *LouvEven*, 362; *LouvAssist.*, 191, mentioning the opening of the common will of Jerome and his wife, Françoise, on October 16, 1577. They left five children: Jerome, canon at Tournai († 1637); Maximilian, canon of St. Gudula's, Brussels († before 1608); Antony, a Benedictine; Barbara, and Philip, an erudite antiquarian and medallist, who went for research work to Italy, where he assisted at the finding of part of the Catacombs on the Via Salaria, May 31, 1583. Unfortunately he died long before his time at Florence in 1592: *Simonis*, 125, sq.

²⁾ Didier van 't Sestich, born in Louvain, in 1531, as son of John and Elizabeth de Boisot (cp. further, Ch. XVII), became Lic. Vtr. Juris and Councillor of Brabant; he succeeded Thierry van Liesvelt as Chancellor, and, on account of the difficult times, he installed, in 1578, the Brabant Chancery in his fine Mansion in St. Quintin Street, where he died on March 11, 1585; with his wife, deceased in 1608, he was buried in St. Quintin's; they left four sons: cp. *LouvBoon*, 138, 369; *LouvEven*, 232-33, 384, 520; *FUL*, 4264, with pedigree.

³⁾ *Mol.*, 607, 788; *FUL*, 4669: Maximilian Morillon founded anniversary masses for his parents and himself to be said on their tomb, October 3 and 11, and December 20; Hoynck, 1, i, 172; E. van Even, *Séjour à Louvain de Guy Morillon et de sa Famille*, in *Mess. Scienc. Histor.*, 1877, 136-68; J. Nève, *La Carrière de Guy Morillon*, in *ULAnn.*, 1859, 263-90; *NèveRen.*, 214-23; *FG*, 107-8, 394-95; *Hessels*, 1, 887, 890; *LouvEven*, 219, 277, 369; *Allen*, 11, 532, pr; *Cran.*, 86, a, 140, b, 142, c; *Simonis*, 97, sq; *Polet*, 266, sq.

by his appreciative connection. He was born at Alemquer in 1501, and was educated at the Court and in the service of King Emmanuel from his ninth year. In 1523 he was appointed to act at Antwerp as secretary ¹⁾ to the *Feitor de Flandres*, João Brandão; he made there the acquaintance of Roderigo Fernandez de Almada, who, after some time, succeeded to Brandão ²⁾, and thus left him the place of chief Secretary of the *Feitoria*. His duties lay in the promoting of business connections with Portugal ³⁾, which occasioned journeys through this and some neighbouring countries: in 1529 he even went as far as Danzig, Vilna, and Cracow, thus becoming familiar with many nations and with some of the most famous of his contemporaries. That commercial and political work, pursued during several years, did not make him blind to the efflorescence of intellectual life; he felt interested in the humanistic movement, and applied himself to the study of Latin by 1529, with the help of the Antwerp town clerk Cornelius Grapheus, whose friendship he had gained ⁴⁾. He

¹⁾ It has been surmised that he left Portugal already in 1520, and journeyed in Belgium and Germany: *GoesCosm.*, 23; at any rate on July 1, 1537, he mentioned to James Sadolet that since three years — in 1534 — he had left the *Regia Principis*, namely the Court, and, as far as he could, had abdicated all courtly affairs: yet he adds that, journeying ‘per totam Germaniam atque Belgicam spatio quatuordecim annorum’, he had made several friends amongst the *Evangelici*, with whom he had dealings for the affairs of his King: *GoesO*, d 3, r. In fact, since 1523, he had had frequent intercourse with Reformers: up to 1533, regularly, as secretary of the *Feitoria*, and from 1533 to 1537, occasionally, as a trusty friend, to whose services both the King and the correspondents applied for old acquaintance’ sake. On June, 20, 1533, he wrote to Erasmus that he had roamed, on the King’s behalf, *perpetuum fere decennium Germaniæ Sarmatiæ Daciæ provincias* <peragrans>: Allen, x, 2826, 9-10, which clearly indicates 1523 as the year in which he started his work in the *Feitoria*. On some of those journeys he must have met Dürer († 1528), whom he hardly can have known at Antwerp, unless he should have been there before July 1521: *MonHL*, 617; *DürerD*, 100; *GoesCosm.*, 33-34; *GoesRelG*, 13, 72.

²⁾ Goris, 41, 52, 215-26, 623, &c; *FugZAlt.*, II, 30.

³⁾ In July 1532, he had to interfere in a question of jurisdiction over the Portuguese merchant Diego Mendez and his sister-in-law, Gracia: Goris, 564-65, 623.

⁴⁾ It is hard to conceive how in a most busy and wandering life, Goes should have started learning Latin on his return from the journey to

certainly had not devoted as much care to that language in his youth as he had to music, in which art he acquired some fame, if not as a composer ¹⁾, at least as a performer : he studied in the Netherlands the creations of John van Ockeghem († c 1512), of Termonde, the father of modern counterpoint ²⁾, and of Josse van den Bemden, Josquin des Prés, of Berchem, the 'idol of Europe' at that time ³⁾. The stay in Brabant brought him into connection with several of the leading humanists, and he soon devoted all his attention to the language of Cicero and Virgil, of which he had learned the necessity for all international intercourse by his own experience. Moreover, as he naturally desired his opinions to be known to, and to be accepted by, his fellow-men, he found that an acquaintance with Latin would allow him to extend his influence over a larger amount of people than those who

Danzig and Cracow, and be able to publish, even though helped and corrected by Grapheus, the *Legatio* in September 1532, with a dedicatory letter of December 1, 1531 : *PortHist.*, 35 ; *GoesCosm.*, 38-40. Moreover, in his *Pictura seu Descriptio Damiani*, Grapheus refers to γράμματα culta, and only points out the 'sudare levi in pulvere grammatices' (viz., study grammar thoroughly) in contrast with Goes' age, which was about thirty : he never is said to have started 'ab ovo' : *MonHL*, 613.

¹⁾ Goes was praised, not only as performer, but also as composer, by Cornel. Grapheus : *GoesO*, k 2, v ; Glareanus inserted one of his works in his *Dodecachordon* : Basle, 1547 : *GoesRelG*, 94 ; and other signs of appreciation in the xviith century are recorded. Modern musical criticism judges that his compositions show the style of Josquin des Prés, and lack an harmonic background. One of the latest critics, Mario de Sampaio Ribeiro, *Achegas para a Historia da Música em Portugal*, 11 : Lisbon, 1935, attributes all, or nearly all, Goes' glory to the mutual praise which then was the fashion, — probably since nowadays the fashion prompts authors to try and haul down old statues so as to hoist themselves on their pedestals : *GoesCosm.*, 27, 33, sq ; evidently it is far easier to find fault than to acquire a thorough knowledge of things as they were in the xviith century, which, no doubt, would clear up many seemingly dark clouds apparently still hovering on art and religion and on the merits of men in particular : *GoesCosm.*, 37, sq ; *GoesRelG*, 126-31.

²⁾ Fétis, 1, 71-75 ; *GoesRelG*, 126 ; cp. *Epitaphium Ioannis Okegem Musici sua tempestate summi, per Polyhistorem Philomusum* — most probably Goes himself : *GoesO*, n 3, r, v.

³⁾ Fétis, 1, 85-96 ; Opmeer, 1, 163, a, 440, a ; *GoesRelG*, 126-31 ; on *GoesO*, n 3, r, there is a *Nœntia in Iosquinum a Pratis Musicorum principem* by Gerard Auidius.

crowded his rooms on the occasion of some musical performance. For it was evidently not in order to imitate his friend and mentor Cornelius Grapheus in the copious production of erudite and rhythmic prose ¹⁾, that, after a few months' training, he put his hand to all sorts of styles,

Et sacra pimplæi conscondens culmina montis

Pieridum est ausus se insinuare choro ²⁾.

Indeed, if he only wanted a means to correspond with cultured men of all nations ³⁾, he would have reached his aim more easily by securing the services of an able secretary. He evidently had further views, and he wished for more than Grapheus' guidance, since he approached the professors of the *Trilingue*; in 1532, he even went to reside in Louvain to be nearer those official promoters of the new movement in this country, and to benefit so much the better by their advice and example. From Goclenius' fatherly letters ⁴⁾ of June 10,

¹⁾ Cornelius Scribonius Grapheus, Antwerp town clerk (cp. *Cran.*, 179, b-d; before, I, 438), who had made Goes' acquaintance, dedicated to him on July 1, 1529, his *Terentianæ Phraseos Flosculi*: Antwerp, J. Grapheus, 1529; it was reprinted in 1530 (and 1532; also by Mich. Hillen in 1536), when Goes had become *Lusitanicæ Nationis apud Belgas Consul*, from *Regis Lusitani in Antuerpieñ. Emporio a Rationibus*, as he was in 1529: *Nijkron.*, I, 1992, II, 3925, 3926, 4174. On December 20, 1530, he offered him his *Xenia Saturnalia*, comprising the *Pictura Illostris Damiani de Goes*, in which he relates how the *Equus Lusitanus* learned grammar under him: *Nec male successit, triuijs mox ipse relictis, / Disciplinarum se ad genus omne tulit*: *GoesO*, k 1, v, k 3, r; *GoesRelG*, 195-200. — Grapheus was at the time most ardently at work on literature and arts: *Allen*, IV, 1087, 355; *AntvAnn.*, II, 198, 245, 268, 317-45, 352, sq, 450 (+); *CollTorr.*, 4; *Hessels*, I, 165, 257, 365, 904 (: his son Alexander, *ibid.*, 165, &c); *CatHalle*, 163.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 613 14.

³⁾ *GoesCosm.*, 39.

⁴⁾ *GoesO*, c 2, v, sq, c 4, v, sq; in the first of those letters, Goclenius all but upbraids Goes for leaving Erasmus, and going to Italy to study things which nobody could impart better than the Great Freiburg Scholar; the gratitude which he expresses in the second, '*pro ingentibus beneficiis*' — probably the generous reward offered in return for most appreciated lectures, — makes it most disagreeable to have to refuse his nephew as inmate in the *Trilingue*; yet the agreement made with the University does not allow a larger number than they now have; through Francis de Houwer the young student had been directed to Barlandus, rather than to Rescius; he promises to supervise his studies, and to encourage him, although Barlandus will do his teaching most carefully. Goclenius sends his greetings to Goes' friends Splinter and Polites.

1534 and July 12, 1536, it is evident that he had gained over the nobleman the authority of a most venerated master ¹⁾; Rescius wrote for him a letter of introduction to Erasmus ²⁾, and Campensis probably communicated to the traveller his own great desire to see Elias Levita, and to have an interview with Melanchthon. It was most likely the enthusiastic proposal of the exegetic scholar, eager to bring peace to the Church by enlightening the man whom he considered the most sincere and the most influential amongst the Reformers ³⁾, which prompted Goes to try and reclaim the great professor, whom he had met as a guest at Luther's in Wittenberg, on Palm-sunday, April 2, 1531 ⁴⁾. The appreciative acquaintance thus begun ⁵⁾, may, in later years, have brought him to communicate that plan to James Sadolet, whose acquaintance he made in 1537 in Italy : at any rate, when that humane Cardinal wrote from Rome, on June 19, 1537, a most conciliatory letter to Melanchthon ⁶⁾, it was entrusted to Goes, who also was to receive and transmit the reply ⁷⁾, which, however, was never given ⁸⁾.

During his stay in Louvain, Goes made several friends amongst the students of the *Trilingue*, or those who lived, or had lived, in that atmosphere : it explains how in his

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 613-15 ; *GoesRelG*, 81, 85-87, &c.

²⁾ Guilh. Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos* : Lisbon, 1899 : II, 32, quoted in *ErasPort.*, 25 ; *GoesCosm.*, 24.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVI.

⁴⁾ Maximiano Lemos, *Damião de Gois*, in *Revista de Historia* : Lisbon, 1920-22 : IX, 219 ; *GoesCosm.*, 26.

⁵⁾ It even extended to the husband of Melanchthon's daughter Anna, George Sabinus, who wrote some poetry to Goes from Halle, January 1, 1537 : *GoesO*, I 4, v, sq ; cp. *Melanch.*, 354, 362, 603, sq ; *DantCar.*, 210-16.

⁶⁾ *GoesRelG*, 106, sq, 191-94 ; *MelaVers.*, 34-36 ; *MelE*, III, 379, sq.

⁷⁾ *Melanch.*, 362-64, 598.

⁸⁾ *MelaVers.*, 36-48 : on account of that letter, Sadolet was criticized by John Faber, Bishop of Vienna, John Cochläus, Frederic Nausea and Jerome Aleander ; it explains John Campensis' sarcastical remark that Aleänder pretended to be the master of the destiny of Germany through the four Evangelists he had there, Faber, Eck, Cochläus and Nausea, who would prefer three new Luthers to stand up, rather than see the one who was there, come to resipiscence : letter to Dantiscus of June 1, 1537 : *DantE*, 351. — To Sadolet's letter reference is made by J. Sturm in his *De Emendatione Ecclesiæ*, 1540 : *MelaVers.*, 49-50 ; cp. before, II, 584.

Opuscula, there are letters to Nicolas Beken Clenardus ¹⁾, John Vasæus ²⁾ and Adam Carolus ³⁾, poems by Joachim Polites ⁴⁾, as well as references to Adrian Barlandus, to Francis de Houwer and to Splinter van Hargen ⁵⁾. He also met there theologians like Driedo ⁶⁾, and, if not there, at least in Brussels, his countryman, the exuberant Andrew de Resende, who composed some poems in his honour ⁷⁾, and who, about that time, had left the Dominican Convent on account of his humanistic sympathies : he soon found both shelter and an occupation in the *familia* of the Portuguese ambassador in Brussels, Pero Mascarenhas ⁸⁾. Most probably Goes then also got acquainted with Bertram vom Damm, Damus, of Brunswick, a Latin poet, who dedicated to him his metrical paraphrase of the Epistle to Titus, 1533 ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ GoesO, d 4, r, sq : Padua, July 19, 1537 ; there are references to other letters from Goes to Clenard in the latter's *Epistolæ : GlenCorr.*, I, 86, 194, 91, 4, 10, 99, 61. ²⁾ Evora, October 18, 1541 : GoesO, i 4, r, sq.

³⁾ 'Noua Austria', October 28, 1540 : GoesO, h 4, r, sq.

⁴⁾ Like Vasæus, Polites probably made Goes' acquaintance in Italy, as an old student of Louvain ; he wrote to him *Figmentum Politæ. Mercurius Deus immortalis Damiano suo mortali*, April 12, 1538, with another letter, also in verse, Padua, December 1, 1539 : GoesO, m 1, v-m 3, v, and a third, m 4, v-n 1, v, from Goes, on December 11, <1540>, after the dire flood : cp. before, II, 476.

⁵⁾ Letter from Goclenius, July 12, 1536, to Goes, who met Houwer, Splinter and Polites in Padua : GoesO, d 1, r ; — with Splinter van Hargen, son of the Lord of Oosterwyck (: *HEpH*, 19, a ; *MasE*, 464-67, 470, 474, 500 ; *MonHL*, 689), he became more intimately related in 1539.

⁶⁾ John Driedo mentions him in his dedicatory letter of *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus*, Louvain, 1533, to King John III of Portugal : *MonHL*, 613-14 ; *ErasPort.*, 31-33 ; *CarvMurça*, 22, 29 ; Goes also was a friend of Cornelius Crocus, the poet, to whom he brought an Ethiopian cup from the King of Portugal, after he had settled at Delft : *BataoMart.*, 75, 96 ; *MonHL*, 614 ; and before, II, 202-8.

⁷⁾ Three poems by Resendius to Goes are quoted on GoesO, k 3, v-k 4, v ; a fourth is dated October 27, 1535 : GoesO, l 1, v-l 4, r.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, II, 399, 402.

⁹⁾ It was published as *Epistola D. Pavli ad Titum, carmine heroico paraphrasticōs per Berthramum Damum Brunouicanum. Venundatur Louanij apud Bartholomæum Grauium sub sole aureo. 1533*. That pamphlet, of eight in-8° leaves, begins with the inscription : *Clariss. viro Damiano Goi Lusitano Berthramus Damus S. D.*, and is dated at the end : *Berthramus Damus. Hantuerpiæ, 27 Junij, anni Christi 1533* : *NijKron.*, I, 681. — Cp. Allen, x, 2661, *pr* ; *FG*, 334-5 ; *Hessus*, I, 237 ; *CordO*, 49 ; *CorvE*, I, 49, 52, II, 33.

Notwithstanding the comparatively short acquaintance with the humanists, Goes understood better the principles of the new method than many a self-important adept, who thought that it only consisted in writing commendatory verses for friends on every possible occasion ¹⁾. He felt the need of a wider range of knowledge, based on truth and facts instead of on the secular humdrum of traditional lore, and he wanted to contribute his share to the intellectual hoard of humanity whilst helping on the ethic perfecting. He, no doubt, was moved by the great example of More's *Utopia*, when he adapted for the general reader the information provided about the King-Priest John the Precious, of Ethiopia, by his ambassador Matthew to the King of Portugal, and transmitted to the Antwerp Feitor Fernandez by the Secretary Antonio Carneiro ²⁾. It was published in Antwerp in September 1532 under the title ³⁾ :

Legatio Magni Indorvm Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis,
ad Emanuele Lusitaniæ Regem, Anno Domini m. d. xiii.
Item de Indorum fide, ceremonijs, religione &c. De illorum
Patriarcha, eiusq3 officio. De regno, statu, potentia,
maiestate, & ordine Curia presbyteri Ioannis per Mat-
thæum, illius Legatum coram Emanuele rege exposita.

That book, dedicated to John Store, Archbishop of Uppsala ⁴⁾,

¹⁾ That wrong opinion of what 'Humanism' actually stands for, galls the judgment of some modern critics, who esteem that in those times the worth of a man wholly depended on mutual praise: *GoesCosm.*, 27, 40.

²⁾ On February 22, 1533, Viglius announced to Erasmus from Padua, referring to a visit to Bologna: Interfui etiam cum ab Æthiopiæ Rege, quem *Pretjoanem* vocant, legatio in publico Cardinalium consessu præsidente Pontifice audita est; he describes the message, and mentions the impression of some considering the second embassy merely as a 'Pontificis commentum', designed to impress the Germans: *HEpL*, 113, a-b; Allen, x, 2767, 46-56; it shows, at least, the great interest created by the Ethiopian Legation.

³⁾ It was printed by John Grapheus: *NijKron.*, 1, 680.

⁴⁾ John Store, *Magnus*, had studied in Louvain, where he had known Adrian VI, who appointed him legate to King Gustavus Wasa. Store was already bishop of Vesterås when the King proposed him to the see of Uppsala, instead of the pro-Danish Gustavus Trolle, whom Rome had recognized. Clement VII appointed him first as administrator, afterwards as archbishop, of Uppsala; after the breach of Gustavus Wasa

by a letter of December 1, 1531, 'Antuerpiæ ex publicis Lusitanicæ nostræ nationis ædibus', may have been corrected and revised by Cornelius Grapheus ¹⁾; it was intended to create more than a passing literary enjoyment ²⁾, being as a first attempt to satisfy the awakening interest of humanity in man living in other regions, under different circumstances, and yet with the same primordial longing for truth and goodness, for knowledge and for happiness. Ability in classic languages, to be sure, could be gained in many places and from many adepts of the new studies, yet the striking of the new road towards what modern science calls 'ethnography', or 'human geography', suggests the intimate connection with a centre like the *Trilingue*, where Humanism and all its potentialities was the object of constant attention and affectionate care.

The attempt did not fail to attract notice : the opportuneness of this example of pure state- and church-manners in a seemingly behindhand country ³⁾, appealed at once to the author of the *Utopia*, and it is not fortuitous that an English translation was made by his son John More, and published by his nephew William Rastell, as early as 1533 ⁴⁾. The *Legatio* was reproduced by Francis Titelmans in his edition of F. Amandus of Zierikzee's *Chronica Compendiosissima*, 1534 ⁵⁾. Thus Goes' book, which was often reprinted ⁶⁾, even as

with Rome, Store resided at Danzig, where Goes made his acquaintance; he had been consecrated in Rome on July 28, 1533, and was, afterwards, recalled to Italy, in 1538, by Paul III to help to prepare the General Council; he died in Rome on March 22, 1544 : cp. *MonHL*, 612, and the references quoted; also Opmeer, I, 488, b; Paquay, 83; DantE, 304-480.

¹⁾ Cornelius Grapheus wrote a letter to his brother John, the printer, on August 13, 1532, announcing that he had secured this book which Goes kept hidden amongst his papers : it was published along with some of his own poems : cp. *Legatio* &c, A 1, r, v.

²⁾ *GoesCosm.*, 40.

³⁾ *GoesCosm.*, 48, sq; *EraSpain.*, 727.

⁴⁾ *CatLamb.*, 66; Maitland, 194-95 (giving a full description of the book), 377-79 (extract from the chapter : 'Of the realme and estate of thempourour Prester John').

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Simon Cock, May 1534 : *Nijkron.*, I, 108; Paquot, XI, 256.

⁶⁾ Paquay, 81-83, refers to a reprint of Titelmans' paper on the Ethiopians (which he declared to have received from Goes) in *Evropæ Descriptio... per Ancelmum atque Christophorum Cellæ* : Antwerp, August

late as 1618 ¹⁾, created a growing interest in Ethiopia and her people, besides opening the series of geographic and ethnographic monographies based on unobjectionable evidence.

By the end of 1532, or in the very beginning of 1533, Goes, on a journey through Germany, paid a visit to Erasmus with an introduction from Rescius, and offered him a copy of his *Legatio* ²⁾; the interview with the Great Man confirmed him in his bent for study, for, on his return to the Netherlands, he settled once more in Louvain ³⁾. Unfortunately the order to come to Portugal, and take the place of *Quæstor Indiarum Orientalium* ⁴⁾, made him leave for Antwerp, intending to start the travel by the end of June, as he wrote on the 20th of that month ⁵⁾. Before half a year had elapsed, Goes had resigned his function and was returning to the Netherlands ⁶⁾, where he landed probably in March 1534. He hastened to Erasmus ⁷⁾, to whom he had the message of the gratifying

1535, and April 1536 : NijKron., 1, 545, 546 ; as well as in *Antonii Torquati Prognosticon de Eversione Europæ*, Antwerp, 1544 & 1552. — Most probably the chapter *De regno Æthiopie, ac populo, deque moribus eiusdem populi, nonnulla*, in *Legatio David Æthiopie Regis* (Antwerp, Will. Vorsterman, 1533 : NijKron., 1, 1336) is also inspired by Goes' book, which, translated in Italian : *L'Ambasciaria di David Re dell' Ethiopia* &c, was printed in Bologna by 'Jacopo Keymolen Alos-tense', 1533.

¹⁾ *Legatio Magnt Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Joannis ad Emma-nuelem Lusitanie Regem* A. D. 1513, interprete Damiano a Goes : Dordrecht, 1618 : it does not reproduce Grapheus' poems.

²⁾ That results from his letter of June 20, 1533, in which, referring to a rumour current in Louvain that Erasmus favours Henry VIII's divorce, he declares that he does not believe it, 'cum scirem me, he writes, ex tuo ore Friburgi contra audiuisse'; he also mentions the 'libellum de presbyteri Joannis', which he had offered him : Allen, x, 2826, 20-32 ; FG, 223, 18-28 ; *PortHist.*, 98 ; *MonHL*, 615.

³⁾ On June 20, 1533, he states that he already wrote to Erasmus that he had returned to Louvain : *de reditu meo Lovanium... puto intellexisse te* : FG, 222, 31 ; Allen, x, 2826, 2.

⁴⁾ FG, 223, 5-14 ; *VivE*, 198 : in his letter of June 17, 1533, Vives congratulates him and wishes him a good 'iter'; Goclenius refers to him on July 26 : Allen, x, 2851, 28-30 ; Cerejeira, 30, &c.

⁵⁾ FG, 223, 13-14.

⁶⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Corn. Grapheus, March 13, 1534 : Allen, x, 2916, 19-21.

⁷⁾ In reply to the announcement of his visit, Erasmus wrote a most hearty invitation on April 11, 1534 : Allen, x, 2919, 3-8.

offer of a prominent place in the University of Coimbra, which John III contemplated founding, besides royal presents in acknowledgment of the dedication of *Sti. Chrysostomi Lucubrations*, 1527 ¹⁾. Erasmus enjoyed the stay of his young friend, whom he heartily encouraged in his eagerness for study, and helped by means of a synopsis of rhetoric ²⁾. He would have liked to keep him as a *convictor* to his dying day ³⁾ : unfortunately, and to the great annoyance of Goclenius ⁴⁾, Goes left Erasmus on August 18, 1534 for Italy : he visited Rome ⁵⁾, and other towns, but stayed chiefly

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 615-16, with references, and Allen, vi, 1800, *pr*, relating its history.

²⁾ That synopsis of Rhetoric consists of a summary of [Cicero's] *Ad Herennium*, which Erasmus probably had made for some pupil ; it may have been used in his house for the training of his amanuenses. He had never thought of publishing it, and probably passed it on as a help to Goes, who afterwards communicated it to some friends in Louvain. It was printed by Rescius, in 1544, with a letter to Goes from William 'Bernatius Tiletanus', viz., Bernaerts, future successor of Jeremy Thriverus as professor of medicine (cp. before, II, 538), dated from the Castle, Louvain, August 8, 1544. The letter mentions that Erasmus refused to issue it ; yet it got as title *Des. Erasmi Roterod. Compendium Rhetorices*. As it was based on the *Ad Herennium*, which also was used by Barlandus for his *Compendiosæ Institutiones Artis Oratoriæ*, 1535, and *De Amplificatione Oratoria*, 1536, the few identical passages pointed out in Daxhelet, 60-62, can easily be explained as being taken by two authors from the same source. Cp. *MonHL*, 615, 690, 693-94 ; Allen, x, pp 396-405.

³⁾ Letters of Erasmus to Goes, August 25, 1534, January 11 (answering three letters of Goes), May 21 (in reply to a letter of March 3), August 18 and December 15, 1535 : Allen, xi, 2963, 2987, 3019, 3043, 3076, 3078-79 (a reply of Goes, December 22, 1535) ; *LatCont.*, 384 ; *ULAnn.*, 1853 : 238, 240-42 ; *PortHist.*, 36 ; FG, 272, 25. About the end of 1535 or in the first days of January 1536, Erasmus wrote from Basle about his illness : Allen, xi, 3077, hoping to see Goes once more, who replied from Padua on January 26 : Allen, xi, 3085 ; Ent., 167 ; he never met the Great Humanist again, who recommended him as master to Gilbert Cousin on March 11, 1536 : Allen, xi, 3104, 45-47 ; *PortHist.*, 37.

⁴⁾ Letter of July 10, 1534 : GoesO, c 4, v : Quid... tota Italia tibi præstare poterit, quod non multo cumulatius suppeditet unus Erasmus ? — Goes' servant got ill, soon after they left : Allen, xi, 2963, 1-8, 2970, 2-10. — Ludwig Ber gave a recommendation to Aleander, August, 16, 1534 : Friedensburg, 4.

⁵⁾ Reply of Erasmus, August 18, 1535, mentioning letters which Goes had written to him in Rome : Allen, xi, 3043, 1-4, 96-99.

in Padua, to study philosophy and civil law, as well as literature under Lazzaro Buonamici, the Latin professor ¹⁾.

In Italy, Goes made the acquaintance of Pietro Bembo ²⁾, of the Cardinals Jacopo Sadoletto ³⁾ and Reginald Pole ⁴⁾, who communicated to him the sad news about Thomas More's death ⁵⁾; he met there the late Hebrew professor of the *Trilingue*, John Campensis ⁶⁾, whose plan of reclaiming Melanchthon found zealous collaborators in him and his new friend, the Bishop of Carpentras ⁷⁾. He further found in Padua several of his Louvain acquaintances, Francis de Houwer, Joachim Polites and Splinter van Hargen : with their fellow-

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1720, 53; GoesO, e 3, v, e 4, r, f 1, v.

²⁾ Pietro Bembo was then living at Noniano, on the Brenta, near Padua, devoting his time to study and literature : Allen, viii, 2106, *pr.* Goes dedicated to him the *Diensis Oppugnatio*, September 1539, referring to his visit in Padua : GoesO, O 1, v. There are several letters of Bembo to Goes in GoesO, f 1, r, h 1, r, i 1, v, +l 3, r, which fit in with two letters from Goes to Bembo : *MonHL*, 692-98, 618. — On November 11, 1534, Bembo replied to Erasmus' recommendation of Goes, of August 16, 1534 : *BbVat.*, MS. Barb. Lat. 2158 : 114; Allen, xi, 2958, 2975; GoesO, c 3, v; *ULAnn.*, 1853, 238 (where the year is wrong). — Cp. Sadolet, 15, 18, &c; CeltE, 287; *Hessus*, ii, 38; MutE, 659; Nolhac, 45, 69, *sq.*, 125-32; *GoesCosm.*, 55; &c.

³⁾ *MonHL*, 618; GoesO, d 1, v, d 2, r, e 2, v, g 4, r; Schulte, i, 61, 63, &c.

⁴⁾ Pole had returned to Padua in 1534, and Goes made his acquaintance and that of his 'protégé', Richard Morison, who betrayed his benefactor, as Goes regretted in a letter of October 12, 1540, by which he offered a copy of his *Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum*, 1540; Pole sent him an affectionate answer : PoleE, iii, 37, *sq.*; *MonHL*, 618; M. Bataillon, *Damião de Goes et Reginald Pole* (in *O Instituto*, 79, 1), Coimbra, 1930.

⁵⁾ On December 15, 1535, Erasmus thanks Goes for an account of the death of More, translated into Italian, possibly by Pole, and sends him the first draught of the *Expositio* : cp. *ActaMori*, 38-40, 26, *sq.*, 55, *sq.*, 71, 87, 91, 94; Allen, xi, 3076, 18, *sq.*

⁶⁾ In his letter of April 22, 1536, Clenardus writes to Joachim Polites : *noster Campensis... cum Patauini minimum xi commoratus sit dies (ita enim collatis tuis literis cum Damiani colligo), ualde miror cur utrique negotium salutandi dederit* &c : *ClenCorr.*, i, 86, 192, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 22, 54, and further, Ch. XVI; *GoesCosm.*, 55. — Goes was, at the time, in brisk correspondence with Melanchthon : letters from the latter reached Freiburg when Goes had just left for Italy in August 1534, as Erasmus related to Melanchthon on October 6, 1534 : Allen, xi, 2970, 1, *sq.*

students, like Villinger and Paludanus, they deeply regretted their leader, when he had to leave Italy after an almost five years' stay ¹⁾).

In the very beginning of 1539, Damian a Goes returned to Brabant; he settled in Louvain near St. Quintin's Church, after his marriage with Jane van Hargen, of The Hague, Splinter's sister, in March of that year ²⁾). He matriculated on June 4, 1539 ³⁾, and resumed his life of study. Pietro Bembo ⁴⁾ and the recently elected bishop of Trent, Christoforo Madruzzi ⁵⁾, as well as Alard of Amsterdam, congratulated him on his marriage ⁶⁾, whereas Polites, from his submerged native town Goes, celebrated him as author on December 11, 1540 ⁷⁾.

At once after his return, Damian a Goes had taken up his former connection with the *Trilingue*: the gap created by the death of his mentor Goclenius was filled by his successor Peter Nannius ⁸⁾, who, in 1540, welcomed his first-born son

¹⁾ *GlenCorr.*, I, 83, 51, 92, 18, sq; &c. On July 12, 1536, Goclenius wrote to Goes: *Splinthero & Politæ conuictum tuum ex animo gratulor, ως αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοιον ἀγεί. Θεὸς ως τὸν ὁμοιον*: GoesO, d 1, r, m 1, v-m 2, v; cp. before, p 55, and II, 443, 475-77, 577, 597-98.

²⁾ Her father, Andrew van Hargen, Lord of Oosterwyck, was Imperial Councillor in The Hague, and her mother Catherine Suys, was the aunt of Cornelius Suys, who studied at the *Trilingue* from 1527 to 1532: cp. before, II, 376-78, and *MonHL*, 689.

³⁾ 'Damianus a Goes lusitanus nobilis': June, 4, 1539: *LibIntIV*, 122, r; on the occasion of his matriculation he offered 'xliiij st', — which is far more than the customary fee for noblemen, a gold and a silver coin, generally only 18 to 22 stivers: *MonHL*, 698.

⁴⁾ Bembo wrote to him, April 5, 1539: *gratulor te uxorem duxisse*: GoesO, f 1, v.

⁵⁾ Madruzzi, appointed Bishop of Trent, August 5, 1539, and Cardinal, July 3, 1542, wrote from Trent, on November 5, 1539, to Goes, and again on May 21, 1541: GoesO, e 4, v, i 3, r.

⁶⁾ *Epithalamion Damiani a Goes, Equitis Lusitani, & Joannæ ab Hargen, Hagensis*; per Alardum Amstelredamum: the poem, taking up two pages, may have been printed separately before it was joined to the *Theophilacti Epistolæ* (probably Louvain, c 1541), and the *Dissertatiunculæ Tres* (Antwerp, A. Dumæus, 1541): Paquot, xi, 409, 412; *HispReb.*, *8 r, sq.

⁷⁾ The poem is dated: 'Ex Goessa undecimo die Decembris' (GoesO, m 4, v-n 1, v), evidently 1540, as on 'Calendis Decemb. 1539' he dated a poem in Padua, praising the record of the battle near the Ganges: GoesO, m 2, v-m 3, v.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XX, XXI.

Emmanuel by a *Genethliacon* ¹⁾); he took an ever growing interest in Damian's studies, and when Guy Morillon ²⁾ settled in Louvain, he became the third of the erudite trefoil that adorned the *Trilingue*. An echo of their conversations during their joint ramblings through the wonderful Heverlee Wood, with its springs and dreamy lakes, is heard in Nannius' *Orationes Tres*, of 1541 ³⁾ :

Audiui a Damiano a Goes viro eximio & equestribus natalibus claro, & muficis operibus in vulgo editis famigerato, quum mecum vna cum Morillono meo humanissimo & doctissimo viro confisteret ad fontem quemdam supra Hevriam ⁴⁾, se ex crepitatione lympharum ex imo vndantium, et ad scrupos lapillosque alludentium, miras harmonias intelligere, adeo vt putaret Nymphas sub fontibus canere, earumque voces vna cum scatebris exire, ita vt non sine causa Diuus Hieronymus versus illos pulcherrimos dixerit, vbi Vergilius istiusmodi hydraulicam aquarum muficam describit,

Ecce supercilio cliuofi tramitis vndam

Elicit, illa cadens raucum per leuia murmur

Saxa ciet ⁵⁾.

That those artistic rambles were only a diversion from sterner study, results from the series of publications which Goes issued soon after his settling in Louvain. In September 1539, he brought out his *Commentarii Rerum Gestarum in India citra Gangem a Lusitanis anno 1538* ⁶⁾. That historical sketch, no doubt built up from official information, is offered

¹⁾ GoesO, m 3, v-m 4, v.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 44-50.

³⁾ The book was printed by Rutger Rescius 'An. m. d. xli. Men. Decemb.', and brought three opening speeches to the reading of Virgil's *Georgica*, Cicero's *De Oratore* and T. Livius' *Historiæ* : Polet, 52, sq. The passage quoted is on f B 4, r, v.

⁴⁾ Tradition still indicates that particular spring by the name of 'Fontaine des Philosophes' : G. J. Servranckx, *Histoire de la Commune de Héverlé et de ses Seigneurs* : Louvain, 1855 : 10-12.

⁵⁾ *Georgica*, I, 108-110.

⁶⁾ Louvain, Rutger Rescius, September 1539 : NijKron., I, 678 ; *CatSél.*, 366 ; that copy was offered to Beatus Rhenanus by Goes' friend, Adam Carolus. — The *Commentarii* were translated, in the year of their publication, into Italian by G. Palus, as *Avisi de le Cose da Portuguesi nel' India* (Venice, 1539). Cp. *GoesRelG*, 132, sq.

in the form of a letter to Pietro Bembo, dated Louvain, September 5, 1539 ¹⁾; it is followed by a commendatory *Elegiacum* by Peter Nannius ²⁾. In September 1540, Goes published an enlarged edition of his *Legatio* of 1532, under the title *Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum sub Imperio Pretiosi Joannis* ³⁾, with letters of the Ethiopian royalty to the Pope and to the Kings of Portugal, translated by Paolo Giovio and by Goes himself; the work was dedicated to Paul III ⁴⁾. It takes up 48 double pages; it has, for the reign of King John II, the mention of the voyage of 'Columbus Genuensis <qui> Occidentalium Indiarum... iter feliciter tentavit, ac provincias illas amplissimas, & magni emolumenti primus repperit' &c ⁵⁾. It is followed by *Deploratio Lappianæ Gentis*, a plea for the Lapps, whom he recommends to the Pope for a religious instruction, so as to make them join the Church ⁶⁾. He thus helped the Archbishop of Uppsala, John Store, and his brother Olaus, to interest the Christian world in those northern tribes ⁷⁾, for whom Erasmus intended writing as well ⁸⁾. Yet that beneficent aim did not make him lose sight of the erudite and didactic purpose, which, as humanist, he had realized in his treatises about India and Ethiopia, and to the plea for the destitute Lapps, he added, 'quoniam nonnihil chartæ supererat', an account of the ways of living in Lapponia, which he knew from his visit ⁹⁾. That short account of the first issue, which was extended to *Lappiæ Descriptio*

¹⁾ The text is reproduced in GoesO, O 1, r-S 5, v, with the title: *Diensis Nobilissimæ Carmanicæ seu Cambaie orbis oppugnatio*.

²⁾ GoesO, S 5, v-S 6, v.

³⁾ NijKron., I, 679; *CatSél.*, 366: the copy has the inscription 'Beato Rhenano Damianus a Goes D. M.'; GoesO, A 2, r-A 3, v, letter to Paul III; A 4, r to M 4, v: *Fides* &c (A⁴-M⁴). Cp. also *CatHalle*, 62-63.

⁴⁾ Cp. *GoesRelG.*, 135-44.

⁵⁾ GoesO, A 4, v.

⁶⁾ GoesO, N 1, r-N 3, v; cp. *GoesCosm.*, 40, sq.

⁷⁾ GoesO, N 1, r, sq; cp. before, pp 56-57.

⁸⁾ GoesO, N 2, v; he promised to expose the matter in full in a memoir, and meanwhile referred to it in his *Ecclesiastes*, mentioning the messenger of *Pretejan* to the Pope, and the complaint of some *viri boni* about the *Pilapios* being left without Christian instruction by their masters: EOO, V, 813, E.

⁹⁾ From N 3, v (after l 7: in GoesO, N 3, v, l 9) to N 4, r, in the edition described in NijKron., I, 679.

in the second edition ¹⁾, seemed so interesting that Sebastian Munster reproduced it in his *Cosmographia* (Basle, 1544), without indicating his source. Nor was the information about Ethiopia any less welcome : in Paris the *Fides* was reprinted by Christ. Wechel in 1541 ; it was inserted by John Boemus into his *Mores, Leges et Ritus Omnium Gentium* : Lyons, 1582, and its subsequent editions, and was appreciatively made use of in G. Baratti's *Late Travels into the Remote Countries* : London, 1670 and 1676.

The didactic, erudite purpose of his work took such an importance for Goes that he did what he could, not only to provide new information, but to correct wrong statements, so as to promote truth and well grounded knowledge. A few years before, Paolo Giovio ²⁾ had written disparagingly about the Portuguese and their Indian monopoly ³⁾, whilst Sebastian Munster, in an edition of *Ptolemæus*, had repeated some unjust criticism of Michael Servet de Villanova ⁴⁾ on Spain. Goes wrote a reply to the former in his *Nobilissimæ Carmanicæ, seu Cambaicæ Urbis Diensis Oppugnatio* of 1539 : *De rebus, & imperio Lusitanorum ad Paulum Iouium Damiani a Goes disceptatiuncula*, in which he answers the charge, and gives, moreover, a short survey of the voyages of discovery of the Portuguese, and of their Christianizing and civilizing all the nations from the coasts of Brazil to those of Japan ⁵⁾. Those few pages not only dissipated the suspicion of cupidity which

¹⁾ GoesO, N 3, v-N 4, v.

²⁾ Paulus Jovius, the historian, 1483-1552, is as untrustworthy as he is brilliant.

³⁾ In his *Moscovitarum Legatione*, he had repeated the accusation brought out by a Genoese against the Portuguese, who were said to stock immense quantities of spices at Lisbon, and to sell them only to other countries at exorbitant prices when spoiled and wasted.

⁴⁾ Michael Servet, who took the name of Villanova, being born at Villanueva, Aragon, in 1509, was executed at Geneva in 1553 ; he had been prosecuted by the Inquisition for denying Trinity, and on that account had slandered Spain in his comments on *Ptolemæus* : Lyons, 1535. Sebastian Munster, born in 1489 at Ingelheim, who died, in 1552, as professor of Divinity at Basle, and wrote a *Cosmographia, Beschreibung aller Lender* : Basle, 1544, had repeated Servet's slander on Spain in his edition of *Ptolemæus*.

⁵⁾ GoesO, S 2, r-S 5, v ; GoesCosm., 41-43.

had made their trade most unpopular ¹⁾, but proclaimed that their exploits are equivalent to, and even surpassing, those of the Greeks and the Romans, in so far that Goes' book ²⁾, *Commentarii Rerum... in India*, of 1539, made a deep and most favourable impression throughout Europe. In answer to the malicious comments of Servet and Munster, Damian published his *Hispania* in 1542 ³⁾, and provided a sketch of the economy of that nation, describing the natural resources, as well as the almost fabulous riches of the trade with the newly discovered countries; as to the alleged sterility of intellectual life, he was proud to point out men like Ximenes and Vives, like Lebrixa and the two Coronels ⁴⁾, remarking, almost with prophetic accuracy, that if they issue less, they publish what is theirs, and do not look for glory in plagiarism ⁵⁾. If the objections of Giovio, Servet and Munster had made the Iberians despicable and pitiable, they were victoriously revenged by the two writings of Goes, — which are, as an author remarks, precise as an accountant's report, and sumptuous as the Adoration of the Three Kings painted by an old Flemish Master ⁶⁾.

By those pleas Goes certainly relieved the prestige of the Iberian nations, and secured the favour of their Princes; yet he rendered a far greater service to literature and science by

¹⁾ Erasmus had criticized it in his dedicatory letter of *Sti. Chrysostomi Lucubrationes* to John III, March 24, 1527: Allen, vi, 1800, 34, sq, ix, 2370, 8, sq; *ErasPort.*, 19-21; *GoesCosm.*, 42, sq.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 621, 697: such suggestions may have roused up a Camões to sing his *Lusiadas*: *GoesCosm.*, 41-42.

³⁾ Louanij, Excudebat Rutgerus Rescius Anno m.d.xlii: *CatSél.*, 366. The little book is offered, according to a letter (GoesO, T 1, v), to Peter Nannius, who gratefully accepts it, and praises it in a reply: GoesO, T 2, r-T 3, r. The description of *Hispania* (GoesO, T 3, v-Z 4, v), as well as *Pro Hispania adversus Munsterum defensio* (GoesO, a 1, r-b 4, v), is addressed to Nannius, and is dated *Louanij 12 Cal. Decemb.* (Nov. 20) Anno 1541 (GoesO, b 4, v). — The *Hispania* was reprinted in A. Schott's *Hispania Illustrata*, Frankfurt, 1603, Coimbra, 1791; as well as in the *Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores*, of 1579: cp. *GoesRelG*, 146-65; *EraSpain*, 683.

⁴⁾ GoesO, Y 2, v-Y 3, v.

⁵⁾ GoesO, Y 4, v; it has been remarked that in his *Cosmographia*, 1544, Munster took over Goes' description of Lapponia and the customs of the Lapps without acknowledging his indebtedness: cp. before, p 64.

⁶⁾ *GoesCosm.*, 47.

the example of those and of his other historical, geographical, ethnological and economic studies, and especially by the quality of evidence on which they are based : they are specifically humanistic work, which would have pleased Erasmus far more than the most ornate literary composition. After the lame and fantastic descriptions of the past, they seem surprisingly real and suggestively instructive. No wonder that congratulations came to Goes from every side ¹⁾ : not only from George Cœlius ²⁾ and John Rod ³⁾, who reported the excellent impression made on King and people in Portugal, but from Beatus Rhenanus ⁴⁾ and Henry Glareanus ⁵⁾ in Switzerland, from Lazz. Buonamico in Padua ⁶⁾, from Bishop Madruzzi of Trent ⁷⁾, and from Adam Carolus, of Neustadt, Nova Austria ⁸⁾. He prepared a general edition of his *Opuscula* : namely, of the book about *Æthiopia*, for which he already secured the approbation from the Louvain Faculty of Theology on July 12, 1541 ⁹⁾ ; it was also to comprize the *Deploratio Lappianæ Gentis*, and *Lappiæ Descriptio* ¹⁰⁾, the *Bellum Cambaicum* with the apology against Jovius ¹¹⁾, and *Hispania*

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 622-24.

²⁾ Letter of George Coelho, Cœlius, councillor in the service of the Infante Don Henrique, to Goes, Lisbon, August 26, 1540, and December 13, 1541 : GoesO, h 1, v-h 3, v, +k 1, v.

³⁾ Letter of January 13, 1541 : GoesO, g 2, v.

⁴⁾ Letters to Rhenanus, October 24, 1540 and June 1, 1542 : RhenE, 467, 485 ; and from Rhenanus to Goes, March 21 and May 21, 1542 : GoesO, +k 2, r, +k 4, r

⁵⁾ Letter of Glareanus, November 6, 1539 : GoesO, f 3, r, sq.

⁶⁾ Letter of August 29, 1539 : GoesO, e 4, r, v ; Nollhac, 132.

⁷⁾ Letters of Madruzzi, Nov. 5, 1539, May 21, 1541 : GoesO, e 4, v, i 3, r.

⁸⁾ Letter of October 28, 1540 (GoesO, h 4, r, sq), in which Carolus refers to the great praise bestowed on the book about Ethiopia by Claud Cantuuncula : cp. before, II, 361, 609, sq ; CeltE, 289.


⁹⁾ GoesO, A 1, v, and A 2, r-M 4, r : on p M 4, v is a specimen of the writing of the Ethiopian Orator.

¹⁰⁾ GoesO, N 1, r-N 4, v : the *Deploratio* takes up an entire quire with the *Lappiæ Descriptio* (N 3, v, sq).

¹¹⁾ *Diensis Oppugnatio* takes up GoesO, O 1, r to S 2, r, on which page begins *De Rebus, & Imperio Lusitanorum ad Paulum Iouium Damiani a Goes Disceptatiuncula* — both conceived as addressed to Bembo — S 2, r to S 5, v (S counting six leaves). Then follows Nannius' *Elegiacum* : the title (of 6 lines) and four lines of the poem fill up S 5, v ; pp S 6, r and v have each 32 lines, which, like the four on S 5, v, are set in a smaller type ; at the end comes : 'FINIS.' between two clover-leaves.

with the answer to Munster ¹⁾ : they were probably ready and corrected by July 1542, as the list on the title-page closes with the statement : ' Omnia ab ipso autore recognita '.

Unforeseen events, unfortunately, stayed the publication. Louvain was attacked by the troops of Martin van Rossem, helped by French cohorts under Nicolas de Longueval ²⁾, and Goes was requested to take the lead of the students grouped for the occasion. As, however, there absolutely was no chance of success or of timely help, he accompanied the town mayor, Adrian de Blehen, as delegate to the enemy's camp at Ter Banck, to negotiate peace at any price, on the morning of August 2, 1542. During their interview, the students suddenly took the alarm, and made such a vehement sally that the enemies, thinking that reinforcements had come to the town, fled in all haste southwards, taking the two delegates as prisoners with them. Goes was kept in captivity during fourteen months, and was only released on the payment of a heavy ransom ³⁾, whereas the University had opposed an attempt of his friends to exchange him against a French nobleman just then studying in Louvain ⁴⁾. When, in October 1543, Goes returned, he tried to have the heavy ransom refunded by the University, and, as there were rumours of his having trespassed on his powers, he composed an *Oratio* which he read to the Academical Council on October 25 ; unfortunately he did not find favour, and the money was not repaid ⁵⁾. As his wife and his family had left Louvain already in 1542 for The Hague, he hastened to rejoin them and staid there for some time ⁶⁾, until he returned to

¹⁾ *Hispania* takes up GoesO, T 1, r to Z 4, v : T 1, r has the title : HISPANIA / DAMIANI A GOES / Equitis Lusitani. /  — T 1, v, Goes' letter to Nannius ; T 2, r-3, r, Nannius' reply to Goes ; T 3, v to Z 4, v, the text. On it follows, GoesO, a 1, r : ' PRO HISPANIA ADVER/sus Munsterum defensio ', conceived as a letter to Nannius, beginning : Ex hoc charissime Nanni, videre est Hispaniæ fertilitatem... ; and ending, on b 4, v : Tu interim uiue, & / uale, bonique consule. / Louanij 12. Cal. Decemb. Anno / 1541. / FINIS.

²⁾ Nicolas de Boussu, Lord of Longueval : *MonHL*, 673, &c ; Tytler, I, 41.

³⁾ The full report of the event is given in *MonHL*, 625-79 ; cp. Hoyneck, I, i, 152 ; Paquot, XIV, 67, sq.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 634-35.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 643, sq, 680-81.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 688-89.

Lisbon, where he had a justification printed in 1546, under the title of *Vrbis Lovaniensis Obsidio*, in the form of a letter to the Emperor ¹⁾, who, no doubt, indemnified him for the damage suffered.

Meanwhile his writings were waiting to be published : as he had been sadly disappointed by the University, where not so much as a decided vote of thanks was passed for what he had done and gone through, it may have seemed appropriate to his many friends to try and make up for the disgrace by publishing a few appreciatory letters and poems received from eminent persons : consequently they added to his writings, ready since the summer of 1542, — which may have been actually issued at that time, — a group of quires entitled 'EPISTOLAE / SADOLETI, BEMBI, ET / et aliorum clarissimorum uirorum ad / Damianum a Goes Equi- / tem Lusitanum' ²⁾ ; and also another : FARRAGO / CARMINVM CLARISSI- / morum uirorum ad Damianum a / Goes Equitem Lusitanum' ³⁾. That double addition, — of which the first was enlarged after the second had been well started, as results from the signatures⁴⁾, — was probably entrusted to the care of good friends, like Nannius and Morillon ; it may even have been planned by them and their friend, the professor-printer : at any rate, on August 8, 1544, William Bernaerts declared to Goes, in his preface to the *Compendium Rhetorices*, that Rescius had led him *in musæum suum*, and had showed him Erasmus' manuscript of that summary, *post multas doctorum et illustrium virorum ad te* <viz., Goes> *nondum typis excusas epistolas*, — no doubt those printed in the *Opuscula* a few months later ⁵⁾. In fact that collection of letters looks more like a public apology than a vain ostentation. The whole bundle, entitled *Damiani a Goes Equitis Lusitani Aliquot*

¹⁾ Lisbon, 1546 : *MonHL*, 684-85.

²⁾ GoesO, c 1, r, sq.

³⁾ GoesO, k 1, r, sq.

⁴⁾ The quires for the poems have as signatures k-n, in fours, the last leaf probably being blank ; the letters take up quires c to i, in fours, and not being sufficient for the matter, two new quires were added, +k⁴ and +l⁴ (last leaf blank : the + replaces a tiny trefoil) ; it shows that the poems had already been printed with the signatures k, l, m, n ; that the register for the whole book comes at the foot of +l 3, v, is evident proof that it was composed after k, l, m and n had been printed off.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 59 ; Allen, x, p 398, 32-36.

Opuscula, was finally published by Rescius in December 1544, and was reprinted in more than one collection ¹⁾.

Thus, most inauspiciously, the war of 1542, with its regrettable sequel, as well as the disappointment which Goes experienced from the University Senate, deprived the *Trilingue* of a friend and collaborator who had already made himself known to all those interested in language and erudition ²⁾, and who had expanded the scope of humanistic studies over fields which afterwards were arranged into special sciences ³⁾. He continued his critical work in his native country as director of the Royal Records of Torre de Tombo in Lisbon; his *Vrhis Ollisiponis Descriptio*, of 1554, recalls the *Hispania*, and his *Chronica do... Rei D. Emanuel*, and that of *Principe D. Joam*, anticipate modern historiography, as they are built up with sincerity and critical sense, from the documents entrusted to his care ⁴⁾. Unfortunately that sincerity and truthfulness in relating events, of which the actors had not all left the scene of life, involved him in difficulties with the Duke of Braganza and his party, whom he offended in the former, and with the Inquisition, for statements made in the latter, of those *Chronica*. He was imprisoned in April 1571, and suffered the rigours of the examination ⁵⁾, until, after a confinement in Batalha Monastery, he got his pardon, but did not survive it very long ⁶⁾. On

¹⁾ The *Opuscula* found a place in Petrus Martyr Anglerius' *De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe Decades Tres. Item de Rebus Aethiopicis, Indicis, Lusitanicis, et Hispanicis Opuscula quædam historica doctissima... Damiani a Goes* (Cologne, 1574, Frankfurt, 1579). They were also reproduced in A. Mylius' *De Rebus Hispanicis, Lusitanicis, Aragonicis, Indicis & Æthiopicis* : Cologne, 1602, Frankfurt, 1603.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 611-15, 618-20, 622-24. — Goes helped to make Louvain known to his friends in all countries : from Lazzaro Buonamico's letter, of July 9, 1539, it follows that he had sent to his Padua Professor maps, an arcus and a globe with the description of the earth, made in the Brabant University : *GoesO*, e 3, v, f 2, r.

³⁾ *MonHL*, 687-88.

⁴⁾ *PortHist.*, 38-46, 99-116.

⁵⁾ This sounds the more strange since Goes gave ample proofs of his deep religious conviction in his writings and in the letters by which he dedicated them in 1540 to Paul III; Nicolas Sander even quotes his testimony for the primacy of Rome from that dedication : Sander, 584.

⁶⁾ *Opmeer*, I, 488, b; *Miræus*, II, 43, sq, 52; *SaxOnom.*, 84, 591; *Clen-Corr.*, II, 113, sq, *passim*; *VivE*, 198; *EraSpain*, 553; *HispReb.*, *4, v, sq;

January 30, 1574, ended the life which he had hoped to live in Louvain : 'scire te volo', he wrote to Beatus Rhenanus on June 1, 1542, 'me sedem Lovanii propter otium litterarum fixisse, ubi Deo volente vitam degere constitui' ¹).

After all, that generous adoptive son of the Brabant *Alma Mater* remained grateful and faithful to her : he confided to her care his children, Emmanuel and Ambrosio, in 1556 ²), thus giving a signal testimony of the high esteem he had of the College of Busleyden : the callousness, by which he had been treated, could not tarnish the excellent remembrance he had kept of the ideal intellectual atmosphere that had formed and fostered in him the historical and ethnological interest, which, for some time, had monopolized his attention. His realistic and suggestive descriptions of the life and manners, as well as of the religious and social conditions prevailing in the Iberic Peninsula and in Lapponia, in Ethiopia and in India, were the outcome of the influence of the broad-minded Humanistic spirit that animated the *Trilingue*. That they were most opportune, results from their many reprints, as well as from the work done in imitation, first amongst which was the history written by his friends John and Olaus Magnus, Store, about their native country ³), not to mention Olah's treatises on Hungary ⁴). Had circumstances granted him to

A. Schottus, *Hispania Illustrata* : Frankfurt, 1603 : II, 823, sq ; J. de Vasconcellos, *Damião a Goes* : Oporto, 1897 ; J. de Vasconcellos, *Goësiana, as Variantes das Chronicas* : Lisbon, 1881 ; Guill. Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos... O Processo na Inquisição*, documentos avulsos, notas : Lisbon, 1898-99 ; I. F. da Silva, *Dicc. Bibliogr. Portug.*, II, 85, 123-25, IX, 102-4 ; *PortHist.*, 34-46, 77-78, 97-116 ; FG, 262-63 ; *LatCont.*, 384 ; Allen, X, 2826, pr ; Max. Lemos, *Damiano de Góis* (in *Revista de Historia*, IX-X), Lisbon, 1920-22 ; *MonHL*, 611-98 ; *GoesCosm.* ; and the literature mentioned in the two last papers.

¹) RhenE, 485.

²) 'Emanuel a Goes / Ambrosius de Goes / filij Damianj Nobiles', were inscribed on May 11, 1556 ; Emmanuel had been inscribed before on November 19, 1540 : 'd. Emanuel a Goes Clericus Tornacensis Nobilis', when he was hardly a few weeks old : *LibIntIV*, 140, r, 322, r ; nor is there any doubt about the identity, as the entry mentions that 'jurat pater', viz., took the oath requested, which only majorennies could do for themselves : *MonHL*, 690, 697-98.

³) Cp. *GoesCosm.*, 40, sq.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 42-43.

continue the activity started in 1532, and resumed in 1539, in the Louvain *otium litterarum*, in close connection with a Nannius and a Morillon, Goes might have realized himself and inspired, no doubt, many more remarkable and beneficent monographies preparing the modern achievements on Human Geography and Missiology ¹⁾).

4. FELLOW WORKERS

A. MARTIN LIPS

The beneficent atmosphere and the genial spirit of study created by the *Trilingue* influenced the many friends connected with that institution. It thus certainly helped and encouraged Erasmus' great collaborator Martin Lips, or Lyps, a canon of St. Martin's Priory, where, for long years, he zealously studied and copied texts ²⁾. During the time that the great son of Rotterdam was living in Louvain, he was his confidant, and, after November 1521, he proved a most zealous assistant in his work. From the very beginning he kept in close touch with the *Trilingue*, with Goclenius and Campensis, and took an active interest in Erasmus and in his editions: he gathered two most interesting collections of letters of the Great Man and his friends ³⁾; he brought together *adagia* for new editions, and he especially looked for texts and books by St. Augustine; in so far that it was thanks to his help, and that of Vives and Dorp that the *Opera Omnia* of that Father of the Church could be issued.

. Martin Lips was born in Brussels about 1492. His father requested his brother John, a monk of the Abbey of Egmond, Kennemerland, to get the boy admitted to be educated and trained in the North Holland sanctuary ⁴⁾; as it was not

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 688; *GoesCosm.*, 48.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 67-8, &c.

³⁾ Namely the *Codex Horawitzianus* (LipsE) and the Brussels MS 4850-57.

⁴⁾ Cp. LipsE, 792-99. Lips' father had died by June 1527 without leaving a will, which caused some difficulties, and even his brother's 'lis cum Martinensibus', to which Martin refers on June 17, 1527: *ChronS-Mart.*, 315; *MonHL*, 534; Allen, VII, 1837, 47-49. On July 5 (1524 probably) that brother had sent a present by his wife to Martin for 'Philippus

granted, Martin was sent, by 1507, to the Val-St. Martin Priory, in Louvain, where, after a year and a half's stay, he wished to be left for life ¹⁾ : he entered the community in 1510, and became a priest in 1518. Although his studies were chiefly theological and patristic, he showed a lively interest in humanism : from his letters it follows that he had been taught by Nicolas van Broeckhoven, an old school-fellow of Erasmus, who was at work, for some time after 1510, in Louvain, possibly even in the Priory school, and who afterwards was, for several years, active in the Antwerp *ludus* ²⁾. Lips made friends with many eager students of his order in Groenendaal Priory, like William of Louvain ³⁾, in the Red Convent, where Stephen van Heetvelde resided ⁴⁾, and in St. Mary's Throne, at Grobbendonck ⁵⁾, where there were James Cortebach ⁶⁾, Godfrey of Brecht ⁷⁾ and Julian Carbonis ⁸⁾; he was in regular correspondence with them, and they helped him to old texts of the Fathers, treasured in their houses. Through John de Neve and the staff of the Lily, who were on friendly terms with the monks of St. Martin's ⁹⁾, maybe through the Rhetor John Paludanus ¹⁰⁾, Lips made the acquaintance of Erasmus by 1516, and became one of his most devoted admirers ¹¹⁾. Through him, his zeal for study

Brugensis', who had copied some passages from authors on medicine : a second part, about illnesses, was still expected : LipsE, 730. — Lips' mother was still alive when he started his studies in Louvain : LipsE, 799 ; a Jodocus Lips, Brussels '*causidicus*', died prematurely, for whom, apparently, Gerard Rym, who studied in Louvain in the first twenties, composed two epitaphs, and Alard of Amsterdam, a third : LipsE, 699-702, 694-96. In 1558, a Giles Lips is mentioned as lieutenant of the Brussels Amman, and, soon after 1564, a Mary Lips, as widow of the Brussels physician John van den Troncke : *BruxHist.*, I, 391, III, 193.

¹⁾ Cp. *ULDoc.*, v, 568, sq ; *LouvEven*, 482-86 ; and before, I, 67-8, &c.

²⁾ LipsE, 759-60 (May 1, 1525), 787 (February 26, 1524), 727 (end of 1523) ; and before, II, 350. ³⁾ LipsE, 773-88. ⁴⁾ LipsE, 749-51.

⁵⁾ LipsE, 733, 735, 763, 765 ; *Corsend.*, 99-101.

⁶⁾ LipsE, 764-72.

⁷⁾ LipsE, 733-35, 765.

⁸⁾ LipsE, 735, 763.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, 91, 93 ; the students Philip van Aertrycke, of Bruges, Gerard Rym and Charles Sucket, who were on friendly terms with Lips during their studies in Louvain, were inmates of the Lily : cp. before, II, 151, 152, 161.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, I, 184-90, 286-87 : he had become as the natural host of Erasmus, at least as long as he was president of St. Donatian's.

¹¹⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 631-34 ; Allen, ix, 2566, 202-20 ; *SweMon.*, 223.

and erudition was continually encouraged, and helped financially ¹⁾; in return, Lips proved a decided protagonist of the great Humanist, even against the liking of his own confratres, especially after Luther had started his revolt ²⁾.

Perhaps it was on account of such dissensions in the Priory, that, about 1525, Lips was sent by his superior to a convent of canonesses-regular at 'Croix en Lens', near Waremme ³⁾, as a supply to the Prior, whose successor he became in 1535 ⁴⁾. From that time to his death, on March 23, 1555, he worked in that solitude with such excellence and success, that the great printers of Basle continued to apply to him for their editions, since he greatly had helped Erasmus in the bringing out of the works of St. Augustine, 1528-29, and those of St. Ambrose, 1527-1538. The excellence of his discretion and criticism may be sampled by the fact that, having discovered some treatises, he ascribed them to St. Ambrose, but failed to obtain Erasmus's approval : modern scholarship has shown that he was right. All those years it was only through the *Trilingue* that he could keep in connection with his great friend, with the erudite world, and with scholarship in

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., LipsE, 773 (February 11, 1525); Allen, xi, 3119, 22.

²⁾ Lips often experienced difficulties on account of his admiration for Erasmus and of his own opinions, chiefly from one of his *confratres*, Nicolas van Winghe, which must have been so much the more disagreeable as that monk was a zealous worker : *MonHL*, 556-72, and as he, moreover, was backed by the subprior Rochus Heyme, and by others amongst the brethren : *MonHL*, 560-61; the Prior John Aerts, Arnoldi, protected Lips, although with great prudence, as results from a *Purgatio*, which the latter wrote to him, when his letter of April 15, 1525, to Sebastian Aug. Neuzen, the future Hebrew professor of Marburg, was unduly made public : *MonHL*, 537-38; cp. before, I, 376-78; and LipsE, 738-48.

³⁾ The convent of *Madelonettes*, sisters of St. Mary Magdalen of Bethania, *Croix en Lens*, at Lens-St. Remy, was entrusted to the care of a monk of St. Martin's, Michael de Droomere, to whom Lips was sent as *sodalis* soon after May 2, 1525, at first provisionally; later on, by 1527, his situation had become more stable after a *mutatam sedem*, although he often visited the Louvain Priory, especially at the feast of St. Martin, the patron saint : cp. *MonHL*, 534; *ChronSMart.*, 315.

⁴⁾ At Prior de Droomere's death, Febr. 14, 1535, Lips was elected his successor by unanimous votes; he seems to have been also *curatus* of Abolens parish, a hamlet of Lens : *ChronSMart.*, 176-77; *MonHL*, 534, sq.

general : messages from and to him, frequently consisting of heavy parcels, which were as a nightmare for the carriers ¹⁾, were regularly dispatched and delivered through Goclenius, in whose room the monk wrote many letters to Erasmus ²⁾, since he dreaded the obloquy of the *Winantii* in the Priory ³⁾.

By his learned editions, Lips brought great glory to Louvain and to St. Martin's, where he had formed two disciples amongst the brethren, John de Coster ⁴⁾ and John Vlimmer ⁵⁾; he corrected for the Frobens the second issue of St. Augustine in 1543; the notes to the tenth volume, which, in the summer of 1542, were held up on their way, and partly lost, on account of Martin van Rossem's invasion ⁶⁾, were used in the Basle edition of 1569, and in that which Plantin printed for the Louvain Theologians in 1576-77 ⁷⁾. The critical studies on St. Augustine's text, to which Lips devoted more than twenty years, are certainly his greatest accomplishment, and represent a most important contribution to erudition. He, moreover, corrected for Froben the works of St. Hilary, March 1550, and in part those of Symmachus, September 1549. He edited himself in Louvain, Chromatius' *Homiliae*, and a work on Macrobius; he thus set a magnificent example to his *confratres*, by which not only Vlimmer and Coster, but also John Garet ⁸⁾ and John Latomus ⁹⁾ largely benefited. In his ardour for learning, he even gathered the boys of Lens and the neighbourhood, who wished to become 'clerici' or

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 2026, 8 (August 16, 1528), 2076, 39-40.

²⁾ E. g., June 17, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1837, 79.

³⁾ In November 1531, Lips wrote to Erasmus that he was 'meticulosior quam par sit : tacitus ac demisso capite incedo propter Wynantium et sui similes, qui iam triumphum agunt', as the Paris Faculty had censured the *Colloquia* : Allen, IX, 2566, 219-20, 40-61, 102; his letter of June 17, 1527, explains whom he means : 'Winghius (quem Winantium vocas)...': Allen, VII, 1837, 15; *MonHL*, 561, 557-63.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIX.

⁶⁾ Lips sheltered — probably with the Lens community — within the walls of Huy during that invasion.

⁷⁾ John Vlimmer referred to them in his dedicatory letter to some writings of St. Augustine (Louvain, 1564), addressed to Martin van Rythoven, Bishop of Ypres, March 1564 : AugO, *Supplem.*, 377-82; *NèveRen.*, 207.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXII.

⁹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

scholars, and he taught them by means of a 'Gallo-latnum' book, an adaptation or a reedition of John Custos of Brecht's *Grammatica*, — which can hardly have been printed under his supervision by Plantin ¹). In March 1564, John Vlimmer gratefully commended the excellent work of his master in the preface to the *Sermones aliaque Opuscula* of St. Augustine ²).

B. JOHN VAN HEEMSTEDE

A friend of Martin Lips, the Carthusian John Symons van Heemstede, also greatly availed himself of the genial influence of the *Trilingue* ³). He had studied in the Pedagogy of the Porc, and had promoted Master of Arts by 1520. His elder brother Thierry, vicar of the Louvain Charterhouse, and instructor of the novices, was famous as copyist and as illustrator of books; on that account he was well known to Dorp and Erasmus ⁴). John Symons entered the same order in 1520, and was accepted 'ad osculum' on May 29; he took the cowl on June 10, 1520; on June 10, 1521, he made his profession, celebrating his first mass on June 24, 1522. He, too, was very clever in painting and illustrating manuscripts, besides being well trained in languages and literature; he was Dorp's intimate friend, and, probably on that account, he sent a letter to Erasmus at his decease. In reply the great Humanist wrote to him, on November 8, 1525, a letter with

¹) Cp. *ChronSMart.*, 177; *SweABelg.*, 550-51; *BibBelg.*, 653; *Custos*, xxxiii: no copy is known; Lips died the year Plantin started.

²) Reproduced in Migne's edition: *AugO*, *Supplem.*, 377-82. — Cp. *ChronSMart.*, 176-78, 253; *LipsE*, 665-80; *Mol*, 289; *BibBelg.*, 652-53; *Vern.*, 267, 314; *Miræus*, II, 53; *SweABelg.*, 550-51; *SweMon.*, 23, 223; *FG*, 382; *LatCont.*, 381-83; *NèveRen.*, 205-12; *Hurter*, II, 1474-75; *Allen*, III, 750, *pr*; *MonHL*, 390, 531-56, &c.

³) He was the son of Simon Nicolai, and, being born at Heemstede, near Haarlem, he took that name. He may have studied, at least for a time, in Cologne, where, on November 4, 1514, matriculated 'Joh. Symonis de Haemstede; iur<ium studens>; i<ntrauit>, s<oluit jus matriculationis>: Keussen, 504, 57.

⁴) Thierry Symons was studying laws when he entered the order on January 17, 1505; he pronounced his vows on February 21, 1505, and celebrated his first Mass on February 2, 1506. He succeeded Francis of Edam as prior, in 1539, and died April 3, 1542, leaving deep regrets: *Mol.*, 302; *Vern.*, 268; *PF*, II, 201; *ChronCartLov.*, 453, *v*; *MonHL*, 284.

an epitaph on their late friend, which, if Goclenius approved of it, was to be hung up at the burial place in the porch of the Chapel of the Charterhouse ¹⁾. Heemstede thus became a correspondent of the Great Man, of whom he could show a letter to Martin Lips in the spring of 1527 ²⁾; in November of the same year, he was honoured with the dedication of some epitaphs on J. Froben and on Dorp; with one on Volcaerd, they were printed in the *Ciceronianus* of March 1528 ³⁾. He had induced Gerard Morinck to write a sketch of Dorp's life ⁴⁾, which, no doubt, created some interest in the study on St. Augustine, in which Dorp had been engrossed; when he became informed of those researches, Erasmus wrote about them by the beginning of May 1528 to Morinck himself ⁵⁾.

In 1528, at the death of Rudolf of Hertogenbosch, John van Heemstede was appointed procurator of the Convent; it implies that his life as a monk was exemplary, which is also as good as proclaimed by Erasmus' dedicatory letter to an

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1646, 1-9, 16, 18-35: Erasmus' epitaph was actually exposed in the Charterhouse: *SweMon.*, 237-38 (with *refundens* in the last line, instead of *resignans*). Cp. *MonHL*, 61-408, for Dorp's Apology to his protector Abbot Meinard Man, Morinck's biography, his Correspondence and his *Analecta*: to the two latter collections some new references can be added, chiefly from the second volume of *NijKron.* (the first being indicated in *MonHL* as *NedBib.*): for the letters, cp. *DorpCorr.*, 9 (*NijKron.*, i, 46), 10 (*id.*, ii, 3122), 12 (ii, 2243, 2245-6, 4108), 13 (i, 702-3, ii, 2767, 2770-71), 24 (i, 814, ii, 2938), and as *DorpCorr.*, 11^{bis}, should be added the letter from John de Coster, of Brecht (*Custos*, xl), Antwerp, November 5, 1512, in his *In Etymologiam collectarius* (*NijKron.*, ii, 2733). For the *Analecta*, Dorp's epigram on Barlandus' *Versuum &c.*, *MonHL*, 404, is described in *NijKron.*, i, 222, and ii, 2359, which should be dated 1516 or 1517 (cp. before, i, 228-29); the poem by Alard to the wished-for interpretation of the *Canon Missæ* by Dorp, *MonHL*, 406-8, is referred to in *NijKron.*, i, 57. To his works, *NijKron.*, i, 736-39, is to be added the *Parænesis Isocratis*, which he corrected (*NijKron.*, i, 534, ii, 2603), whereas the *complementum* of the *Aulularium*, of *NijKron.*, i, 737, is reprinted in ii, 3740. For his decease, and his significance in the history of the development of scientific research, which, after an interval of indecision, he resumed full-heartedly and continued gloriously to his untimely death, cp. before, i, 444-45, ii, 258, 263, 502-5, and *MonHL*, 286, sq, 346, sq.

²⁾ Letter of Martin Lips, June 17, 1527: Allen, vii, 1837, 51.

³⁾ Allen, vii, 1900; *EraBib.*, i, 75.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 259, 37, 285, sq.

⁵⁾ Allen, vii, 1994.

edition of Bishop Haymo's *Pia Brevis ac Dilucida in omnes Psalmos Explanatio*, February 28, 1533, sounding as a panegyric of the 'Bonus Monachus' ¹⁾). It did not prevent Heemstede expressing very frankly his hearty sympathy with learning and literature : in a letter written on the occasion of Peter de Corte's promotion as Doctor of Divinity, July 12, 1530 ²⁾), he praised Vives' oration to the students, but utterly condemned the senseless onslaught on languages by Eustace van Sichem, or van der Rivieren ³⁾); he also gave, on that occasion, a most flattering account of the state of the *Trilingue* and of 'their' Goclenius : *Linguae docentur strenue*, he wrote, *et maxime Latina. Exultaret tuus animus si ad professionem concurrentem videres iuventutem, maxime verodum docet noster Goclenius* ⁴⁾).

C. GODFREY FABRICIUS

John van Heemstede was not the only member of the religious communities in Louvain to avail himself of the advantage offered by the teaching and the work of the *Trilingue*. There was about that time a Franciscan friar, Godfrey Fabricius, — either Lefèvre, or Smits, a native of Hodeige, near Waremmes, — who zealously attended the lectures of Goclenius, of Rescius and of Andrew van Gennep, no doubt in the latter years of van der Hoeven's presidency, or under Goclenius' management. He was so impressed with the instruction he got there that he afterwards continued the studies he had started under the guidance of his masters, long after he had left Louvain. Nor did his ability remain unused ; he was appointed, after some time, as professor of Greek, Hebrew and Latin in the Bavarian University of Ingolstadt. He invited there his brother Andrew ⁵⁾), who, after having studied philosophy, theology and literature, and after having worked for some time after 1553 in Louvain as lector of divinity in St. Gertrude's, on the Abbot Philip of

¹⁾ Allen, x, 2771, 83-101 ; *EraBib.*, II, 29.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2353 : letter of July 14, 1530 ; *Cran.*, 56, 26, 83, c, 95, c ; cp. further, Ch. XV.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2353, 15-23.

⁴⁾ Cp. Allen, VIII, 2353, 25-27, VI, 1646, pr ; Mol., 302 ; *ChronCartLov.*, 461, r ; *MonHL*, 284-86, 287, 346, 348.

⁵⁾ Paquot, VIII, 432.

Hosden's invitation, became professor of Ingolstadt, as well as Roman 'orator' of Cardinal Otto Truchsess; he afterwards was appointed councillor of Duke Albert of Bavaria and of his son Ernest ¹). Like his brother Godfrey, Andrew Fabricius applied himself to controversy by his erudition, and also by his most effective dramas ²), which did not fail to produce an excellent impression ³). No wonder that, by 1558, when the University of Ingolstadt wanted a professor for the *Oratoria lectio*, the Louvain academical authorities were urgently requested to send an able man : their choice fell on one of the many students flocking to the *Trilingue*, a John Bosche, of Loon, who was duly recommended and gratefully accepted ⁴).

5. IMITATORS

A. COLEGIO TRILINGUE COMPLUTENSE

If an influence due to a fortuity, like the arrival of Godfrey Fabricius in Ingolstadt as a welcome reader to fill a vacancy amongst the professors, honours the Louvain *Trilingue*, greater glory was brought to her by the *Almæ Matres* that systematically imitated her constitution and copied her methods. First amongst them, as already mentioned, was the recently started University of Alcalá ⁵) : one of its institutes planned by the great Ximenes, was the College of St. Jerome, in which thirty students were to apply themselves in groups of ten on each of the Three Languages ⁶) ; he, moreover had schemed the Colleges of St. Eugene and of St. Isidore, in which poor young boys were to be trained in the classic languages ⁷), with appropriate professors for those lessons ⁸).

¹) He was appointed provost of Alt-Oeting, near Passau, where he died in 1581 : he left several Latin tragedies : *Religio Patiens*, 1566 ; *Samson*, 1569, *Jeroboam Rebellans*, 1568, *Evangelicus Fluctuans*, 1569, besides a *Catechismus Romanus* (Plantin, 1570), *Harmoniæ Confessionis Augustanæ*, 1573, and other controversial writings : Paquot, VIII, 432-37 ; *MünchHum.*, 83, 147.

²) Creizenach, II, 76, 116, 157, sq, 162.

³) NèveMém., 339 ; *Annales Ingolstadiensis Academiæ*, edited by Rotmar & Mederer : Ingolstadt, 1784 : I, 27, sq.

⁴) Cp. further, Ch. XXIV.

⁵) Cp. before, II, 41, 353.

⁶) Cp. Ximenes, 105.

⁷) Cp. Ximenes, 103.

⁸) Cp. Ximenes, 107.

Unfortunately the decease of the venerable Prelate caused a break in the work undertaken for the welfare of the Church ; for Ximenes' aim was to promote it by educating and instructing the clergy, and he had devised as special means, first a positive and historic study of theology on the sound foundation of the intelligence of the Bible, which he caused to be edited with all helps and information available ; and secondly, an investigation of the development of religion through the knowledge of the old Mozarabic liturgy ¹⁾. Already in his lifetime the Franciscan General had tried to hinder the Prelate's reforms, and Alexander VI had even prohibited his attempts at renovating the Orders ²⁾ : it explains how, at his death, his innovations were neglected, except those which were chiefly charitable, — like his homes and his provision for poor girls, inspired by a solicitude which he shared with Erasmus ³⁾ ; or those which had been fully equipped : unfortunately he had left the *Alcala Trilingue* as a mere project ⁴⁾.

Meanwhile the growing prosperity of Busleyden's Institute encouraged the brothers Valdes ⁵⁾ and Vergara to look out for means to realize in their country a similar seat of study and activity. They were seconded most effectually by an enthusiastic pupil of the Louvain School, Diego Gracian de Alderete ⁶⁾, who, after serving Don Juan Manuel at Charles V's Court, had entered the *familia* of Don Francisco de Mendoza, Bishop of Zamora, President of the Council of the Empress ⁷⁾. Juan de Vergara ⁸⁾ had been one of the first students of *Alcala*,

¹⁾ Cp. J. B. Kissling, *Kardinal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros* : Münster, 1917 : 40, sq (of the *Alcala Polyglot Bible*, the Old Testament was ready on July 10, 1517, and the New, on January 10, 1514 : the papal approbation was not given before the spring of 1520), 44 (Mozarabic Rite) 45.

²⁾ *Ximenes*, 180, sq.

³⁾ *Ximenes*, 184.

⁴⁾ *EraSpain*, 372.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 408-9.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 408-12 ; *EraSpain*, 371, sq ; *EraCab.*, 42, sq, 48, 50, sq, 76, sq ; *ValdDial.*, 48, sq, 72, sq, 187, sq.

⁷⁾ He died in 1536 : cp. before, II, 353, 409.

⁸⁾ Juan de Vergara (September 5, 1492-February 22, 1557) had become secretary of Ximenes, and one of his chief artisans of the *Polyglot Bible* ; at his master's death, he entered the Emperor's Court, like Alonso de Valdes, and met Erasmus in Louvain : cp. Allen, v, 1277, pr.

and had even returned there in the summer of 1523, staying to that of 1524, when he became secretary to the Archbishop of Toledo, Alonso de Fonseca ¹⁾; his brother Francis had been appointed in Alcala as Professor of Greek in 1522 ²⁾, whereas Juan de Valdes was studying there theology, but chiefly languages, by 1528 ³⁾. The great ardour that animated those men turned them into propagators and defenders of the studies of the Three Languages, which gave rise to the instituting of the *Collegium Trilingue* of Alcala: its foundation is attributed to Mateo Pascual, of Aragon, Rector of San Ildefonso College ⁴⁾ from October 18, 1528 to the same day of 1529, possibly as a recognition of the part which the entire group he represented had taken in the practical execution of what Ximenes had planned long before. It was placed under the invocation of St. Jerome, patron saint of Christian Humanism, and it comprized twelve scholarships for rhetoric, twelve for Greek, and six for Hebrew; it realized the teaching of languages suggested by Ximenes' constitutions, carried out in a definite and systematic way, which was, without doubt, copied on that which had become the glory of Busleyden's Foundation ⁵⁾.

Little mention is made of the Alcala *Trilingue*, especially in those dreadful days, when linguistics were considered as intimately akin with heresy, chiefly in Spain, where the dread of that evil made harmless *alumbrados*, and even upright mystics, suspicious to the Inquisitors ⁶⁾, whose chief aim seems to have been the discovery of heterodoxy, even in saintly men, like Francis de Borgia and Louis de Granada ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Alonso de Fonseca (c 1477-February 5, 1534): cp. Allen, vi, 1748, pr.

²⁾ Francis de Vergara († December 27, 1545), the youngest, but the most erudite, of three brothers, published some Greek texts and a Greek grammar, which was often reprinted: cp. Allen, vii, 1876, pr.

³⁾ He is especially known for his *Dialogo de Doctrina Christiana... compuesto por vn Religioso*, dedicated to Diego Lopez Pacheco, Marquis of Villena: Alcala de Henares, January 14, 1529. Cp. *EraSpain*, 373; *ValdDial.*, 49, sq, 59, sq, 76, sq, 186, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. *EraSpain*, 371, 392, 453, 514, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. *EraSpain*, 371-72; and before, II, 353.

⁶⁾ Cp. *PortHum.*, 268-77; *EraSpain*, chapters v-ix, xiii.

⁷⁾ Cp. *PortHum.*, for 'el padre Francisco', St. Francis de Borgia, faithful servant of the Empress and of her youngest daughter, Doña

The spirit of those days is strangely illustrated there by the dreadful inroads on justice and charity made in the name of wrongly conceived faith, chiefly on account of excesses of a narrow-minded opposition to all novelties : such as was experienced by Jerome, one of the sons of Diego Gracian de Alderete ¹⁾; and many years were to pass before another of his descendants, Lucas Gracian Dantisco, could safely describe his hero as enjoying his 'letura, como vn Collegial Trilingue en Alcalá', who reads Martial to shorten a long road ²⁾.

B. LANGUAGES IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND

The developing of the linguistic studies in Cologne in the first twenties, had been most prosperous, thanks to the efforts of the '*Three Kings*' ³⁾, viz., the zealous Count Herman of Neuenahr ⁴⁾, the erudite John Cæsarius ⁵⁾ and the ardent James Sobbe, the man who, at the suggestion of Mayor John von Rheydt ⁶⁾, had been entrusted with the mission of reforming the University studies ⁷⁾. Although the necessity

Juana (June 23, 1535-September 8, 1573) : 214, 261-65, 273-77, 282 ; — and for the great author of *Guia de Peccadores* (1505-88), 214, 268, 273-74, 283, 289, sq.

¹⁾ Jerome Gracian, born at Valladolid on June 6, 1545, studied at Alcalá; he became Doctor of Divinity in 1568, and priest in 1569; having entered the Carmelite Order, he was entrusted with its Reformation in 1575, which caused him many difficulties, and finally led to his exclusion from the Order in 1592. On a voyage to Italy, he was taken prisoner by pirates, in October 1593, and sold to the Dey of Tunis, who kept him in captivity until 1595. Clement VIII caused him to be admitted again to his Order, and sent him to preach the Jubilee of 1600 in Barbary. On his return, he assisted his mother at Valladolid in her last days, and buried her. By 1605, Archduke Albert of Austria made him come to Brussels, where he was the confessor of Archduchess Isabel, and died on September 21, 1614. He left, besides a large amount of writings in Spanish about piety and religion, the memory of a holy life : he had been for some time the spiritual director of St. Theresa, and was highly praised by St. Francis de Sales : cp. Paquot, xiv, 400-16.

²⁾ *Galateo Español aora nuevamente impresso, y enmendado* : Madrid, 1722 : 83, sq ; cp. before, II, 411.

³⁾ *UniKöln*, 191, 197.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 436-37.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 281.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 193.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, II, 353-54.

of a close imitation of Louvain was being felt more and more, and was even expressed in the *Quodlibeticæ* of 1523 ¹⁾, the opposition was growing in strength ²⁾; unfortunately, Mayor von Rheydt was aging, and Sobius died untimely before January 25, 1528 ³⁾. Consequently James Ceratinus, who had been induced to come and take up Greek teaching, with the promise of being appointed as professor, soon left Cologne again, after issuing there, in 1529, his pioneering *De Sono Literarum Græcarum*. Indeed, the animosity had become intolerable ⁴⁾, which explains how, in the forties, the jurist Henry Bischoffs, Byscop, of Vucht, complained that in Cologne hardly any more means were given to study Greek and Hebrew than when he was a student in the beginning of the century ⁵⁾; in fact, no other attempt at creating a *Trilingue* was made there before 1550, and, even then it was unsuccessful, although it produced an improvement in the studies and in the teaching of the *Tricoronatum* ⁶⁾.

The situation in the other German Universities was hardly more brilliant. Leipzig, where Richard Croke had been warmly welcomed in 1515 ⁷⁾, now was compelled to try and enlist the help of Erasmus to stave off decline ⁸⁾; nor could they keep very long the clever Ceratinus, whom the great Erudite had coaxed to Saxony in 1525 ⁹⁾. When, in 1527, Philip, Grand Duke of Hesse, started his University of Marburg ¹⁰⁾, he insistingly declared that he wanted to show that he did not share the current opinion asserting that, on

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 354.

²⁾ There were still difficulties, largely due to the old feud between Ortwin Gratius and von dem Busche : cp. Delprat, 120-21, 156, *sq.*, 166, *sq.*

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 354.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 353-55.

⁵⁾ *UniKöln*, 191; he matriculated on August 23, 1505 : *Henr. Wucht* : Keussen, 467, 27; he became canon of St. Ursula's and town secretary of Cologne; he died on October 18, 1561 : *Bianco*, I, 833; *Weinsberg*, I, 335.

⁶⁾ *UniKöln*, 200-201, 371; *Tricoron.*, 47, *sq.*, 53, *sq.*; *Weinsberg*, I, 104; &c. The *Trilinguist* Christian Cellarius, of Furnes (cp. further, Ch. XVII), taught for a time in the *Bursa Cucana*, but left soon after 1538 : *Tricoron*, 34, 54.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 274-77; *ZKG*, xxiii (1902), 432-33 : letter of Croke to Spalatin, May 12, 1516.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, II, 347.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, II, 325-27.

¹⁰⁾ Paulsen, 307; *PhilHessen*, 231, *sq.*, 337, *sq.*; *Rommel*, I, 194, *sq.*

account of the Gospel, all other studies should be moved aside or abolished ¹⁾. He even appears to have withstood on that account his chief helper in the founding, Francis Lambert of Avignon ²⁾; for certain, he caused John Lonicerus to be nominated for Greek ³⁾, and, for Latin, Herman von dem Busche ⁴⁾, besides the old friend of the Louvain *Trilingue*, Eobanus Hessus ⁵⁾; there worked, for a time, Peter Plateanus, who had been trained at Busleyden College ⁶⁾; another old student of that same Institute, Sebastian Neuzen, was invited as professor of Hebrew ⁷⁾. One more Louvain man, Gerard Geldenhouwer, was entrusted with the teaching of history ⁸⁾, and Philip even wished to secure the services of two others, as professors of Law, Claud Cantiuncula ⁹⁾, as well as of one of the glories of the *Trilingue*, Viglius, the future great statesman ¹⁰⁾: for the latter two, he naturally failed in his endeavours. It was especially after the Imperial acknowledgment of 1541 was granted, that the new University knew some years of prosperity ¹¹⁾.

If the all-important question of Reformation proved a real obstacle to the free development of Humanism in Germany, the tyrannical obstinacy of the new Head of the Church of England had an inauspicious influence on the teaching of languages and of literature in the British Universities. Besides, as a great historian has declared of his native country, England 'was exceptionally callous to the attractions of culture, as such' ¹²⁾; neither would it 'receive its learning from abroad'; nor was it 'to be captivated by brilliancy' ¹³⁾. It may explain why the linguistic studies, established by

¹⁾ *UniMarb.*, 13.

²⁾ *UniMarb.*, 12-14, 39-40.

³⁾ *UniMarb.*, 16, 41; Rommel, I, 195, II, 195.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 479-84; Rommel, I, 205; *UniMarb.*, 40.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 32-37; Rommel, I, 205.

⁶⁾ From 1532 to 1533: Rommel, II, 195; and before, II, 576.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 376-79; Rommel, II, 195.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 378-79, II, 194-95 (he was succeeded in his professorate by Andrew Gheeraerds, Hyperius, who also taught theology), &c; Rommel, II, 188-89.

⁹⁾ *UniMarb.*, 19, 44; and before, II, 361, 609-10.

¹⁰⁾ *UniMarb.*, 44; Hoyneck, I, i, 117; *LuChaV*, v, 332; and before, II, 145-53, 157, 160, 433, sq, 459, sq.

¹¹⁾ *PhilHessen*, 337, sq.

¹²⁾ Creighton, 31.

¹³⁾ Creighton, 43.

Bishop R. Fox in Oxford ¹⁾, made little headway at first ²⁾ although admirably helped by men like Lupset ³⁾ and Vives ⁴⁾. And yet, they were most successfully practised by private scholars, who seemed to prolong the admirable series of the far-sighted noblemen and the clever ambassadors, like Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, like the Bishops Molyneux, of Chichester, and Shirwood, of Durham, who, before 1520, had brought treasures of manuscripts and books from Italy ⁵⁾. What England missed in public instruction, at least until the teaching of languages had spread firm roots in Oxford and Cambridge, was abundantly redeemed by an unceasing activity directed towards the translating of the great works of Antiquity, from Surrey and Wyatt's *Æneid*, 1530, to Heywood's Seneca, 1559, and North's Plutarch, 1579, as well as by an abundant choice of foreign classic literature in the various *Miscellanies* and *Collections of Dainty Devices* ⁶⁾.

C. PARIS ROYAL PROFESSORS

The most unequivocal praise on the constitution and the activity of the Louvain *Trilingue*, is implied, if not expressed, by its substantial and close imitation in Paris, where King Francis, incited by Budé, had designed, ever since 1517, founding a similar school of languages, but was very slow in bringing his plan into execution. Only in March 1530, an actual start was made. Thanks to Budé's steady pressure, Francis appointed five professors at his pay ⁷⁾ to begin the long-schemed lectures ⁸⁾. There were two for Greek, Peter Danès and James Toussain, or Toussaint; two for Hebrew, Francis Vatable and Agathius Guidacerius ⁹⁾, and one for

¹⁾ Creighton, 41.

²⁾ Creighton, 34, 36, 41.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 43, 358.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 359, sq.

⁵⁾ Creighton, 18-26, 14; so were John Tiptoft (Creighton, 22), and Andrew Ammonius, who greatly helped the studies in England: Creighton, 26; Schirmer, 26, sq, 60, 100, sq, 151, sq; Allen, I, 218, pr.

⁶⁾ Cp. e. g., *Mat.*, xli, xlii-xlvii, and sources quoted; Max J. Wolff, *Die Renaissance in der Englischen Literatur*: Bielefeld, 1928: 46-56; &c.

⁷⁾ On March 27, 1531, the five professors are inscribed as having a right to a year's salary: Lefranc, 394-97.

⁸⁾ Already on February 5, 1517, Budé wrote to Erasmus about Francis I's project to invite him to come and to teach in Paris: Allen, II, 522, 127, sq.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, II, 79-80.

mathematics, Oronce Finé. Though entitled to payment from that month, they do not seem to have taken up at once a decided position as the realizers of the great scheme. It was owing, no doubt, to the fact that everybody expected there and then, a special building, and an adequate organisation, with the necessary funds and means to bring into existence the distinct entity of an Institution for the study of languages, an actual *Trilingue*, which, in fact, was not realized before 1610, when the *Collège de France* was founded ¹⁾.

The appointment of the professors, meanwhile, was considered as a preliminary to the execution of the great plan. Writing to James Toussain, on January 30, 1531, Erasmus congratulates him on the nomination as Greek professor, which had been promised to him as early as 1527 ²⁾; he adds that, having heard of the appointment of Danès, he conjectures that there will be two lessons for one language ³⁾. Toussain explained the situation ⁴⁾, and Erasmus did not lose any time in communicating to the professors of Busleyden College the details of the event, which he rightly considered as a cause of glory for the Louvain Institution and for themselves. 'Whatever be the success of this <new> *Collegium Bilingue*, he wrote to them on March 17, 1531 ⁵⁾, your fame certainly

¹⁾ Lefranc, 113, sq; on pp 107-113 is explained that lecturers were appointed, but no school founded.

²⁾ Letter of James Toussain to Erasmus, June 29, 1527 : Allen, vii, 1842, 26-28. — James Toussain, *Tus(s)anus*, a native of Troyes, studied in Paris where he lived in the house of the lawyer and councillor Louis Ruzé, Budé's friend, until 1524, and worked for Josse Badius; for several years he was Budé's pupil. In 1515, he started giving private lessons in Greek in Paris and about 1526, public ones; he entered the service of the ambassador Louis, Count of Canossa, in 1529, when, by November 1529, he was secured by Francis I as professor of Greek and appointed in March 1530; notwithstanding some temporary absence, he remained in that office until his death, on March 15, 1547 : Lefranc, 173-76, &c; Allen, iii, 810, 450, ii, 489, pr; Budé, 249; BudERép., 33-34, 107, 124, 133-34, 212, 217; Herminjard, iii, 57, 161; MonHL, 457, &c.

³⁾ Letter to James Tusanus, Jan. 30, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2421, 23, sq, 57-59.

⁴⁾ On March 13, 1531, Erasmus wrote an answer to the letter that informed him of the appointments : Allen, ix, 2449.

⁵⁾ Allen, ix, 2456. In the first edition, that date was indicated as 'Id. Cal. April.', which was afterwards corrected as 'Ip.' or 'ipsis Cal', whereas the place of the letter in the collections seems to imply 'I6', which was mistaken as 'Id'.

remains intact, for you were the first to attempt that most beautiful matter, and you provoked others to emulate you. To crown your glory, has to be added that you received and sustained the first onslaughts of envy and ill-will, and thus made the undertaking very much lighter for those who follow. Besides, your strength of mind will be the more praiseworthy, because it was not protected against the assailants by any royal authority' ¹).

Still, with that feeling of pride, the news of the appointment of the professors of language by Francis I, brought the fear that the great renown of Paris, and the royal munificence, would attract a large number of students. In fact, in 1530, a Flemish erudite, John Stratius ²), in a *Gratulatio* addressed to Queen Eleanor, Charles V's sister, on her marriage with Francis, praised the *Gymnasium* to be founded in Paris as likely to surpass all the Academies, and all the *gymnasia* of the world ; stating that it would welcome a selection of young men from all nations, able to take charge of the service of the

¹) Allen, ix, 2456, 1-11.

²) John Stratius, no doubt van der Stra(e)ten, a poet, was probably connected with the Imperial Court, or at any rate residing in Spain in 1531, when Joannes Secundus left Madrid for Belgium, and dedicated to him his *Elegia XIV : JSecOp.*, 72-74 ; *BibBelg.*, 567 ; NijKron., i, 1959 ; *DelPoBel.*, III, 430. He was acquainted with Louis de Praet, Lord of Flanders, also with William Snoeckaert, Zenocarus, Imperial Councillor and Librarian, and with Damian a Goes (cp. Zenocarus' letter to Goes, Brussels, July 12, 1542 : *GoesO.*, +11, r) ; he had a canonry in Our Lady's, Antwerp (*BibBelg.*, 567 ; *AntwDiercx.*, iv, 56), — all of which suggests that he was the son of Peter van der Straten, the Antwerp broker, who, from October 1515, negotiated loans and money transactions for the Courts of Margaret of Austria and Charles V on the Antwerp Exchange, and repeatedly advanced money himself from 1522 on. He was appointed in return as one of the wardens of the Antwerp Mint in 1517, made Imperial Councillor in 1519, and ennobled in 1521. He enjoyed the Emperor's favour until his death, 1534 : *FugZAlt.*, i, 363-64, II, 39-48. The *Cecilia Stratia*, a Councillor's daughter, who died in Mechlin on October 27, 1534, at the age of 22, in the first year of her marriage with Matthew Despomeraulx (*MalInscr.*, 93 ; *SweMon.*, 379) was probably his daughter and John's sister. — A quite different 'mr joan. van der Straten, brugensis', matriculated in Louvain, July 31, 1536 : *LibIntIV*, 87, r ; in 1547, he obtained the second prebend in St. Donatian's, and died in 1552 : *BrugSDon.*, 110 ; Schrevel, i, 42 ; *Cran.*, 212, 91 (probably his father) ; *FlandScript.*, 104 (mixing up the two).

mind, *cultus ingenii* ; libraries, he added, though most useful, are only for the few who can employ their resources, whereas the benefit of this most noble and famous *Gymnasium* will reach in any place all those who are fond of virtue and humanity ¹⁾. That laudatory announcement, by which a *Belga* at Torrelaguna, a few miles North of Madrid, wished to please Queen Eleanor, was published within a few weeks in Paris, and soon printed at Antwerp ²⁾ and in Basle ³⁾ ; it seems to have expressed the general feeling that the new lectures were going 'to be a stream which was sure to irrigate and fertilize many lands' ⁴⁾.

No wonder that Erasmus expected a diminution in the number of auditors in the Louvain *Trilingue* : people mostly are attracted by new things, he wrote, and France has just come to be at peace with us. He therefore urged the professors, not only to work with their accustomed zeal, but even to improve upon it, so as to keep up the number of listeners reached by their skilled teaching. If the auditors become less numerous, he argued, it is to be feared that the professors will feel more frigid at their task, and that has to be prevented by alle possible care and zeal ⁵⁾. Up to now, he concludes, the first acts of the drama have been fine, in so far that the exposition will excite the emulation of the group of Royal Professors, but your vigilance will secure an issue worthy of applause ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ *Ad eminentissimam ac nobilissimam Leonoram Galliae Reginam... de ejus felicitate et matrimonii cum Christianissimo Francisco Gal-lorum Rege Gratulatio*, auctore Joanne Stratio : Parisiis apud Sorbonam (Ger. Morrhe); the oration, dated from Turris a Lacu, March 21, 1530, was printed July 14, 1530 ; it is partly quoted in Lefranc, 114.

²⁾ *Ad Divam Leonoram, Galliae Reginam, Caroli Cæsaris germanam Sororem, de eius foelicitate & matrimonio... Gratulatio* : Antwerp, John Grapheus, July 1530 ; it is dedicated to *Franciscus à Turri, Vicecomes Turrenæ*, who, as ambassador, represented the Princess at the ceremony of the betrothal : NijKron., 1, 1959 ; *FlandScript.*, 104.

³⁾ An edition is recorded at Basle, by Oporinus, to which Gilbert Cousin's *Burgundia* was joined : *FlandScript.*, 104.

⁴⁾ Lefranc, 114-15.

⁵⁾ Allen, ix, 2456, 19-24.

⁶⁾ *Hactenus pulchre se habent primi actus fabulae. Protasim excitabit æmulatio Collegii Regii, vestra vigilantia imponet plausibilem catastrophem* : Allen, ix, 2456, 24-26 ; Erasmus wrongly called the Royal lectures a *Collegium Regium*, which only started in 1610 : Lefranc, 113.

More even than about the possible fall of the number of auditors, Erasmus was concerned about the disadvantage of the situation of the Louvain staff compared with that of their Paris colleagues. He frankly owns to the far more favourable conditions offered by Francis, as there are two professors for each language, and as their fees are much higher : namely 200 gold pieces, *écus au soleil* ¹⁾, which, by 1530, were worth $36 \times 200 = 7200$ stivers, whereas in Louvain they were paid only 54 gold florins, equivalent to $20 \times 54 = 1080$ stivers ²⁾, to which have to be joined the free meals and the lodging, which, for the rich boarding students, were reckoned at 50 gold florins, or $20 \times 50 = 1000$ stivers ³⁾ ; it brought the fees in all only to about 2080 stivers ⁴⁾. In the face of that disadvantage Erasmus could only evoke the limited means of Busleyden, who, as he explained to Toussain, on March 13, 1531, would have grown richer if he had lived longer, so as to found a College that might have rivalled Francis I's foundation : although possessing hardly enough to provide for his professors, he did what he could, and bestowed the whole of his fortune on his College ⁵⁾. The professors were repeatedly told that the Founder had devoted to his scheme whatever he possessed, exalting his exemplary spirit of sacrifice : Erasmus therefore pleaded the necessity of taking things as they were ; he added the argument *ab absurdo*, that he only then would advise imitating the Paris plan, where no Latin was taught, if the professor of that language would forego his advantages so as to enlarge the salary of his two colleagues ⁶⁾.

The very sanguine expectations, however, roused by the French King's scheme, were far less brilliant in reality than they appeared, even to men like Erasmus. It soon became manifest that the Latin lesson had not been left out of the

¹⁾ In March 1531, four of the five professors appointed the preceding year were booked for 'II C escuz soleil', and Finé only for 'CL escuz', probably not having taught a whole year : Lefranc, 394.

²⁾ *ClénCorr.*, II, 20.

³⁾ Cp. *AccHoevI*, 5, r, 37, v ; and the subsequent accounts.

⁴⁾ It represents on 28.88 per hundred of what was paid in Paris.

⁵⁾ Allen, IX, 2449, 26-31.

⁶⁾ Allen, IX, 2456, 11-18.

scheme since that language was already so flourishing there, that it did not want a special professor, as Erasmus seemed to surmise ¹⁾; but because the teaching of it was claimed by the Faculty of Arts as part of her monopoly ²⁾. Yet, although there were several who lectured or tutored on Latin, it was deemed indispensable to appoint a Royal professor of Latin eloquence, and, in 1534, on Budé's advice, Bartholomew Latomus, an old *Trilinguist* ³⁾, was nominated. He at once complained to Erasmus about the opposition from the heads of the various Colleges, who feared for their own lectures; moreover, he felt that his position was begrudged to him as a foreigner ⁴⁾. Erasmus had already encouraged Tusanus against similar difficulties, saying that they were as the concomitants of the beginnings of all great and lasting things ⁵⁾; he added that in Paris the struggle would be lighter than in Louvain, not only on account of the advance of learning made since several years, but especially of the King's protection ⁶⁾. Be that as it may, the animosity soon proved very bitter. Before the lectures of Greek or Hebrew had actually started, they were attacked by the Sorbonne, condemning, on April 30, 1530, two propositions which declared that those languages were necessary for the study and for the explanation of the Bible ⁷⁾. Most of all, the new professors were hampered in the very thing which had seemed their greatest advantage, the really royal salary; it must have been with a dram of relief, that Erasmus announced on May 14, 1533, to Viglius that conditions did not prove by far as bright in Paris as they had appeared to be in the beginning: through the perfidy 'cujusdam Trapezitæ', the finances had been ruined; the King's liberality had been stopped, and the professors, not having been paid a penny

¹⁾ Letter to Tusanus, March 13, 1531: Allen, ix, 2449, 34.

²⁾ Lefranc, 120.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 591-602.

⁴⁾ Letter of Latomus to Erasmus, Paris, June 29, 1535: Allen, xi, 3029, 20-36.

⁵⁾ A talibus... initiis semper exortæ sunt res præclaræ diuque regnaturæ: Allen, ix, 2449, 3-4.

⁶⁾ Letter to Tusanus, March 13, 1531: Allen, ix, 2449, 1-26.

⁷⁾ Delisle, 81, sq; Lefranc, 122-23; *DébAgeMod.*, 283; Herminjard, III, 160, &c.

for two years, had all resigned, with the only exception of Tusanus ¹⁾. Rumour may have exaggerated the facts : yet, they actually proved critical : the salary for the first year, entered into the treasurer's account of March 1531, was not paid before June 1535 ; nor was the work done from 1534 to 1538, remunerated in actual money before 1539 : so that the professors had to live on fair promises. That inconvenience lasted throughout Francis' reign by want of organisation and of control on the treasury, notwithstanding the frequent appeals to the King and to personages like the Cardinal du Bellay ²⁾. That unjust treatment, from which the University professors were safe, as their emoluments were derived from regular revenues, compelled Toussain to suspend his lectures, and made him request a leave, which was granted in 1534 ³⁾ ; it also caused his substitute, John Straselius ⁴⁾, to stop his teaching, and to return to his native country to gather amongst his kith and kin the necessary money to subsist in Paris ⁵⁾.

The Royal Chests, an author remarks ⁶⁾, were inexhaustible for the many and magnificent buildings of Francis I ; unfortunately, when the indispensable College, promised during so many years, had to be erected, or when the language professors had to be paid for the lectures that had been actually given, they were found empty !

6. FINANCES

A. HELP REQUESTED BY ERASMUS

The disorderly working of the group of Royal Lecturers of Paris, due to the irregular payment of their wages ⁷⁾, was most fortunately spared to the Louvain *Trilingue*, of which

¹⁾ Allen. x, 2810, 67-69, 63-67.

²⁾ Lefranc, 126-31.

³⁾ He had already been absent for some time, being at Basle by May 1533, according to a letter of Peter Siderander to James Bédrot, May 28, 1533 (Ch. Schmidt, *Vie de Gérard Roussel* : Strassburg, 1845 : 201) : Herminjard, III, 57, 161 ; Lefranc, 129 ; cp. before, II, 416.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 415-16.

⁵⁾ Letter of Vatable and Toussain to Cardinal du Bellay, May 12, <1533> : Lefranc, 129-30.

⁶⁾ Lefranc, 129, 126-32.

⁷⁾ Cp. Lefranc, 126-32.

the professorships had been duly provided for by the Founder and by the executors. Based on actual revenues, they were regularly paid, which was far more conducive to careful and regular teaching and studies, than the far higher nominal wages granted by Francis I. Still, on account of the incessant fall in the values of gold and silver, with its unavoidable economic results, their salary had, for certain, become since some time susceptible of improvements; through the continuous decline of the purchasing power of the money, the work of the highest order that was accomplished in the *Trilingue*, already scantily remunerated in the beginning on account of the Founder's limited resources, was paid most inadequately by 1530. Erasmus was constantly urging the professors to reach the acme of excellence, and yet he knew from experience that the executors, who themselves had not only made the most of their limited means, but also of the rightful ambition of the young candidates to fix low salaries in the beginning, were averse to forego the advantage thus gained, and found a ready answer to all proposals of adjustment in the straightened circumstances through which the College was struggling.

In his sincere desire to move out of the way all obstacles that might impede the progress of his *Trilingue*, Erasmus decided to apply to the generosity of Erard de la Marck ¹⁾, who was adorning the towns of his diocese, and even those of the Emperor's dominion, with splendid and costly buildings. On September 7, 1530, he wrote to him, mentioning his munificence, which secured him the glory of great liberality and affection to the general weal. He was, to everybody's opinion, rightly loaded with dignities and riches, and yet whatever he had gained in resources and magnificence, was not secured for himself, but used for public utility. Erasmus then mentions the recently founded *Collegium Trilingue*, which is not the least of the ornaments of the Imperial estate. But its revenues are so scanty that they hardly are sufficient for the necessary expenses. The plan which Busleyden had conceived was royal, and if the means of that man, worthy of everlasting remembrance of humanity, had been as large as his beneficence, there would have been no need of the help of

¹⁾ Allen, III, 738, *pr* ; *CorpCath.*, xvii, 29-30 ; *MonHL*, 481-82, &c, and sources quoted.

strangers. The whole of his fortune was devoted to his great enterprise. 'If your Highness, he continues, would deign to favour the College, you would not only greatly deserve of studies, but you would acquire a large amount of real glory with men, and lend in usury to God a most agreeable object, — for what word could I use more appropriately, since, in return for your temporal munificence, you will be repaid with the reward of celestial life? You have so many occasions to be most beneficial, even without the least loss to your own good : if then you would think of the *Trilingue*! Whoever sincerely desires to do as much good as he can to anybody, is, in a sense, helped by one who 'pulls his ear', advising him where he might rightly bestow his benefit. You know that I am not accustomed to beg for myself; therefore, since the love of study makes me a beggar, it would be humanity in you to grant to your clemency rather than to my insistency' ¹).

There is no trace in Erasmus' correspondence, nor in President van der Hoeven's accounts, of any favourable result of this appeal, which may have been hoped to be made more successful by requesting the interference of Thierry Hezius, who was considered to be most devoted to Erasmus ²). At any rate some letter or other was addressed to him in the name of Busleyden's executors in November 1529 ³), and possibly Erasmus himself applied for help to his old friend on that occasion ⁴). On August 28, 1530, Goclenius sent the startling news to Freiburg that, after an inquest by Hezius, Erasmus' books had been proscribed from the Liège school of the Hieronymites, adding his doubts as to its veracity, since Hezius was considered just, prudent, and 'amicissimus Erasmo' ⁵). It did not last long before the latter found out

¹) Allen, ix, 2382, 7-34.

²) Allen, ix, 2369, 25, sq, also v, 1331, 42, 1339, pr, 1342, 639, sq, 1353, 225, sq, 1382, 14, 1470, 49, 1483, vi, 1589, 17, 1589a, 2, sq, vii, 1875, 152, sq; *Cran.*, 228, a-e; *MonHL*, 509-16.

³) *Jtem voer briueu ad Dñm theodericum hesium te draeghene totter heeren vander Collegien : AccMarvIII*, 84, r.

⁴) Cp. before, II, 613, 636, also 269, sq, and references quoted. His canonry at Liège, was given to his friend and executor Henry Daems, of Mierlo, parish priest of St. Quintin's, Louvain : *Mol.*, 75, 359, 625, 633.

⁵) Letter to Goclenius, December 14, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2587, 64-66.

that the friend, 'qui quum Romæ <eum> impotenter amaret, reuersus in patriam videtur factus alius' ¹⁾, as he learned from Martin Lips' letter of November 1531, referring to a message which, at his request, had been sent by Galterus, *quondam* canon of Liège and Maastricht ²⁾).

Judging from the animosity of Hezius against Erasmus and all his principles, which had certainly been kindled in him in Rome by Aleander ³⁾, and which in his letter of June 15, 1536, at the news of Paul III's briefs of August 1 (and 5), 1535, to the Humanist ⁴⁾, seems to have been little less than an obsession or a *rabies* ⁵⁾, it is evident that he will have done anything to dissuade his Bishop from helping to realize Erasmus' scheme, by developing the study of languages and literature ⁶⁾. For it is hardly possible that the limitedness of Erard's means should have prevented him from contributing a mite to the *Trilingue*, since, at his death, he left a fabulous amount of money, mostly garnered from preferments in places in which he never put a foot, and from all kinds of ecclesiastical revenues and profits, of which by far the larger part was squandered on unglorious relations ⁷⁾.

B. GOCLENIUS' QUEST OF PREBENDS

It is quite possible that Erasmus tried to interest some of his wealthy friends in the *Trilingue*; but no help seems to have reached those presidents whose accounts have been

¹⁾ Allen, ix, 2566, 173-85. ²⁾ Allen, ix, 2587, 62. ³⁾ Cp. before, II, 269, sq.

⁴⁾ Vischer, 34, sq; FG, 262-63; *ErasBur.*, II, 388, 385-93; *ErasLaur.*, I, 656, sq, 688.

⁵⁾ *AléaLiège*, 302-05.

⁶⁾ The feelings of Bishop de la Marck towards Erasmus do not seem at all independent of circumstances: the mention of his standing to Luther before his condemnation (*MarckHalk.*, 131, 229, 251; *CorpInq.*, iv, 522), and his dread of displeasing the Louvain divines (cp. before, I, 427, 433, 435), probably led to temporal estrangements, which were continued as years went on (cp. before, II, 276-77, 283; Allen, III, 980, 36, vi, 1585, 41-49); the man's unreliableness and suspicious insatiability, no doubt, also caused his rejection as Supreme Inquisitor by Margaret of Austria: cp. before, II, 276-77, 283; *CorpInq.*, iv, 331-33; — *MonHL*, 481-82.

⁷⁾ It seems that, after paying all legacies and expenses, and even the claims, some of which amounted to 40 000 florins, there were still left to the heir more than 300 000 gold florins: *MarckHalk.*, 248, sq.

preserved. Besides, he himself continually claimed the payment of his Imperial pension, and experienced one disappointment after another, as his protectors felt powerless under the gloomy circumstances. On that account the professors themselves, who had been recommended in vain to the munificence of Giles de Busleyden and to the generosity of the executors ¹⁾, were compelled to look out for some accession to their scanty salaries.

Goclenius was far more successful than his colleagues in that respect. Thanks to his excellent teaching and to his pleasing character, he had a large amount of well-paid private lessons; and, after some years, he was entrusted with the general tutoring of sons of the best families ²⁾: he took care of their studies, served as their mentor in worldly as well as in intellectual affairs, and even acted as intermediary between their families and the *Trilingue*. Of the sixteen boarders recorded in President van der Hoeven's *Manuale*, from 1529 to 1534, nine enjoyed his tuition, and had even their schooling and fees paid through him ³⁾. That tutoring and caretaking brought to Goclenius a good amount of additional earnings, paid in money or in valuable presents ⁴⁾, but could not make up for the entertainment of the many visitors at the College, which had become so numerous that the professor's loss in

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 612: Goclenius wrote to Erasmus on July 14, 1530: *Ægidii Busleidii nota est tenacitas; non audet de alieno esse liberalis, ne quando discat etiam esse de suo*, — which implies that Erasmus had tried in vain to obtain some liberality for the staff: Allen, VIII, 2352, 330-331. It may have been in order to dispose him in favour of the College that, in the last weeks of Wary's presidency, apparently in November 1529, some of the Founder's books, far less important to strangers than to relatives, were made over to him against a payment of 'L Rg': *AccMarvIII*, 2, v. Amongst them was probably his brother's manuscript *Lusus*, more valuable to him as remembrance, than to the *Trilingue*. At any rate, after Giles' death Jerome's *Carmina*, *Epistolæ* et *Orationes* became the property of one of his sons, who scribbled some remarks in it before passing it to his friend, the Canon of St. Donatian's, Bruges, John de Fevyn: cp. *Busl.*, 163-64.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 619.

³⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, r-4, v: Corn. Susius, Charles de Locquenghien, Baltasar Künrinck, Jerome Sandelin, John Erasmus Froben, Corn. van Zegerscapelle, Arnold Sasbout, Herman Falco, and, after Campensis' leave, Michael of Horrion.

⁴⁾ *StudAtt.*, 26, 29, 34, 36.

time and money was so considerable as to make him regret the refusal of many offers in the past ¹⁾).

To be true, he had tried to compensate the costly living by means of the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts, which had provided him, on April 19, 1525, with, at least, the appointment to a canonry in our Our Lady's of Antwerp ²⁾). Unfortunately that nomination was contested by a candidate backed by the *Curia Romana* ³⁾), which had compelled him to bring the case before the Court of the *Conservator Privilegiorum* ⁴⁾), where the suit remained undecided for years ⁵⁾). On July 14, 1530, he announced to Erasmus that his opponent had offered a large pension if he would abandon his claim; he decided, however, to pursue it, notwithstanding the trouble and the loss of time it cost him, adding, that if he got disappointed as the dog with its shadow, he could console himself with his savings, which would allow him to live comfortably; moreover he had further and better expectations, if he wished to accept them ⁶⁾). In the autumn of 1531, his claim was acknowledged; still, on November 23, 1531, when thanking Erasmus for his congratulations 'de victoria Antuerpiensi', he had to announce that the adversaries had started a new action, merely to make the prebend as long fruitless as could be, since the emoluments belonged to the Chapter during the lawsuit ⁷⁾). The news of the new action, probably an appeal against the sentence just given, greatly disappointed Erasmus; he at once recommended his dear friend's cause to the Imperial secretary Alonso de Valdes, although, as he wrote on December 14, 1531, he ignored exactly which court had decided the case; he would have applied also to Cardinal Campeggio, who was residing as Legate in the Netherlands, if he had been sure that it would not harm; at any rate he

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 610, *sq.* 619.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 617.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 618.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 618; *Cran.*, 95, *d.*

⁵⁾ Letter of Goclenius, May 10, 1528: *Lis Antuerpiensis mihi adhuc litigatur, non paruo temporis dispendio; nam subinde est mihi apparendum iudici. Sed credo bene fore*: Allen, VII, 1994a, 67-69.

⁶⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 334-340.

⁷⁾ Allen, IX, 2573, 57-65: Goclenius hopes soon to treat his adversaries *vicissim... non bene, sine omni meo periculo.*

hoped to hear soon Goclenius say, otherwise than in a dream : 'Vicimus !' ¹⁾).

When in November 1531, the Papal Nuncio Aleander paid a visit to the *Trilingue*, and applied for a secretary, Goclenius availed himself of that occasion to recommend his lawsuit to the man who seemed wanting to make peace with Erasmus, and who certainly enjoyed a considerable authority at the Court ²⁾. He expressed his hope to Erasmus, who, on May 3, 1532, regretted that his letter had not brought him what he longed for, the announcement of his being a canon in reality, and not merely in a dream ; he could not help, he said, feeling diffident on account of the large crowd of vultures ³⁾. In his postscript he mentions his diffidence in Aleander's help ⁴⁾ : *Et τεγγῶν δεινῶν δεινός artifex* ⁵⁾ : realizing with distress that the man who was causing him, Erasmus, as much trouble as he could, did not leave even his friends in peace.

One year later the action was still undecided ; on July 26, 1533, Goclenius, referring to Erasmus' bad augury, announced that the affair was just then 'in ipso cardine' ; the adversaries, who had changed their tactics so often that, compared to them, Proteus was not a Proteus, could not boggle any longer. They had made a decided offer of peace with a considerable indemnity : 'oblata non contemnenda portione' ; but Goclenius had set his mind on seeing the end of it, whether he would be βασιλεύς ἢ ὄνος ⁶⁾. Notwithstanding his aversion to tear himself away from study and lecture-room, he went to Court to call on officials and on influential persons : on March 29, 1533, Olah, writing to Erasmus, mentioned that, since two days, Goclenius had been in Brussels soliciting for his Antwerp canonry, and was returning to Louvain ⁷⁾ ; in so far that

¹⁾ Sed breui expecto fore vt vigilans audiam, Vicimus : Allen, ix, 2587, 40-43.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 32, sq.

³⁾ In literis hoc aberat, quod expectabam maxime, vt certum vigilans audirem te esse Canonicum. Tanta enim vulturum turba facit vt non vacem omni sollicitudine : Allen, x, 2644, 5-8.

⁴⁾ Tu fac vt litem absoluas. Fortassis Aleander nihil tibi profuit in causa tua : Allen, x, 2644, 31-32.

⁵⁾ Allen, x, 2644, 32-33.

⁶⁾ Allen, x, 2851, 52-57.

⁷⁾ OlaE, 330 ; Allen, x, 2785, 81-83 : he also mentions that he had been with him in Louvain, too, and that they enjoyed the secret news of Erasmus' contemplated return : ll 19-25.

Erasmus got alarmed about the welfare of the *Trilingue*, and wrote to him, on November 7, 1533 : *Doleo Collegium istud tam cito frigescere, et peritulum video, nisi Præsidis et Exequutorum cura vigilet, vt Professorum adsit diligentia* ¹⁾. *Campensis abest* ²⁾. *Tu litigas, quamquam celebs. Rescius varias personas sustinet* ³⁾.

Most probably the very trouble that Goclenius experienced in trying to secure the Antwerp canonry, caused him to wish to obtain another prebend to help him to meet his wants : he was most lucky in finding one, — which certainly gave him much less difficulty, and probably was much more profitable than the one he was struggling for. In 1531, at one of his meetings with John Dantiscus, he naturally confided to him the precarious conditions in which he had to work ; it resulted in the latter's promise to see the Imperial secretary, Alonso de Valdes, about it, for which Goclenius thanks him on December 2, 1531 ⁴⁾. On January 21, 1532, he could announce to Dantiscus that Alonso de Valdes was trying to procure him a nomination to the first vacancy at the collation of the Provost of Hougaerde by dint of the privilege of the *Primariæ Preces*, through which a newly-crowned emperor had a right to offer candidatures to whom had to be granted the first vacancies of which some collators could dispose ⁵⁾. There was a dangerous competitor, but Valdes had promised to prove that he had more favourers in Court than those even who seem to be the mightiest ⁶⁾. The intercession proved effective for on July 24, 1534, Goclenius thanked Dantiscus for

¹⁾ On May 3, 1532, he had mentioned that Peter Ægidius had expressed his solicitude about the *Trilingue* on account of Rescius' various avocations and his marriage : Allen, x, 2644, 25-27.

²⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XV-XVI.

³⁾ Allen, x, 2876, 36-40 ; *ErasLaur.*, I, 645 ; *RamCons.*, 50.

⁴⁾ DantE, 181.

⁵⁾ FUL, 4715-23.

⁶⁾ DantE, 188 : Goclenius, in his gratitude to Dantiscus' munificence and his effective intervention, declares : '*Reipsa exterior quam optimatum amiciciæ sint fecundæ*', adding that he already begins by '*magnificentius se gerere, atque e <Dantisci> munificentia Sarmaticis pellibus splendidius ostentare*' : if the Hougaerde scheme should not succeed, he is afraid that he will have to return into the rank and file ; he consequently requests his protector not to let him drop, but to keep him at the height to which he had promoted him.

the influence through which he had been appointed by Imperial nomination to the Provost of Hougaerde : it procured him a 'sacerdotium canonicum' in that church ¹⁾, which gave no less profit, even when not residing, than would the Antwerp canonry. It is such a kind of prebend, he adds, which scholars far prefer : he consequently would be most happy to render any service to his benefactor, to whom he will be eternally thankful ²⁾).

C. FINAL VICTORY

Goclenius had been provided since a good while with the Hougaerde prebend when a favourable sentence was passed in the Antwerp lawsuit, so that he actually was recognized as canon of Our Lady's in the growing Metropolis. The correspondence with his great Master does not seem to be extant for that period ; yet from the Louvain professor's letter of March 21, 1536, it appears that Erasmus had warned him not to be too confident in his victory, as his opponents were such that, thrown overwhelmed on the ground, they would still provoke, sewing on the fox's hide where the lion's does not avail ³⁾. His prevision proved exact. Having gained, through the sentence that condemned them, an exact idea of Goclenius' right and arguments, they brought the case before another judge, and based their claim on a second diploma granted by the Court of Rome, in which all the considerations in favour of the Louvain professor were declared to be void of all value, and his nomination, invalid, as based on *ius infirmatum & derogatum*. Since the *Canones* prohibit abolishing a right acquired by a public sentence, the new diploma was antedated, so as to break the judgment by a new decree ; in full contradiction, however, with its veracity and authenticity, the supposititious date apposed was the same as that on which the opponent had been appointed to the canonry

¹⁾ Hougaerde church, dedicated to St. Gorgonius, said to have been founded by Alpaïs, the mother of Charles Martel († 741), had in former centuries a chapter of canons : *BelgChron.*, 96-97 ; FUL, 4995, 5048.

²⁾ DantE, 290.

³⁾ Allen, xi, 3111, 15-18 : nam solere illud genus etiam prostratum virgere aduersarios, et vulpinum assuere quo non pertingeret leonina.

by the *Curia Romana* by dint of her privileges ; yet its tenor was such that, if accepted in any Court, no shadow of right or chance was left to Goclenius.

In that perplexity, the professor was advised to apply for assistance to the Brabant Council, the natural protector of the country's jurisdiction ; so as to prevent that this and any other sentence duly passed, should be invalidated and cancelled by fallacy and fraud, the Council advised Goclenius to claim the abolishing of the second diploma, the only thing he had the right to request ; they joined to him their Fiscal Procurator, who, in the Emperor's name, claimed the punishment of the public crime against the *Lex Cornelia de Falsis* ¹⁾. The great animator of that move, the real θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, was the Brabant Chancellor, Adolf van der Noot ²⁾, whom

¹⁾ Allen, xi, 3111, 22-47.

²⁾ Adolf van der Noot, Lord of Oignies, born in Brussels on June 3, 1486, was the son of the Forester of Brabant, Peter van der Noot, and of Angèle van der Heyden. His father, who, in 1473, had studied in Bologna, died on November 15, 1510, and was buried in the chapel of the Carthusians, Brussels. In the same year, his son Adolf entered the *Natio Germanica* in Bologna : Knod, 377. He promoted D. V. J., and became councillor of Brabant. In 1522, he was commissioned with John de Trazegnies by Regent Margaret to levy taxes in Luxemburg : Henne, iii, 268 ; in 1531, his relation Jerome van der Noot, son of Walter, Chamberlain and Councillor to Philip and Charles of Austria, and of Digna van Grimbergen, Lord of Risoir and Westwesel, married to Mary of Nassau, Chancellor of Brabant from 1514, resigned his office on account of old age and loss of sight : he died on February 17, 1540 : *SweMon.*, 300-301 ; Henne, i, 63, 220, iv, 124, 127, 208, sq, vii, 303 ; *Busl.*, 94, 321 ; Allen, v, 1300, pr ; *Cran.*, 66, 10 ; *LuChaV*, v, 492 ; Gestel, ii, 3. Adolf van der Noot was appointed as his successor, and, in that quality, took part in the proceedings against Ghent in 1537 and 1540 : *Hoynck*, iii, ii, 310 ; Henne, vii, 62 ; he had been sent on a mission to Maastricht in 1531 : Henne, viii, 233. He was made into a Golden Knight, and was, since 1540, Lieutenant of the Feudal Court ; he died on March 31, 1543 ; he had married Philippote of Watermael, daughter of John, and of Margaret van Pede ; she died on May 17, 1557 : their tombs are in St. Gudula's, Brussels : *BruxBas.*, i, 86 ; *Busl.*, 22 ; *Hoynck*, iii, ii, 310 ; Gestel, ii, 3. Their daughter Anne married the President of the Council of State, Louis de Schore : *Cran.*, 110, d ; another, Philippote, became the wife of Nicolas, son of Giles de Busleyden : *Busl.*, 22-23 ; *LuChaV*, v, 426 ; Simonis, 62-3. No doubt Adolf had made Erasmus' acquaintance, and had occasionally helped him : on May 29, 1536, the old Scholar wrote to him : ' iam olim sum in ære tuo ' : Allen, xi, 3124, 22. He also

Erasmus afterwards thanked effusively for securing to his friend that which he was entitled to; similar quarrels, he added, are roused by the Roman harpies, so that in our country, and in a few others, hardly any prebend can be obtained without lawsuits which last for years ¹⁾.

The adversary, called before the court by the Council, had not the courage to *φαινοπροσωπεῖν*, but took recourse to John de Carondelet, Cardinal Archbishop of Palermo, and his Privy Council ²⁾; being rich and influent, he obtained a *Placitum Principis*, cancelling the sentence given in Goclenius' favour. Whilst, to the universal astonishment, right and the judgment were thus trifled with, and all were overawed by the fear of the mightiest power in the land, they found a dauntless defender in the Chancellor van der Noot. He first convened the board of the Brabant Council, and then the full body, showing them so evidently the injustice of that *Placitum*, that he and the Fiscal Advocate, Peter of Waelhem, were sent to the Queen's Privy Council, where they showed that the measure against Goclenius was absurd, and contrary to all custom and equity. Cardinal de Carondelet could only plead that the Emperor was free to give and to forgive, — *donare et condonare*, — to whom it pleased him, without being bound by any decree of his councils. The Chancellor aptly replied that there was no question here of liberality, but of the right of a third party, *jus tertii*. The argument grew so hot that Carondelet requested Goclenius to leave the Council, to which he had been invited by the Chancellor. In the effervescence the adversary managed to obtain a decree addressed to Goclenius, signed by Queen Mary, evidently enjoining him to desist from his claim; it had to bear the seal of the Chancellor, who, after taking the advice of the Brabant Council, refused to append it. Although the opponents

was a friend of Cornelius de Schepper and of Nicolas Olah : OlàE, 314, 390, 425. The Henry van der Noot, prior of St. Gertrude's Abbey when he matriculated in Louvain, July 6, 1534 : *LibIntIV*, 66, v, was probably a relative.

¹⁾ Thus in France and Scotland, whereas in England measures had been taken to prevent such difficulties : Allen, xi, 3124, 7, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. *Bust.*, 40, 221, 284 ; Allen, iii, 803, 12 ; *MalGod.*, xxx, 285 ; and before, II, *passim*.

threatened to lodge a complaint against him with the Emperor, he decidedly refused to do anything against right or truth or law ¹⁾).

It happened that, just at that time, Doña Menzia de Mendoza, Marchioness of Zenete, wife of Henry, Count of Nassau ²⁾), who admired Erasmus, and always inquired about his letters and his works, as a lover would about the object of his desire, was told by Giles de Busleyden that there was just then in the Court one who knew more than anybody about the Great Man she appreciated so much. Consequently Goclenius was called at once, and, after having talked about his Master, was ordered also to talk about himself. Doña Menzia flared up when she heard of the great injustice that was being done, and, helped by her husband, she tried to bring the adverse party to better thoughts, but in vain. She then applied to the Queen, and enlightened her so well that she decided on hearing the cause herself. Carondelet did what he could to prevent an open exhibition of the difference, but Queen Mary insisted on a public debate between the Council of Brabant and the Privy Council to settle the dispute. They tried to postpone that meeting until such time when Nassau and some of the councillors gained by Doña Menzia, should be absent; but the latter urged an immediate convening, and the debate took place on March 4, 1536. The Chancellor spoke so convincingly that the Queen was gained to his opinion, and, after much discussing, the judgment postponed was

¹⁾ Allen, xi, 3111, 47-152.

²⁾ On June 30, 1524, Henry III, Count of Nassau-Dillenburg and Vianden, Lord of Breda, Sichein, Diest and Geertruidenberg, having lost his first wife, Frances of Savoy (1511), and his second, Claudia of Chalons, heiress of Orange (1521), married Doña Menzia de Mendoza, daughter and heiress of Roderico, Marquis of Cañete, Cenete, Zenete : *Gran.*, 114, 80; Bonilla, 244-45; *Busl.*, 32; cp. *ibid.*, pp 24, 43. Doña Menzia, whom Vives mentioned as most promising when a girl at Valencia in his *De Institutione Foeminæ Christianæ*, 1523 : VOO, iv, 83, greatly favoured literature and erudition; she enjoyed for some time her countryman's tutoring at Breda, 1537-38 : *VivVita.*, 171, 211, 216-19, 20-23, 40, 129; *VivVal.*, 77-78; *OlaCar.*, 21. — After Henry III's death (September 11, 1538), she married the Duke of Calabria, as results from the dedicatory letter of Nannius to his *Dialogismi Heroinarum* : Louvain, 1541 : Polet, 268-69, 44; *MonHL*, 430.

passed a few days later : it stated that Goclenius had the right to declare his adversary to be wrong, notwithstanding all acts or decrees from the Privy Council, and it allowed the Council of Brabant to judge as the case seemed to require ¹⁾. Goclenius related to Erasmus, March 21, 1536, that it finally settled the almost endless lawsuit, and brought satisfaction after the long despairing struggle. There only remained the decision about his right to enjoy the prebend in his absence, about which he asked Erasmus to write to van der Noot, besides thanking him and the Marchioness of Zenete ²⁾. On May 29, 1536, Erasmus expressed his gratitude to the Chancellor, pointing out that, if Goclenius is not residing at Antwerp, he is working his great work for the general welfare. He hopes that the Brabant Council will not allow such a man, who by his erudition promotes and adorns the Emperor's estate, should be called away from public utility to those 'turbas' : for that would cause a great damage to study, and imply, moreover, a slight of the authority which the Council has always enjoyed in Brabant ³⁾.

A month later, Erasmus writes, — his last letter, — to Goclenius on June 28, 1536, that he has sent word to the Chancellor, and would do so to Doña Menzia if he knew where she now was ; having never had any great confidence in the Antwerp prebend, he advises his friend, when all is successfully settled, to liberate himself 'ab illo grege' under favourable conditions. Absent, his emoluments would not be large ; present, he would have to live in a pestilent place, offer festive meals, sit whole days in the Chapter, dissemble and quarrel ; if he had any need, Erasmus' money was at his disposal. Finally, he repeats what he has said before ⁴⁾, that he suspects that the cause of all the trouble has been the

¹⁾ ...<Goclenio> licere, non impediētibz actis et decretis Secreti Consilii, peragere reum aduersarium et Consilio Brabantiae iudicare, prout qualitas causae videbatur postulare : Allen, XI, 3111, 149-152.

²⁾ Allen, XI, 3111, 153-168.

³⁾ Allen, XI, 3124, 11-21 : he argues that if Goclenius' cause were weak for some reason or other, yet he would deserve to be helped by the favour of the judge. Now his case is most just, — and is even linked to the authority of the Brabant Council.

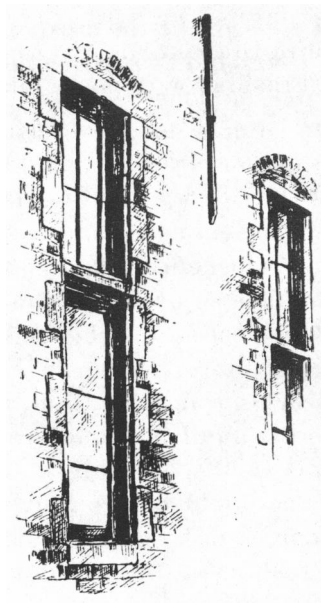
⁴⁾ In his letter to Goclenius of May 3, 1532 : Allen, x, 2644, 9-15, 21-22, 32-33 ; cp. before, pp 34, 96.

one who excites the Scaligers, the Dolets and the Merulas against him ¹⁾; to whom it is not sufficient, in his Jewish hatred, to molest him, if he cannot molest also his best friends ²⁾. Although no documents seem to be preserved, it appears certain that Goclenius was actually a Canon at Antwerp; his decease is recorded in the Annals of that town ³⁾.

¹⁾ Namely Aleander : cp. before, pp 36, 93 .

²⁾ Allen, xi, 3130, 1-17 ; *SweMon.*, 27 ; *AntvDiercx.*, iv, 75 : no mention is made of the difficulties connected with his nomination.

³⁾ *AntvDiercx.*, iv, 75 ; *AntwHist.*, iii, 100.



Trilingue :
architectural
detail

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
<i>Trilingue</i> : architectural detail	<i>pp 103</i>
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	178
Entrance to the <i>Wendelsteen</i> (cp. II, pp 48, 52)	382
Doorway leading to Lecture Room.	457
Corridor leading to the <i>Wendelsteen</i>	529
Goclenius' receipt of an Annuity, June 26, 1538	584
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	594

CORRIGENDA

On p 61, n 2, l 3,	<i>please read</i>	Peter	<i>instead of</i>	Cornelius
»		1530 to 1539		1527 to 1532
» 240, l 1		Spinelly		Spinelli
» 280, n 3, l 4,		Brimeu de Meghen		Brimere de Meghem
» 327, l 2		strengthened		strenghtened
» 457, l 12		March 28		March 27
» 605, n 21-22		Agricolæ		Agricola

CHAPTER XV

PRESIDENCY OF VAN DER HOEVEN

II. DIFFICULTIES

1. A PROFESSOR-PRINTER

A. GREEK EDITIONS

Like all great undertakings the *Trilingue* had its difficulties. Some of them were carried like the crown and the regalia by the newly invested sovereign : such was the honour bestowed on the College by distinguished visitors, and the help and assistance that was offered to great-hearted collaborators. Much heavier was the scarcity of means, largely caused by a fall in the value of the coinage. Still the lack of an adequate salary did not lessen Goclenius' enthusiasm, even though the subsidy in the form of a benefice, like those which nearly all University professors then enjoyed, was long in being actually granted. Instead of neglecting his classes and slackening his study, he even proved more zealous in his researches and more active in his teaching, in so far that he started a double series of lectures, as the number of auditors far exceeded that of the standing places in the big hall of the College ¹⁾. His Hebrew colleague also could find a growing satisfaction in investigating the many hard questions connected with the language of the Old Testament. Unfortunately Rescius entirely lacked that intellectual sustenance.

Considering that a quiet, home-loving priest like Goclenius was hardly able to subsist on the emoluments provided by the *Trilingue*, it is no wonder that, for some time already,

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 347.

the Greek professor, burdened by an enlarging family ¹⁾, had been obliged to supplement his income, the more so since he missed both the board and lodging provided by the College ²⁾, and many occasions for private tutoring, which proved most remunerative to his Latin colleague. It was on that account that, about July 1529, Rescius had started a printing-office with the help of his disciple and friend, John Sturm ³⁾, so as to secure at least part of Thierry Martens' business, to which he had contributed his best efforts during several years. The venture proved most successful, and in a year's time an important series of texts by Xenophon and Lucian, by St. John Chrysostom and by St. Basil had been issued, which had proved helpful to the professor in his teaching, and profitable to the growing number of hearers ⁴⁾.

The partnership was not to last very long : for Rescius had, no doubt, only decided on it to prevent all trouble, and no difficulty had been made, neither by the Executors, nor even by Erasmus, as, after all, his printing helped his teaching ⁵⁾. On the other hand, Sturm had lost all hope on any promotion, since his associate was too exclusively attentive to his own interests to give him a fair chance in Louvain, where, moreover, the atmosphere must have been growing more and more oppressive on account of his increasing sympathy with the Reformers ⁶⁾. By July 1530, the connection was dissolved, and Sturm left for Paris University. For a time Rescius continued the printing by himself : he issued *P. Terentii Sex Comoediæ* with Adrian Barlandus' comments, on October 21, 1530 ⁷⁾; most probably also a refutation of some of Zwingli's theories

¹⁾ Writing on March 28/29, 1535, to Rescius, Clenardus mentions his friend's son John, who had just then entered his seventh year : *Clen-Corr.*, I, 63, 53.

²⁾ The absence from the meals had been granted unwillingly to Rescius, as it was part of the professors' duty to help the inmates by their conversation : cp. before, II, 318, sq. 330-34 ; he soon realized that he had thus bereft himself of an advantage which he tried to make up for, although circumstances were not favourable : cp. before, II, 330, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 579-90, esp. 581-82.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 623-27.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 624, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 581-82, 626.

⁷⁾ *NijKron.*, I, 1985 ; *Daxhelet*, 77-82 ; *Lawton*, 143-44 ; and before, II, 627.

by John Eck ¹⁾, and the *Pro religione Christiana res gestæ in Comitijis Augustæ Vendelicorum habitis. An. Dñi. m. d. xxx*, for which an Imperial privilege had been granted to Livinus Algoet, Panagathus, on November 6, 1530, and which were sold by Bartholomew Gravius ²⁾).

The latter issue may have led to a new connection, providing the Greek professor with a man in the book-trade, so as to get liberated from the trouble of having to deal with the public. It occasioned the establishment of Bartholomew de Grave, Gravius, as book-seller in Ship Street ³⁾ 'sub sole Aureo': a long series of books were printed on joint account by Rescius with the publisher's device, a sun surrounded by rays, with, in its disk, Christ as a child on a cushion, carrying either a cross or the orb, along with the inscriptions: *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum*, and: *Louanii / Ex officina Bartholomæi Grauij* ⁴⁾. The first book thus brought out was ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΜΙΝΩΣ, *Platonis Minos, sive de Lege*; it bears on the title: 'Vænundantur Louanij a Bartholomæo Grauij, /sub Sole aureo', and the colophon reads: 'Louanij ex officina Rutgeri Rescij, pridie Cal. April. /An. m. d. xxxi. / Sumptibus eiusdē Rescij, & Bartholomæj Grauij' ⁵⁾. That edition, dedicated by Rescius on January 12, 1531, to the humanistic Mechlin Councillor, Francis de Cranevelt ⁶⁾, opens a noble series of Greek texts, printed with great accuracy and neatness, no doubt for the benefit of students, being the hand-books for Rescius' lectures. They thus provide an excellent evidence for the Greek teaching of the *Trilingue* and for the development of learning in general.

In that same year 1531, he further published the texts in Greek of Lucian's *Mortuorum Dialogi & Dearum Iudicium*:

¹⁾ 'Repelsio articolorum Zwinglii Cæs. Maestati oblatorum Iohanne Eckio autore', 1530: NijKron., I, 751.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 137, sq; NijKron., I, 1672, suggesting Rescius as printer; the list of books issued by Rescius before 1541 is given by NijKron., I, pp 856-58, II, pp 1002-1004.

³⁾ In the list of inhabitants for 1597-98, an 'Eduaert de Grave', tailor, is mentioned as having a small shop in his own house in Ship Street: he may be a descendant of the printer: LouvBoon, 327, a.

⁴⁾ BB, 2nd series, vol. XIX: *Marques Typographiques*: Louvain; Iseghem, 106; Cran., 150, f.

⁵⁾ NijKron., I, 1730; cp. before, II, 627.

⁶⁾ Cran., 271.

May 21, 1531 ¹⁾), and of several of Plutarch's works : *Libellos Qvo pacto quis efficiat vt ex Inimicis capiat Vtilitatem* : September 30, 1531 ²⁾); *De Cohibenda Iracundia, Dialogus* : November 13, 1531, with another issue ascribed to the same year ³⁾), and *De Tranquillitate & Securitate Animi Liber*, November 20 <, 1531> ⁴⁾). On June 13, he brought out St. John Chrysostom's *De Orando Deum, Libri Duo* ⁵⁾), and, two months later, issued, evidently for the benefit of the students in theology, the Greek texts of *Pauli Apostoli Epistolæ* : September 4, of the *Epistolæ Catholicæ*, Sept. 13, and of the *Acta Apostolorum*, Sept. 27 ⁶⁾). In addition to those texts, Rescius also printed Nicolas Clenardus' *Meditationes Græcæ in Artem Grammaticam*, which he finished on July 11, 1531 ⁷⁾), — whilst, as non Greek matter, he only produced, on October 21, 1531, under his own name and no doubt for the author's account, John Dantiscus' *Victoria sereniss. Poloniæ regis contra Vayeuodam Muldauicæ, Turcæ tributarium & subditum, .22. Augusti parta. 1531* ⁸⁾), — and perhaps also the act of proclamation of Clement VII's bull of the Privilege of the Nominations, of November 26, 1523, by the Abbot of St. Gertrude's, Peter Was, on August 18, 1531 ⁹⁾).

The year 1532 was hardly less prolific : as Erasmus had requested him to lecture on a homily by St. Basil the Great, Rescius printed it, and sent it, already on February 26, 1532, to Nicolas Olah ¹⁰⁾), who had shown his great interest in

¹⁾ NijKron., I, 1388.

²⁾ NijKron., I, 1742.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 3751, 3752.

⁴⁾ NijKron., II, 3753.

⁵⁾ NijKron., II, 2630.

⁶⁾ NijKron., I, 322, 323, 324 ; cp. sect. 2.

⁷⁾ NijKron., II, 2674 ; cp. before, II, 223 ; Clénard, 198.

⁸⁾ NijKron., I, 684 ; the poem was dedicated, on September 24, 1531, to Stephen Gabriel, Patriarch of the Indies, Archbishop of Bari, 'Episcopus Giennens.', Imperial Secretary ; cp. before, p 23.

⁹⁾ NijKron., I, 584 ; the document, containing 8 folio leaves, has neither name of printer nor of place ; as the Faculty of Arts wanted her Privilege to be officially recognized as proclaimed for nearly every contestation, the text of the document was reprinted afterwards with several blanks, in which were to be added the date and the names of the *Conservator Privilegiorum*, of the Dean of the Faculty and of the witnesses, for every one of the subsequent promulgations of the Bull of 1523.

¹⁰⁾ Olæ, 200 (V. Cal. Mart.) : Mitto tibi Basilii ὁμιλίαν non illepidam, quam rogatu D. Erasmi breui sum hic publice prælecturus.

Greek ¹⁾: the professor had even offered any of his publications he would like to choose, through his secretary James Jespersen ²⁾. That text was probably ³⁾ *Homilia ad iuuenes de utilitate capienda ex gentilium autorum libris*, dated April 27, 1532, in the colophon ⁴⁾. Of the same author, Rescius printed, in the following months, *Homilia de inuidia*: May 8, 1532 ⁵⁾, and *Homilia in irascentes & in dictum illud, Attende tibi ipsi*: September 12, 1532 ⁶⁾; of St. John Chrysostom he had issued, already on February 20, *Conciunculae perquam elegantes sex de fato & prouidentia Dei* ⁷⁾, whereas on August 8, 1532, he published the *Syntaxis Lingvæ Græcæ* by John Varennius ⁸⁾, who, after having taught and tutored privately, had become lector of divinity in the Abbey of Parc ⁹⁾, and no doubt continued training students in languages.

B. PROMISCUOUS PRINTING

That zeal in publishing Greek texts and handbooks was unfortunately not remunerative enough, and although he had

¹⁾ Letter of Rescius to Olah, November 20, 1531: OlaE, 167-68; cp. before, p 39.

²⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XVII, XVIII.

³⁾ The fact that this homily was dated April 27, does not necessarily imply that it could not be ready and sent in February: for in the same letter, Rescius declares that Barlandus' book *De Ducibus Brabantiae* was 'totum absolutum', except for the 'primum quaternionem' (viz., A⁴, containing title and dedicatory letter of May 4, 1532): OlaE, 200: for that very book has a colophon dated 'Cal. Maij m. d. xxxii': NijKron., 1, 237; it follows that colophons were often dated long in advance.

⁴⁾ NijKron., 1, 251.

⁵⁾ NijKron., 1, 249.

⁶⁾ NijKron., 1, 250.

⁷⁾ NijKron., 1, 556.

⁸⁾ NijKron., 1, 2106.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, 274; Mol., 213. The *Syntaxis* of John van der Varen, or de Varennes, was dedicated on July 1, 1532, from Louvain, to Philip Clericus, J. V. L., possibly a son of Charles le Clercq, de Clerck, Knight, Lord of Boevekerke, councillor and chamberlain of Charles V, who died on December 12, 1537, — a brother perhaps of John Clericus, le Clerck, Claray, elected Archbishop of Oristano, Sardinia (*MalInscr.*, 429; Paquot, II, 305; *MonHL*, 470), and of the Petrus Clericus, Janus Secundus' special friend (*JSecOp*, 18, 185). The book is mentioned as used in the top class of the Gymnasium of Dillingen University in 1565-66 (*UniDill.*, 253); revised by Jo. Haveckhorst in 1562 (Cologne, Jac. Soter), it was amongst the books employed in Cologne University: *JesRheinA*, 483; *Tricoron.*, 57, 167, 367, sq; *Rhetius*, 66, 89; Kuckhoff, 28.

as good as plighted himself to provide only books for his own lectures when he started his office ¹⁾, Rescius soon accepted all the corn he could get to his mill. On March 5, 1532, he brought out the *De missione sanguinis in pleuritide, ac alijs phlegmonis... cum Petro Brissoto & Leonardo Fuchsio disceptatio ad medicos Parisienses*. &c, of his late student and colleague Jeremy de Drivere, Thriverus, of Brakel ²⁾. He also printed, possibly in 1532, the *Formula Testamenti Pagani Romanorum, Antiquum Lucii Cuspidii testamentum* : April 8 <, 1532> ³⁾; for certain he published in that year Adrian Barlandus' *Libri tres, de rebus gestis Ducum Brabantiae, & de Ducibus Venetis liber vnus* : May 1, 1532 ⁴⁾. He must have started even a voluminous work by John Nys Driedo ⁵⁾ during the winter of 1531 to 1532, and news was probably imparted to Erasmus of the busy time they had of it in Rescius' office by the letter of Ludolphus Coccius, dated from Ratisbon on July 9, 1532 ⁶⁾. Instead of rejoicing the heart of the old

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 624-25.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 534, 532-42; that *Disceptatio* was dedicated from Louvain, February 25, 1532, to Godfrey de Bracle, Abbot of Eename, 1497-1538. — On March 12, 1532, Rescius wrote an introductory letter to Olah for his friend de Drivere, with a request to help him — possibly for the Privilege of his book : OlaE, 209.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 2732.

⁴⁾ NijKron., I, 237; the book was ready by February 25, except for the first quire A (OlaE, 200), which contains the dedicatory letter of May 4, 1532, to Arnold de Vogelsanck of Autel, and John Oom van Wyngaerden, two canons of St. Lambertus, Liège. The *Duces Veneti* is dedicated to Adrian de Blehen, Louvain *prætor*, April 28, 1532. The book was kept back until 'May 1 (Cal. Maij), 1532' according to the colophon : cp. OlaE, 210; Daxhelet, 324-28.

⁵⁾ Most probably the *De ecclesiasticis scripturis & dogmatibus Libri IV*, published on June 10, 1533 : it extends over 326 folio leaves : NijKron., I, 744.

⁶⁾ Ludolphus Kock, Coccius, of Bielefeld, left Erfurt to go and meet Erasmus in Zeeland, where the *ludimagister* Nic. van Broeckhoven was his host at Middelburg. He went to Paris, and attended the lessons of Aleander, and, on his entering Bishop Poncher's service, December 4, 1513 (*AléaJour.*, 23; *Aléandre*, 57), those of Rescius. By October 1515, he was back in Erfurt (FG, 207). He taught for a time at Osnabrück and tried to enter the service of the Bishop, Count Francis of Waldeck (c 1492-1553), recently appointed to the see of Münster and Osnabrück. He therefore wished to be recommended by Erasmus, to whom he wrote

Scholar, that piece of news filled him with alarm for the welfare of the *Trilingue*. For he knew from experience what an amount of time and attention was necessarily taken up by the correcting and the supervising of those texts, which, after all, did not contribute in the least to his own qualification as professor, and were only a means of raising money. It must have seemed to Erasmus that, what with his family duties, and what with the time spent on the tutoring of his boarders, there hardly was left any leisure for studies, especially, if he took up the printing and correcting of lengthy treatises, like Driedo's, which did not interest him at all. Nor can he have ignored that, as printer, Rescius had to obtain the necessary grants or privileges to issue books from the Imperial *Audientarius*, Laurent du Blioul ¹⁾, which entailed time-taking journeys to Brussels or Mechlin, besides applications to some powerful protector, like Nicolas Olah ²⁾,

on July 9, 1532, mentioning Felix Konings, who took the letter, Goclenius, born in the Count of Waldeck's estate, and Bertram Damus; also Rescius, whom he had seen recently: he was, he said, working at a *magnificum opus* of a Louvain theologian, whom Erasmus would not guess: it was to be ready only in a year; Campensis, whom he met at Louvain, and was then at Ratisbon with Dantiscus, declared he had seen it before, but did not think much of it: Campensis... se vidisse aliquando Louanii ait, planeque nugas esse asseruit: — probably his judgment was influenced by the bad treatment he had experienced from the Louvain divines (cp. further in this chapter, 5 & 6). In 1564, Ludolphus Coccius is still recorded as one of the erudites living at Osnabrück: cp. *HuMünst.*, 49; Allen, x, 2687; FG, 207-09, 327.

¹⁾ Already in 1502, Laurent du Blioul, Lord of Sart, had been entrusted with part of functions of Philip Haneton, *audientarius* of the Great Seal (*ConPriT*, 173; *ConPri.*, 1, 34, 261; *Cran.*, 18, a, 140, d), and he succeeded him at his death. During his management, the office evolved, in 1531, into the secretariate of the new-made Privy Council: Walther, 161-64; *ConPriT*, 174; *ConPri.*, 1, 36, 49. He was also *audientarius* of the Brabant Seal, succeeding John van Rysele in 1526; he died in 1542: cp. before, II, 213-14. As *audientarius* of the Privy Council was appointed William Pensart, who was succeeded by Peter van der Eycken, or Verreycken, in 1538: E. Lameere, *Documents pour servir à l'Hist. des Attributions de l'Audientier*: Brussels, 1897: 8, 20.

²⁾ On February 26, 1531, he requests Olah to see the *Audientarius*, to make him send as soon as possible the privilege for Barlandus' *Duces Brabantiae*: OlaE, 200. On March 25, 1532, Rescius repeated his request for a general privilege for all books, except those of theology; he

or to some friends at Court ¹⁾. Possibly Rescius had even already started attending the Frankfurt Fairs, so as to bring his publications to the knowledge of the book-buying public abroad, which may have been advantageous for his office, but cannot but have been ruinous to his professorate ²⁾.

No doubt Livinus Algoet had an idea of Erasmus' displeasure at such waste of energy, and he seems to have mentioned it, and blamed Rescius and his printing Driedo's work. That censure was probably exaggerated by the transmission : in so far that Rescius writes, on February 26, 1532, to Olah, that John van Meerbeke, Conrad Goclenius, and all other friends think that Algoet will not greatly please Erasmus if he hears what kind of protector and pleader he has found in him, and what letter he wrote about 'Dominus Turnout' and himself, since Erasmus more than once exhorted that divine to publish his writings, as the edited letters of the Great Man clearly prove ³⁾. Why, he asks, did not Livinus advise me in a friendly way ? Was it necessary to attack me ravingly without admonition, saying : See what the dire cupidity of gold brings man to ! ⁴⁾ He should have remembered that he used to be my disciple, and was tutored

especially wished to have the necessary grant for Barlandus' historical books ; he was sending some of his publications through Adrian Cordatus, his friend (*Cran.*, 71, a, 145, 17), whom he recommended : *OlaE*, 210, 168.

¹⁾ He had been helped by Guido Morillon for the book of Barlandus : *OlaE*, 199 ; for the work of Driedo, the theologians saw themselves to the *privilegium*. In the summer of 1532, Rescius tried in vain to get a grant for Campensis' Psalms through James Jespersen, secretary to James Canta, great Chamberlain of the Legate Campeggio : cp. the last section of this chapter.

²⁾ In the spring of 1537, Rescius regrets not being able to go himself to Frankfurt, which implies it was his custom : *OlaE*, 599. He went there for certain in September, and received there, on the 15th, some money to be paid to Lambert Coomans : *BbBasle*, C. vi^a. 71 : f 90.

³⁾ Erasmus praised Driedo for his solid erudition, and was displeased to hear that Martens had refused to print his book : letter of November 30, 1520, to Barlandus ; he repeated that opinion and mentioned his efforts to have the work published, when writing to Lorenzo Campeggio, December 6, 1520, and to Cranevelt, December 18, 1520 : *Allen*, iv, 1163, 10-19, 1167, 409-415, 1173, 89-90.

⁴⁾ *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit auri sacra fames* : *OlaE*, 200 ; *Æn.*, iii, 56-57.

gratuitously by me, whereas the others paid me handsomely. Rescius closes his letter with the remark that it is human to forget the good done, and that, as Livinus is only a youth, he, a man, will forgive him ¹⁾. With all that, Rescius must have been aware that Erasmus *could* not approve of the way in which he accomplished his task as professor, and his letter to Olah sounds rather as the protestation of a guilty man, trying to secure the help and intervention of an influent stranger for the case that the displeasure should ever turn into anger and disfavour. For after all, the only fault he can find with Algoet is that he might have been '*circumspectius*', and kept back his judgment until he had heard the adverse party — as if he had a right or duty to pass sentence ²⁾.

Algoet was by far not the only one who commented on the matter, for, on May 3, 1532, Erasmus wrote to Goclenius ³⁾ that not without reason Peter Gillis is uneasy about the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾; and that he refers to Rescius, follows from the next sentence, which expresses the regret that the Greek professor had been allowed to go on teaching after his marriage: 'in admittendo Rescio cum vxore, dormitatum est', — as, no doubt it caused, not only a professor's absence from the College, but the starting of a printing-office, and the accepting of all promiscuous work for the sake of the *auri sacra fames*. He bitterly deplores his own intervention to keep him in his place ⁵⁾, as it would have been much wiser to nip the evil in the bud: '*Principiis obstandum erat*'. And that Erasmus considers the situation as very grave, results from the remark he adds: all those who, in Germany, are versed in letters and languages are addicted to Reformation: if it were otherwise I should do my duty! ⁶⁾ — which un-

¹⁾ OlaE, 200. — If Rescius secured some good fees from students he tutored before he was married, he will not have forgone willingly that source of income after he had become Anna Moons' husband.

²⁾ It looks as if Rescius blames Algoet for the displeasure of Erasmus, who was fully informed and could judge for himself.

³⁾ Allen, x, 2644: the name of the person to whom the letter is addressed, is missing; still the contents evidently point to Goclenius.

⁴⁾ De Collegio, non sine causa sollicitus est D. Ægidius: Allen, x, 2644, 25-27. ⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 321, sq. 331, sq.

⁶⁾ Allen, x, 2644, 27-29: Hic quotquot callent bonas literas, amant Euangelium. Alioqui non deessem officio meo.

mistakably sounds as a threat against Rescius, whom he should have had dismissed from the *Trilingue*, had he known a suitable scholar to replace him.

The *casus belli*, Joannis Driedonis a Tvrnhovt... *de ecclesiasticis scripturis & dogmatibus Libri .4.*, was issued on June 10, 1533 ¹⁾. On that same day was brought out *Hippocratis Aphorismi, ex diuersorum codicum collatione per Rutgerum Rescium diligenter recogniti* ²⁾ : no doubt to weaken all reproach from such a severe judge as Erasmus. When, on July 9, 1533 ³⁾, he dispatched copies of those two books to Nicolas Olah, he joined to them 'utriusque operis Homerici libros tres', adding that he wished to complete both works in the same style. He had divided them into parts ⁴⁾, so that it would be easy for poorer students — in gratiam scholasticorum tenuium — to buy them ; he had just started expounding in public in the College the *Odysseus*, and intended explaining the *Iliad* during the holidays, *extraordinarie*, in August and September, expecting to finish lecturing on both books within one year ; he hoped that he might use to that end the comments of Eustathius, of which the publication in Rome was announced ⁵⁾ : they were printed, Rescius wrote, with the new characters ordered by Janus Lascaris' host for a fine edition of the best Greek authors ⁶⁾.

In that same year, Rescius printed three writings of St. Basil the Great : *De ieiunio sermones duo* : March 10, 1533 ⁷⁾ ; *Contra ebriosos homilia* : August 4, 1533 ⁸⁾, and

¹⁾ NijKron., I, 744 ; it was dedicated to John III of Portugal, on June 9, 1533 : OlaE, 200, 210 (mentioning the privilege to be obtained by the Louvain Divines), 386 ; *BibBelg.*, 494 ; de Jongh, 159.

²⁾ NijKron., II, 3154 ; cp. further, p 125.

³⁾ OlaE, 386.

⁴⁾ The *Homeri Ilias*, reproducing the first book, a booklet of 14 in-4° leaves, A⁴B⁴C⁶, described in NijKron., II, 3180, and wrongly ascribed to <1532>, is evidently one of the issues referred to here ; the complete works of Homer appeared in August-October 1535.

⁵⁾ The news reached him in a letter from Bohemia : OlaE, 386.

⁶⁾ OlaE, 386 : Janus Lascaris had as pupil in Rome Matthæus Devarius, of Corfu (c 1500-1570) who, under his guidance, worked at an edition of Eustathius : it was issued, from 1542 to 1550, with the help of Majoranus : Sandys, I, 420-21, II, 78, 105.

⁷⁾ NijKron., I, 252.

⁸⁾ NijKron., I, 247 ; that homily was translated by Francis de Cranevelt in 1535 : NijKron., I, 254.

Homilia de gratijs deo agendis. Elusdem in Iulittam martyrem homilia : September 20, 1533 ¹⁾. On September 12 1533, came from his printing-press John Louis Vives' *De ratione dicendi libri tres. De consultatione* ²⁾. The usefulness of these admirable books, which represent the lectures which the great Spaniard gave in Louvain, may explain their publication by Rescius, but it was certainly not in order to satisfy, as Vives' book does, the eagerness of young scholars that he printed *De non timenda morte*, by William van den Steene, *Lapidanus*, a Benedictine of Berghes-St. Winoc ³⁾, although the title calls it : 'liber non solum iuuenibus, sed & cuiuslibet ætatis hominibus apprime utilis' ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ NijKron., I, 248. These two Homilies were, it seems, translated in Latin by Hubert Barlandus (cp. before, II, 518-24); that version is said to have been printed by Rescius in 1541 or 1545 : *BibBelg.*, 391 ; *BB*, v, 291, 18, 293.

²⁾ NijKron., I, 2173 ; Bonilla, 787 ; OlaE, 418 : — the *Ratio Dicendi* was dedicated to Francis Bobadilla, Bishop of Corio, professor of Greek and Rector of the University of Salamanca : cp. before, p 25.

³⁾ William van den Steene, *Lapidanus*, a native of Wervick, was a Benedictine of the Abbey of Berghes-St. Winoc, sent to study divinity in Louvain; he published there *Meditationes In Septem psalmos pœnitentiæ*, dedicated on August 8, 1530, to his Abbot Francis Oudegherst, and printed by Henry Vekenstyl Baers, who added a letter to the reader, August 9, 1530, and a *Carmen Dialogicum Meruellij*, celebrating his short-lived printing-office : NijKron., II, 3362. Thanks to Olah's interference, he was allowed to return to Louvain, for which he offered a copy of his *De non timenda morte* in gratitude on June 7, 1534. He tutored John Henckel (September 18, 1534), and mentioned Goclenius, Mark Laurin and de Schepper in his letters. He published some devotional books, besides a *Methodus Dialectices Aristotelicæ*, printed at Lyons, 1542, and left other works in manuscript : OlaE, 439-41, 509-11, 522-23, 538 ; *BibBelg.*, 322 ; *FlandScript.*, 69, sq ; *FlandOHR*, I, 277-78. He seems to have apostatized, which makes Rescius' eulogy : 'Est profecto vir dignissimus... qui aliquando fiat abbas sui cœnobii' (November 6, 1534 : OlaE, 538) sound like that of Chaucer about his Monk in the *Prologue* to his *Canterbury Tales*.

⁴⁾ NijKron., I, 1320. The book was recommended by a poem on the title-page by Petrus Curius, gymnasiarcha of Berghes (Henne, v, 44), and dedicated by Lapidanus to his Abbot, Francis Oudegherst, Sept. 22, 1533. — It was sent to Olah by Rescius on October 13, 1533, and offered by himself on June 7, 1534 : OlaE, 418, 510 11.

C. LATER ISSUES

It thus seems as if his avocations had prevented Rescius to provide in 1534 the accustomed output of purely classical Greek texts. He had not finished his editions of Homer, and explained to Olah, in his letter of November 6, 1534, that it was for want of paper of the size like that which he had used for the first quires, which he had not been able to find in Antwerp ¹⁾. The only text of Greek antiquity, Lucian's *De non facile credendis delationibus*, was produced in November 1534 ²⁾; in that same month he also brought out the Greek texts of the Gospels: of St. Matthew, November 10, of St. Mark, November 23, followed by those of St. Luke, December 7, and of St. John, December 19 ³⁾; to them was added the *Apocalypsis Ioannis*: December 1534 ⁴⁾, completing the New Testament which had been started in September 1533 ⁵⁾. On May 15, 1534, Rescius finished *D. Basilii Magni... Homiliæ tres in Latinum sermonem conuersæ per D. Franciscum Craneveldium Cæsa. Ma. Consiliarium. De utilitate capienda ex Gentilium autorum libris. De inuidia. In dictum illud, Attende tibi ipsi* ⁶⁾. On January 2, 1534, he finished printing *Aristophanis facetissimi Rancæ*, in Greek, edited by Peter Nannius for the use in his own private lessons, maybe in Louvain, but more probably in Alkmaar ⁷⁾. He also continued the publishing of John Driedo's works ⁸⁾, finishing on March 11, 1534, *De captivitate & redemptione humani generis liber*

¹⁾ Homerum nondum absoluimus propter papyri inopiam, quia eius formæ, qua incoepimus illum excudere, Antuerpiæ venalem inuenire non possumus, speramus tamen breui illic allatum iri: OlaE, 538.

²⁾ NijKron., II, 3428.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 2419-2422.

⁴⁾ NijKron., I, 326.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 107; NijKron., II, 2419.

⁶⁾ Those translations of Homilies (for two of which the text had been printed by Rescius: NijKron., I, 251, 249), were dedicated to Lambert de Briarde, President of the Great Council of Mechlin, by a letter of January 1, 1534: *Cran.*, lxxi, 272; NijKron., II, 2382.

⁷⁾ The only copy known, belonging to the British Museum, has notes in Nannius' hand: the book was dedicated by a letter, dated Louvain, December 10, 1533, to John de Tartas, President of Lisieux College, in Paris: Polet, 240-42; NijKron., I, 135.

⁸⁾ On February 26, 1532, when referring to Livinus Algoet's criticism, Rescius mentions Driedo's *libri* and *opera*: OlaE, 200.

onus ¹⁾. More in accordance with his professorate in the *Trilingue* was the little synopsis of Roman history and institutions ²⁾, the work of John Warsenius, of Huy ³⁾, preceptor of Philip de la Marck, Cardinal Erard's nephew, who, although still an *adolescens*, was Archdeacon of Hesbaye and Provost of Eyck, Maeseyck, amongst other offices ⁴⁾. It had as title *Epitome, siue compendiarie descriptio temporum, & rerum a populo Romano domi forisque gestarum ab urbe condita vsque ad natum Christum* : September 1534 ⁵⁾. About the same time, Rescius published two bundles of poems, one, the *Metrariolus En Busconianus* : August 25, 1534, by Petrus Gherinx Busconius, an old student of the *Trilingue*, a lawyer of Louvain ⁶⁾; and the *Edyllia*, September 1534, by Garbrandus Schoenmaecker, Tutor, of Alkmaar, who had just come to enjoy for some time the teaching of the Busleyden professors ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ NijKron., I, 740; it was dedicated, on August 28, 1533, to Charles de Croy, Bishop of Tournai : cp. de Jongh, 159; *AntvAnn.*, II, 303, sq.

²⁾ Rescius called it 'Epitome quoddam rerum Romanorum' in sending it to Olah, on November 6, 1534 : *OlaE*, 538.

³⁾ The circumstantial indication of the author of this work, — of whom hardly anything else seems to be known, — gives decisive evidence against the identity of Warsenius and Vives, suggested by Will. Simon in the dedicatory letter of *Vivis... Epistolarum Farrago* (Antwerp, 1556) to Luis d'Avila y Stuñaiga (*VivFarr.*, f 3, r), and accepted in *VivVita.*, 124, — although it is quite possible that Vives should have written a similar synopsis which has not survived : Bonilla, 232-33, 651, sq; *VivNam.*, 118.

⁴⁾ Philippe de la Marck was the son of Robert, Erard's elder brother, who by him was promoted Archdeacon of Hesbaye in 1530, and of Valencia, in 1520. He had been elected noble canon of St. Lambertus', in 1527, and was, besides, canon of Maastricht, prior of St. Severin's, Condroz, and, as Warsenius calls him here, *Præpositus Eyckenensis* — no doubt Maeseyck. At his uncle's death, he thought of succeeding him, but his father's defection did not leave him any chance; nor does he seem to have been more than the bearer of a famous name; he died in the latter half of 1545 : *MarckHalk.*, 58, 244, 246, 258, 275; *BerghAutr.*, 66, 264, 340-41.

⁵⁾ NijKron., II, 4178 : the *Descriptio* is said 'candidatis rerum Priscarum egregie vsui futura ad clarissimum adolescentem D. Dominum Philippum a Marka'; the dedicatory letter to him is dated Curange, April 13, 1534. Cp. *OlaE*, 538.

⁶⁾ NijKron., II, 2586; cp. before, II, 208-9.

⁷⁾ NijKron., II, 3913; Gelder, 75; cp. further, Ch. XVII.

In 1535, Rescius completed the edition of Homer's works, which had been started in separate parts : on August 12, was finished one volume containing *Vlyseea. Batrachomyomachia. Hymni .XXXII* ¹⁾. On October 12, he brought out the *Ilias* ²⁾. Meanwhile had appeared, on August 15, the Greek text of Lucian's *Dialogvs, De Parasito, vel quod parasitica sit ars* ³⁾. Besides *Basilii Magni... contra ebriosos homilia, conuersa in latinum sermonem a Francisco Craneveldio* : July 28, 1535 ⁴⁾, and Adrian Barlandus' *Compendiosæ Institutiones artis oratoriæ* : February 1535 ⁵⁾, it was the entire output of the year, during which he probably worked at the *Institutiones iuris civilis in græcam linguam per Theophilum Anticensorem traductæ, ac fusissime planissimeque explicatæ, cura & studio Viglii Zuichemi primum in lucem æditæ, nunc denuo a Rutgero Rescio recognitæ, adiectis etiam aliquot Petri Nannii annotatiunculis*, which came from Rescius' press on January 5, 1536 ⁶⁾. That edition was followed by several others in Greek : in February, *Ioannis Chrysostomi Homilia in dictum Apostoli, Modico vino vtere* ⁷⁾ ; in March, *Demosthenis epistolæ* ⁸⁾, and *Epistolai Aeschinis* ⁹⁾ ; in August, *Basilii Magni... homilia in quadraginta martyres* ¹⁰⁾ ; in September, *Basilii Magni... Homilia de invidia* ¹¹⁾ and Lucian's *Somnium. siue Gallus* ¹²⁾. Besides those Greek texts Rescius printed, before October of that year ¹³⁾, Peter Nannius' *declamatio, De bello Turcis inferendo* :

¹⁾ NijKron., I, 1108. ²⁾ NijKron., I, 1107. ³⁾ NijKron., I, 1390.

⁴⁾ NijKron., I, 254 : the translation was dedicated on June 30, 1535, to Nicolas Olah : *Cran.*, lxxi, 275 ; *OlaE*, 560-61.

⁵⁾ NijKron., II, 2369 : the pamphlet is dedicated to John de Fevyn, Canon Scholaster of Bruges, by letter dated February 13, 1535 : it was reprinted in 1544, with J. L. Vives, *De Conscribendis Epistolis* : Cologne, 1544 : *Daxhelet*, 83, sq, 328-29.

⁶⁾ NijKron., I, 2002 ; the dedicatory letter, dated Padua, May 31, 1533, of Viglius to the Emperor Charles is reproduced, and Nannius' *Annotationculæ* are preceded by a letter to the reader of January 21, 1536 : cp. *OlaE*, 567 ; *Polet*, 127, sq, 248-49 ; and further, pp 125, sq.

⁷⁾ NijKron., II, 2628.

⁸⁾ NijKron., I, 694.

⁹⁾ NijKron., I, 24.

¹⁰⁾ NijKron., II, 2380.

¹¹⁾ NijKron., II, 2379.

¹²⁾ NijKron., I, 1398.

¹³⁾ About the beginning of June, Rescius, it seems, took some holidays as Nannius writes on June 1, 1536 to Olah : *Rutgerus Rescius cum hæc scriberem, rusticatum abierat* : — probably a visit to his family at Maeseyck or to that of his wife : *OlaE*, 576.

January 13 ¹⁾, the *Alphabetum græcum vna cum multis alijs, quæ expeditum quem reddunt ad Grammaticam Græcam capessendam* : March ²⁾, and Cornelius Musius' *Ad Iacobum Sanctaragundum Tumulorum D. Erasmi Roterodami Libellus*, which came out in September 1536 ³⁾.

2. BUSINESS PURSUITS

A. BOARDING & TUTORING

The unavoidable distraction caused by the management of a printing-office, thus was added to that to which, some years before, Rescius had exposed himself when taking boarders to supplement his wages ⁴⁾. There must have been several in his household : if it is not possible to state the exact number, it is recorded that in the beginning of 1533, he had to decline the request of his great patron and protector Olah, who wished him to assume the boarding and the tutoring of the nephew of his friend John Henckel, late Court preacher of Mary of Hungary ⁵⁾. On September 24, 1532, the boy, called

¹⁾ NijKron., I, 1585 ; it was dedicated to Nicolas Olah on December 29, 1535 : Polet, 70-74, 243-47 ; OlaE, 565.

²⁾ NijKron., I, 106 : it was issued *Sumptibus Ioannis Cocctij*, a printer of Antwerp, probably on account of the Greek type.

³⁾ NijKron., I, 1582 : this quarto pamphlet contains 6 leaves, A⁴B² ; cp. further, Ch. XVIII.

⁴⁾ The boarding and tutoring of students in his wife's house, was considered as a means to make up for what Rescius lost in abandoning the life in the *Trilingue* : cp. before, II, 318, 330.

⁵⁾ John Henckel, born, about 1481, at Leutschau, Hungary, studied in Vienna ; he worked as parish priest in his native place, and afterwards at Kaschau. In 1526, he became Court preacher, and made Erasmus' acquaintance, causing him to dedicate his *Vidua Christiana*, 1529, to Queen Mary. When she left for the Netherlands, he again took up parish work at Schweidnitz, where Ferdinand had caused him to be appointed, as well as canon at Breslau. His growing infirmities compelled him to resign, as he announced to Olah, September 24, 1532 : OlaE, 250-52 ; he retired to Breslau where, after some years of study, he died on November 5, 1539. Cp. G. Bauch, *Johann Henckel, der Hofprediger der Königin Maria von Ungarn* ; Buda-Pest, 1884 ; FG, 369, 69, 71, 117, 137, 153, 164 ; OlaE, 14, 23, 70, 101, 145, 243, 250, 278, 553 ; Allen, VI, 1672, pr.

also John Henckel, had been sent to Mechlin with letters, one of them requesting Olah to see to his training in Louvain or Cologne, and to help him to enter Mary's service ¹⁾. Although Olah requested the personal care and tuition of Rescius, the latter had to decline the petition, but recommended, on January 7, 1533, the house of 'D. Petrum canonicum Moguntinum', where, with other boarders, the boy should be taught by Nicolas of Marville, a good preceptor, who had been an inmate of the *Trilingue* for ten years ²⁾; he himself promised his personal supervision and added the remark that, since the time that James Jespersen was a student, board and lodging had risen from 36 to 42, and even to 50, Brabant florins ³⁾. Olah returned thanks on January 10, 1533 ⁴⁾, and, recommending the boy, promises soon to come and visit Louvain and the *Trilingue* ⁵⁾. By the following September, the student had been entrusted to the tutoring of William Lapidanus ⁶⁾, and about the end of 1534, Peter Nannius had taken charge of him ⁷⁾.

The continuous presence about him of the several boarders cannot have been much helpful to the calm study of which he would have availed himself if he had focussed all his attention on his teaching. To be sure, some of his inmates may have been eager students themselves : such as, for example, the Christiern *Umbra* <, probably *Skygge*>, a Dane, *Cymber*, who on March 24, 1535, wrote *ex ædibus Rutgeri Rescii*, a letter of most respectful admiration to Nicolas Olah ⁸⁾; he praises him for always continuing to enrich his mind and for keeping about him servants who improve his

¹⁾ OlaE, 250-52.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 70, 299 : he was probably identical with the 'Nicol. polardus de mervilla', classed the eighth in the promotion of 1525 : *ULPromLv.*, 9.

³⁾ OlaE, 188 : the year date, 1532, is evidently noted 'more gallicano' for 1533 : cp. 250, 271.

⁴⁾ OlaE, 271. ⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 17. ⁶⁾ OlaE, 523 ; cp. before, p 114.

⁷⁾ OlaE, 609 : the young man had been in some scrapes and had contracted debts ; still by December 4, 1537, his master's report was more encouraging, and on January 6, 1538, Nannius requested Olah to have him sent by the Queen to Italy with a friend : OlaE, 611-15.

⁸⁾ OlaE, 549-50 : Christiernus Umbra Cymber Nicolao Olao suo S.

knowledge and his erudition ¹⁾; also for cultivating the friendship of a man of exquisite prudence and extraordinary doctrine, Cornelius de Schepper ²⁾, and for storing himself treasures of far greater value than those which he lost in his native land ³⁾. Young men as quiet and steady as that *Umbra*, whose name seems to have been characteristic of his later life ⁴⁾, will have given little trouble to their host; yet they must have been comparatively scarce. Generally the inmates did not merely cause solicitude and care, but made incessant demands on the professor's time and thoughts, were it only to avail themselves of his intimate relation with some personages at Court, as William a Putama, — probably of Puthem, Pitthem, in West-Flanders, — did when he wanted to be recommended through Olah, to Queen Mary, who was to second him in the election for the dean of the Chapter of

¹⁾ Olah is thanked for the solicitude shown to that servant — no doubt James Jespersen, who may have introduced his countryman to Queen Mary's Councillor: for his welfare, so *Umbra* writes, 'exacto anno, ut audio, non parum sollicitus sudasti, quo nomine ex professo famulum me tibi inuenias deuinctiorem: OlaE, 549.

²⁾ To a loyal Dane, de Schepper, the great protagonist of King Christiern II, and the staunch counsellor of the unfortunate Queen Isabella, must have been particularly dear: *Gran.*, 54, a, b, 64, 25; *AltRel.*, 135-49, 158-59; cp. before, II, 166-71, 609-10.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 37, sq.

⁴⁾ Christiern *Umbra* is only known through his letter to Olah and through an epitaph on Paul Heliä, Pouell Hellisszen, the Provincial of the Carmelites for Denmark, the chief protagonist of Catholic faith in his native land in those troublesome days (cp. before, II, 20, sq); after a valiant struggle against the invading Reformation, he disappears by 1535 or 1536, without leaving any shade of information about his fate: *Heliä*, 153-62; *Historisk Tidskrift*, v, iv, 315, ix, iii, 389. The circumstances of his decease must have been known to James Jespersen and to Christian Skygge; at any rate, the latter wrote 20 lines in memory of: 'Paulus Carmeli Mariani gloria montis / Maxima, sed maior Dania te Patria'. Those verses were not meant to adorn the grave: they rather seem a youth's poetic exercise, with more classic ornamentation than sound feeling, as results from praise such as: 'Vix Europa virum vidit populosa priorem, / Flexanima e cuius fluxerat ore dea': *Heliä*, 137-38. Those verses are preserved in *Heliä's* manuscript *Imod Malmö Bogen*, Stockholm Library; of Skygge there does not seem to be any trace left in the Louvain University Records, nor certainly in OlaE; the suppositions expressed in *Heliä*, 155-56, all lack consistency.

Furnes, of which he was a canon ¹⁾. Others were real sources of trouble.

Such was, for certain, the Peter Cherff, or Cerf, of Steenwerck, M. A. and Bachelor of Divinity ²⁾, who in the night of August 12, 1534, was arrested by order of the Louvain mayor on charge of heresy, and taken to the fortress of Vilvorde. The University claimed the monopoly of her jurisdiction on her *suppositum* by her promoter, her inquisitor or her Conservator; as the mayor had acted on the order of the Brabant attorney-general, a recourse was made on August 14 to the Chancellor ³⁾, who, on August 17, replied that although a subdeacon, the student had been apprehended on the injunction of the Brabant Council; and that there had been no wilful slight of the University Privileges, since the academic deputies were going to be requested to take part in the inquiry; he even proposed to have the doubt about the jurisdiction solved by the Privy Council. Meanwhile the Rector, Hermes de Winghe ⁴⁾, after a debate in the University Senate, sent envoys to Queen Mary with the request that, if ever a similar fact should occur, the academic authorities should be advised beforehand to avoid all trouble ⁵⁾. It appeared that Cherff had been accused or defamed as a heretic by Cardinal Erard de la Marck in a letter to Queen Mary, and the Rector at once took the matter in hand. To Rescius' great displeasure, all Cherff's books and effects were seized, and submitted to a close scrutiny, which did not substantiate any suspicion; in consequence deputies were sent to Queen Mary on August 19, with the request just decided on by the academical Senate ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Letters of October 13 and December 6, 1533 : *OlaE*, 418, 431.

²⁾ On October 22, 1533 'Petrus Cherff de Steenwerck, clericus morin. dioc., Artium Magister', was nominated by the Faculty of Arts to the first vacancy at the disposal of the Dean and Chapter of Our Lady of Condé : *LibNomI*, 152, v : it implies that 'Cherff' had promoted in Arts at least five years earlier.

³⁾ Cp. de Jongh, *65.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 420. — Hermes de Winghe was elected Rector for the second time on February 28, 1534, at the turn of the Faculty of Civil Law. On August 31, he was succeeded by Michael Driutius, professor of Canon Law, at the request of the Faculty of Medicine, no doubt in order to have a man able to judge in the matter : *ULDoc.*, I, 265.

⁵⁾ *LibActVI*, 140.

⁶⁾ Cp. de Jongh, *65-66.

Rescius entrusted them with a letter of the same date to Nicolas Olah, announcing the event, which he considered as *luctuosus* to his *familia* as to the University. He expresses his surprise at the accusation, as neither himself nor any of his 'convictores' had ever had any suspicion of heterodoxy in the young nobleman, and that three doctors, and one licentiate, of divinity, with whom he boarded before he came to his house, never found anything to carp at in his behaviour nor in his conversation. He compares this case to some of the examples quoted by Lucian in his commentary *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεύειν διαβολῇ*, and announces that the messengers will explain why such a crime may have been laid at the door of a guiltless person; he requests his protector to do what he can with the Queen to have Cherff treated according to the custom and to the Privileges of the University ¹⁾. The decision of Queen Mary and of her Privy Council was evidently favourable to Louvain, for the Brabant attorney-general asked for the text of Duke John IV's Charter, by which the academical privilege of juridical immunity had been confirmed: it was communicated on September 15 ²⁾. Two months later, on November 16, the University was informed that Cherff was allowed to leave Vilvorde on payment of the expenses incurred on the occasion of his confinement ³⁾. The Rector proposed to sell his books and effects by auction to pay the *castellanus*, as well as the University officials who had obtained his liberation. On reaching Louvain, the young man signed, on November 28, an acknowledgment of seven Rhine florins, which the University had advanced: Rescius went bail for the amount, which he, apparently, could not, or would not disburse for his unfortunate boarder ⁴⁾.

Of all those causes of distraction, and of all the harm thus effected to studying and teaching, Erasmus was continually informed by the reports of his amanuenses, who regularly called and stayed at the *Trilingue*, as well as by old students,

¹⁾ OlaE, 520-21.

²⁾ LibActVI, 141.

³⁾ LibActVI, 141.

⁴⁾ LibActVI, 141, v; the report does not mention whether Cherff's belongings were actually sold; the limited extent of the amount rather suggests that it was lent by the University without selling anything: cp. de Jongh, *65-67.

like Viglius ¹⁾, Uutenhoven ²⁾, and many others, who kept in close connection with the School where they had received their grand formation. It therefore was not a mere outburst of transient ill humour (that, on November 7, 1533, made the great Humanist write to Goclenius ³⁾) : ‘Doleo Collegium istud tam cito frigescere, et perituum video, nisi Præsidis et Exequutorum cura vigilet, vt Professorum adsit diligentia : Campensis abest ⁴⁾. Tu litigas, quamquam celebs ⁵⁾. Rescius varias personas sustinet’.

B. UNSATIABLE WANT

To any acute observer, it must have appeared almost impossible that the various occupations of Rescius could leave unimpaired his teaching, let alone his proper study. No doubt, a slackness, a lack of care must have been noticed, especially since the lectures cannot have been any longer the object of his interest, but only the means to make his printing-office and his boarding-house more and more productive. Clear-sighted men like John Stercke and Conrad Goclenius cannot but have felt alarmed at the growing decline, of which they were responsible, in a way : for they had done what they could to make Rescius stay, when he himself expected to be dismissed. They evidently tried to remedy the evil, if not so much on account of Rescius, at least on that of the College. It was especially the necessity of making up for the loss of board and lodging, which the executors obstinately offered in nature, but which, as a married man, Rescius could not possibly accept, that had forced him on that wild pursuit. On that account they may have tried to save what could be saved of the professor's service, by lightening the burden that grew heavier as his family increased. At any rate, at a meeting on May 5, 1534, the executors Bartholomew van Vessem and Adrian Josel, in presence of the President van der Hoeven

¹⁾ On November 7, 1533, Erasmus finished his letter to Goclenius : *Hæc scripsi per Viglium, qui mihi apud te prolixæ epistolæ instar erit* : Allen, x, 2876, 40-41. Cp. before, II, 145-50, 449-50, &c.

²⁾ Charles of Uutenhove, Lord of Marckeghem, cp. before, II, 465-68.

³⁾ Allen, x, 2876, 36-40.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVI, 1.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 97, sq.

and of his predecessor John Stercke, granted from then on to Rescius a yearly indemnity of eighteen Rhine florins, for the board and the lodging of which he did not avail himself since his marriage; in return, they denied him any right to any meals or to a room in the *Trilingue* in the future ¹⁾.

The well-meant help proffered to Rescius, unfortunately, had not the result that was expected: instead of concentrating again his interest on his lectures and his studies, it seems to have given him the certitude that he had been, and still was, working under iniquitous conditions. Besides, the very indemnity that had been granted for his food and lodging was so ridiculously small compared to what inmates had to pay ²⁾, that, instead of making him be satisfied with the increase in his wages, it stirred up the desire to actualize the profits and the earnings due to him to the fullest extent. It confirmed him in the decided look-out for every means to enlarge his income. Thus he introduced about that time public lessons on Sundays, when students had no lectures to attend, so that he could gather a more numerous audience than for those on week-days, which he evidently continued regularly. It did not mean so much an increase in zeal, as a far larger number of handbooks and texts which he could sell ³⁾. It explains why, amongst his editions, there are several of which the choice was certainly not prompted by their literary or linguistic advantages: the occasional use of a text for private reading and for exercise by some zealous student, probably led to the edition of various parts of the New Testament in Greek, which were made for an audience gathered amongst the students in divinity for lessons on Sundays ⁴⁾, as well as

¹⁾ *AccHoevII*, 34, v: Item want den seluen meester Rutgert quinta maij a° xxxiiij toegeseijt ende gegunt waren bij meesteren berthelmeeuse van vessem ende adriane Joseph ten bijsijne meester Jans van meerbeke ende des presidents tsiaers xvij Rg. voer den montcost die hij jnde collegie niet en heeft noch hebben en sal noch tgebruyck van der cameran soe heeft de voirs. Joes <van der Hoeven> den seluen M. Rutgeerde betaelt voer den seluen montcost ende gebruijck der Cameren voer vij maenden terminerende prima decembris annj xv C xxx quarti exclusiue xj Rg.

²⁾ In that same year 1534, Adrian Sandelicus, Peter Suys, Josse Sasbout and the other inmates paid each, not 18, but 50 Rhine florins for board and lodging: *AccHoevII*, 5, r.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 45-46.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 107, 115.

to that of Hippocrates' Aphorisms ¹⁾, or to some treatise of jurisprudence ²⁾, for the students of the Faculties of Law and Medicine.

C. ENCROACHING BARRED

The pitcher goes so often to the well, that it comes home broken at last. Rescius made so many attempts to secure profit by his issues that, in the end, he had some trouble, namely through the *Institutiones Juris Civilis* of Theophilus, which he printed, not to provide an unobjectionable text, but so as to realize a good sale. Indeed, he merely reproduced the Greek text which Viglius had found in the library of Cardinal Bessarion ³⁾, bequeathed to St. Mark's, in Venice; he had edited it, at Basle in 1534 ⁴⁾, in a way which soon made him dissatisfied, in so far that he thought of procuring a more exact issue when he heard that Francis de Cranevelt contemplated doing so ⁵⁾. Rescius had neither the manuscripts by which Viglius himself wanted to correct the text he had edited; nor had he the patience to wait for the second and more reliable issue ⁶⁾. He rushed the printing ⁷⁾, which was

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 113.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 106.

³⁾ Cardinal Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicæa († 1472): cp. Symonds, 246-48; Sandys, II, 61, &c; *BeitKlette*, III, 116-62; Polain, I, 382-83, &c.

⁴⁾ Basileæ in officina Frobeniana Anno 1534 Mense Martio. — Christ. Wechel reprinted it in Paris in the same year.

⁵⁾ Letter of Viglius to Peter Bausanus, January 10, 1537 (Hoynck, II, i, 231): Viglius had made a copy of the manuscript of Bessarion, and his text was printed from it; afterwards he got a copy of another manuscript, also in the *Bibliotheca Marciana* of Venice, which Baptista Egnatius had found; with the copy of this second manuscript he came to Basle, but could only use it for additions to the greater part of the book; and, for the text itself, only for that part which had not yet been printed off. A third manuscript, which Poliziano had used in Florence, has not been available to him: Stintzing, I, 221, sq. Cp. Hoynck, I, i, 12, 67, 72, 75, II, i, 108, 142, 154, 166, 216, 231-37; *Cran.*, 274, 5.

⁶⁾ On June 15, 1536, writing to Florent de Griboval, he mentions the new issue by Rescius, which he regrets: *audio eas denuo ab Rescio excusas, quod ab eo prætermisum maluissem, non tam Frobenii causa, cui ea re incommodavit, quam quod ego cupierim, ipsas emendatiores rursus edere*: Hoynck, II, i, 216.

⁷⁾ Rescius corrected some of the evident mistakes, and, on his request, Peter Nannius undertook the critical study of the text, which,

finished by the end of January 1536 ¹⁾, and, to find many ready buyers, he announced, by the customary way of notices affixed to the doors of St. Peter's, that he would start reading and explaining that text in his Sunday lectures on March 5, 1536.

Hardly was the announcement given, when the Faculties of Law were convened to protest against that encroaching on their monopoly of treating legal matters in any public lecture. After deliberating on the means to prevent such a precedent, they decided on a friendly admonition by their '*Priores*', Michael Drieux ²⁾ and Peter de Vriendt, *Amicus* ³⁾. Since at an interview with Rescius, the latter refused to drop the lessons on the matter that was announced, the two Faculties invited him and the President of the *Trilingue* to their meeting. On that occasion, Josse van der Hoeven, too, claimed the liberty of his professors to lecture on all authors, provided they were either Christian, or moral, and approbated, by dint of the agreement made up between the University and their College ⁴⁾. As they did not gain anything by suasion, the Faculties of Law appealed to the University Senate. On March 8, Michael Drieux laid before the Academical Council the complaint about their injured monopoly; the terms of the agreement passed between the University and the *Trilingue* were examined at great length; the four superior Faculties agreed in denying that there ever had been any intention of allowing the professors of languages to lecture on, or to explain, matters of which they had the monopoly.

unfortunately, was made without any of the manuscripts, and thus is purely conjectural. His commentary was attacked by James Curtius, of Bruges, who, in September 1536, published a Latin version of Theophilus' *Paraphrasis*; which caused Nannius to publish, in November 1536, his *Apologia super Annotatiunculis in Theophilum*, aduersus quendam Jacobum Curtium : Louvain, R. Rescius : Polet, 128-31; Nij-Kron., I, 2003.

¹⁾ Nannius' advice to the reader, explaining his way of dealing with the text, is dated January 21, 1536; the book itself has as date of issue, January 5, 1536, and on Jan. 27, Rescius offered copies, evidently as a novelty, to Nic. Olah and James Jespersen : NijKron., I, 2002; OlaE, 567.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 421-22.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 419-20, 126-27.

⁴⁾ From the deed were quoted the words : quoscumque Christianos aut alios morales et probatos authores.

It appears even as if those Faculties wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered, to secure the right of interfering with the teaching of the *Trilingue* whenever they liked. They certainly wished to forbid Rescius to read the Greek *Institutes*, calling it a *nefarium inceptum* to interpret 'autorem vnde plures hæreses sint exorituræ quam Græci ex equo Troiano, vel impij e tauro Saxonico' ¹⁾). That objection, however, might have been turned against the Faculties of Laws, too, as Goclenius remarked, when relating the incident to Erasmus on March 21, 1536 : 'Theologj quoque', he adds, 'huic rei frigidam suffundunt, fortasse id cogitantes, si succedat iureconsultis ne liceat nobis in collegio prælegere iura ciuilia, pronam illis fore viam ad victoriam, vt et sacris nobis interdican, in qua re etsi nihil aliud assequantur, saltem Hebraicam linguam penitus extinxerint. Quid enim Hebræus professor est interpretaturus, si (id quod iureconsulti nostri dicunt) nefas est prælegere vllum librum, qui proprie pertinet ad unam aliquam e quinque, vt ipsi vocant, facultatibus' ²⁾) That was, no doubt, the reason why the Academic Senate decided seconding the Faculties of Law, enjoining Rescius, on the penalty of forfeiting all privileges and honours of the University, to cease his incriminated lectures until a committee should have examined the matter and given a decision. That committee, formed on March 13, comprized the University promoter Matthew Coggen ³⁾, the dean of the Chapter of St. Peter's, Ruard Tapper ⁴⁾, and that of St. James',

¹⁾ Allen, xi, 3111, 175-78.

²⁾ Allen, xi, 3111, 178-85.

³⁾ Matthew Coggen, of Breda, had been appointed promoter on November 4, 1535 : cp. further, Ch. XVIII : he exercised that function until July 18, 1542, when he became Notary of the Conservator's Court. He acted as procurator for Goclenius' heirs, and in that capacity rendered the account of the *Trilingue* from Sept. 10, 1537 to Jan. 25, 1539, on March 6, 1539 : *AccGocl.*, 1, r ; *AccEdel.*, 2, r ; *MotJuris*, 11, 39. As Notary he is mentioned in several transactions of the *Trilingue* : Sept.-Nov. 1542, and December 1551 : *Inv.*, 11^{bis}, r, v, 25, r ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 351, 557.

⁴⁾ Ruard Tapper, professor of Divinity, succeeded Nicolas Coppin, of Mons (cp. before, II, 607 ; de Jongh, 160-61) as dean of St. Peter's, in 1535, and remained in that office till his death, March 2, 1559 : *Mol.*, 136 ; *BN* ; cp. further, Ch. XX.

Cornelius de Meldert ¹⁾, besides the Abbot of St. Gertrude's, Peter Was ²⁾, and that of Parc, Ambrose de Angelis ³⁾).

Whilst the committee examined the question ⁴⁾, the professors of the *Trilingue* solicited Giles de Busleyden, John de Carondelet and other influential personages at Mary of Hungary's Court, to use their authority towards a favourable settlement, but could not prevent the Faculties of Law from gaining their cause, so that the committee finally forbade Rescius to lecture on a treatise of law on pain of excommunication ⁵⁾. That decision was considered as a precedent in the history of the University, and in the *Liber Memorialis pro Informatione Dⁿⁱ Rectoris super actis Universitatis 1534-1633*, it was booked on the first page :

Die octaua mensis martij anno trigesimo sexto jn Rec-
toratu Magistri Joannis de Bolonia ⁶⁾ ex deliberatione
Vniuersitatis fuit conclusum ad querelas et instantiam

¹⁾ Cornelius de Meldert, of Brussels, who promoted Doctor of Canon Law on February 7, 1503, was dean of the Chapter of St. James' from 1499 until he died, in his 93rd year, on September 18, 1556 : Mol., 158 ; VAnd., 180.

²⁾ Peter Was, of Brussels, succeeded Antony de Nuwen-, or Nieuwenhoven († December 24, 1526) as 5th Abbot of St. Gertrude's. He reformed the spirit of his Abbey, and adorned its Church with magnificent stalls ; he built several houses, and erected in 1551, the elegant ' wine-press', one of the most interesting buildings of that period in Louvain. He was *Conservator Privilegiorum* of the University from January 24, 1527 to July 13, 1540. He resigned as Abbot in 1551, and died on February 14, 1552 : Mol., 227 ; VAnd., 70, 188 ; Vern., 51 ; Gestel, I, 160 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 519 ; *LouvEven*, 215, 406, &c.

³⁾ Ambrose van Engelen, de Angelis, of Louvain, succeeded Arnold Wyten († September 19, 1515) as Abbot of Parc, and remained in that dignity until his death, March 16, 1543 : Mol., 199 ; *LouvEven*, 471 ; Gestel, I, 195 ; *Parc*, 228, 41, 62, 115, 124, 170, &c.

⁴⁾ *LibActVI*, 155, v-156, v.

⁵⁾ Mol., 604 ; *MotJuris*, 40.

⁶⁾ John Lobel, *Lobellius*, of Boulogne, a relative of Philip Nigri, Chancellor of the Golden Fleece, was appointed secondary (*pomeridianus*) professor of canon law by the town of Louvain in 1532, and promoted doctor on February 10, 1534. By 1538, he resigned and accepted a canonry in St. John the Baptist's, afterwards St. Bavo's, Ghent, where he was chosen dean in 1539, and died in 1544 : VAnd., 42, 156-57, 187, 189 ; Paquot, xv, 282 ; *Anal.*, xxxix, 303-4 ; Mol., 547 ; Hellin, 99, 265 ; *MonHL*, 594, 595, 604.

facultatis vtriusque Juris Magistro Rutgero Rescio inhi-
bendum esse ne in collegio trilingui prelegat Institutiones
Imperiales grece sicuti tamen publicauerat in valuis
ecclesiarum se prelecturum ¹⁾).

The news of that opposition was communicated by Goclenius to Erasmus, in a way that showed that the Latin professor was siding with his colleague ²⁾). The old Humanist saw clear in the matter, and asked him in reply : What need was there for Rescius to interpret the Greek *Institutiones*, as they are only translations from the Latin ? It would have been far better to explain Demosthenes, or the unobjectionable parts of Lucian's work, or the tragedies so replete with earnest thoughts, or so many authors from whose writings the elegance of Greek language can be learned ! Stigmatizing Rescius' '*auri sacra fames*', he concluded : 'But that man only considers gain, and he greatly imperils the College : Sed ille totus ad quæstum spectat, et grauitur perdit istud Collegium !' ³⁾ Those words, the last in the last letter that is extant, sound as a supreme curse and an ominous prediction of the disappointed Master and Friend on the brink of eternity, which he was to enter a few days later ⁴⁾).

Indeed, Rescius' senseless attempt and obstinacy was certain to harm the College in the general opinion, and to alienate from it the sympathy of some of the most influential professors, like Drieux and de Vriendt ⁵⁾), who were even connected with the Institute by the beneficent bonds of gratitude, of sympathy, of common ideals and of initiation received. If, in the past, the difficulties caused by some theologians did not bring about any calamitous disturbance, it was certainly owing to the prudence and the calm behaviour of the staff, but also to an unmistakable sympathy of the most intelligent, and consequently, the most sedate, of the Univer-

¹⁾ FUL, 43 : 1, r.

²⁾ Apparently on this occasion, Erasmus disapproved of Goclenius' opinion, and wished to impart the reason.

³⁾ Allen, xi, 3130, 33-37 ; *ErasDrum.*, i, 382.

⁴⁾ The letter is dated June 28, 1536, and the lines referring to Rescius form a kind of postscript.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 419-20, 421-22.

sity professors, who counterbalanced most effectively the wild onslaught of those who did not see far ahead. It was most unwise of Rescius to jeopardize the welfare of the College, and even its existence, for the sake of a few florins : the opposition, which had been so threatening in the past, might flare up again at any time, and cause irretrievable ruin.

That there was always that danger, results from the lack of general full-hearted sympathy, which became manifest at the least alert, as results from this instance ; and that it was not merely a passing discontent, is shown by the conditions on which the actual professors of the Faculties of Laws ¹⁾ allowed Gisbert Loyden, in 1537, to lecture on the same Institutes ²⁾. It was stipulated, first, that he should only teach on days on which the other professors did not give their ordinary lessons, and secondly, that he should not provide any linguistic, but only juridical, explanations : ‘*declarando textum & Glossam juridice ; non Grammaticaliter, Græce, aut alijs novis modis*’ ³⁾. That stipulation may have been inspired by the trouble caused in the preceding year by Rescius ; possibly by the partiality to language studies, which the candidate may have shown before, or by their discontent with the jurisprudence of Budé and Alciat, or that which was going to make most famous their own disciple, Gabriel Mudæus. It proved the old antipathy against the method and principle of Humanism which Erasmus had advocated, and of which the *Trilingue* stood as symbol, recognized by foes as well as friends, the principle, namely, that all science has to be derived from the objet itself or from unexceptionable documents, with the help of all means available, under the lead of stern logic and common sense.

¹⁾ They formed what was afterwards called the *Strictum Collegium* of the Laws, to which were not even admitted the professors of the lectures founded by Royalty in the xvth century (*Latum Collegium*), nor the Doctors V. J. : cp. FUL, 634-40.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXI ; maybe Gisbert Loyden was an old student of the *Trilingue*.

³⁾ VAnd., 158.

3. MISGIVINGS OF THEOLOGIANs

A. EUSTACE OF SICHEM

A few years before that difficulty arose between Rescius and the Faculties of Law, the old spirit of the opposition against the *Trilingue* and the principles it embodied, had flared up most unexpectedly at the *Aula Doctoralis* of Peter de Corte, July 12, 1530 ¹). During the presidency of Wary and even already of Stercke, the College was enjoying a welcome calm after a painful anxiety: the wild opposition of the theologians gradually changed into indifferent expectancy and, partly even, into generous appreciation as soon as the new Institution had the occasion to show its real nature and efficiency. The full-hearted appreciation of a Dorp and of a Driedo ²), and the producing of sound scholars and prudent divines, like Sonnius and Tiletanus ³), had a wonderful effect on the general opinion, although the fire of the old animosity was still smouldering, and had even leapt up into a short-lived flame at the hare-brained assault of John Paschasius on the study of Greek, in the last months of 1526 ⁴). Still no lasting harm appears to have been done to the *Trilingue*, and there seems even to have come a decided change in the way in which the Louvain theologians treated Erasmus: when on his visit to Brabant in the autumn of 1529 ⁵), Quirinus Talesius attended a *convivium*, and heard a divine asserting there were parts in the Humanist's writings which could not be pleaded free from heresy ⁶), he told his master, who wrote to the theologian, — most probably Eustace van Sichein ⁷), — requesting him to indicate such places, declaring to be ready

¹) VAnd., 106; *Gran.*, 83, b, c; de Jongh, *55; Allen, VIII, 2352, 341-43.

²) Cp. before, II, 502, sq.

³) Cp. before, II, 508, sq.

⁴) Cp. before, II, 339, sq.

⁵) Talesius left Basle on October 2, 1529, and reached London on October 24; he returned after November 21, remaining in the Netherlands during several weeks, arriving finally at Basle some time before January 13, 1530: cp. Allen, VIII, 2222, 25.

⁶) Allen, VIII, 2264, 1-3.

⁷) Cp. further, p 135. The addressee is not named, but it seems as good as certain that Eustace van Sichein is meant: Allen, VIII, 2264, *pr.*

to 'strangle' them. In that same letter he mentions that he hears that his correspondent is polite, equitable, and quite different from Beda; and he adds that he himself is doing more harm to the '*Evangelici*' than the Paris professor, although he is constantly exposed to their violence ¹). A few weeks later, on March 3, 1530, he confided to John Botzheim : '*Louanienses Theologi mitescunt in me*' ²), which seems to imply that he had received a conciliatory and considerate reply from Eustace van Sichein, to which he probably again alluded on March 30, 1530, when he wrote to Christopher Mexia, that, some years ago, the theologians cried out against him, '*sed seniores modo, nec hi tamen omnes : iuniores nostra amplectuntur : nunc et casci mitescunt. Nec pauciam monachi que prius damnarant, incipiunt amplecti*' ³).

In that period of calm and friendly understanding the *Magisterium* in Divinity was going to be earned by, and granted to, Peter de Corte, Curtius, of Bruges, on July 12, 1530. He had been conspicuous as student, being classed the second of his promotion in Arts, 1513, and had been at once appointed as teacher of Latin and eloquence in the Lily; he had been trained there by John de Neve, Martin van Dorp and Josse Vroeye, and in the following years he lived there for several months with Erasmus. Whilst studying theology, he was entrusted with the lectures of philosophy, and even with the regency of the Lily in the autumn of 1522 ⁴). He announced to Erasmus, on January 21, 1525, that he would always be welcome in the Pedagogy, where his books were used in the lectures, where his spirit was religiously kept, and where even Greek lessons had just started ⁵). He was appointed successor to William Joannis of Vianen as *plebanus* of St. Peter's, in recognition of his erudition and of the eloquent sermons he delivered against Reformation : that appointment by the town authorities made him professor of divinity and future '*provisor*' of the *Trilingue* ⁶). On

¹) Allen, VIII, 2264, 1-18.

²) Allen, VIII, 2277, 9-10, 2310, 24.

³) Allen, VIII, 2299, 110-113.

⁴) Cp. *Cran.*, 26, 11-13, 83, *pr*, 186, *pr*; and before, II, 83-4.

⁵) Allen, VI, 1537; *LatCont.*, 391, 393.

⁶) He was to take the place of the Executors appointed by Busleyden's will, along with the Dean of St. Peter's and the Father of the Carthusians : cp. before, I, 42 (*Test.*, 73), II, 83; and further, Chs. XXII, XXIV.

February 27, 1530, he had been elected Rector ¹⁾, which added great solemnity to his *Magisterium* : for it provided the extraordinary experiment of the highest authority in the University, to whom emperor and king yielded the place of honour ²⁾, submitting to a test by his subordinates ³⁾.

The function was invested with more than the usual solemnity on account of that dignity of the new *Magister*, and presents were offered to him, not only by the Chapter of Bruges, his native town ⁴⁾, and by that of St. Peter's, but also by the Louvain town authorities ⁵⁾, by the Faculty of Arts ⁶⁾, and by the University Senate ⁷⁾ ; moreover, several eminent men like Mark Laurin, Dean of Bruges ⁸⁾, John Louis Vives ⁹⁾, and, no doubt, Francis de Cranevelt ¹⁰⁾, came to Brabant for the occasion ¹¹⁾. Yet the peculiar solemnness that characterized this exceptionally grand promotion, did not prevent the dean of the Faculty of Theology, Eustace van der Rivieren, *a Fine*, of Sichem, *de Zichenis* ¹²⁾, a Dominican friar, from criticizing

¹⁾ *ULDoc.*, I, 264 ; *LibActVI*, 88, r.

²⁾ *Vern.*, 25, sq ; *VAnd.*, 30 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 243-45.

³⁾ *VAnd.*, 55 ; cp. de Jongh, 65, sq ; *Mol.*, 1021-41 ; &c.

⁴⁾ Schrevel, I, 631.

⁵⁾ *LouvArch.*, accounts of 1529.

⁶⁾ Regens Lillii mgr. de cortte de Brugis celebrat doctoratum in theologia... Propinatur D. Curtio... celebranti suam aulam doctoralem amavini Rhenani, vel ad libitum 12 Rhenenses : *ActArtInd.*, 27, reproducing the sixth volume of the *Acta Facultatis Artium*, ff 364, 365.

⁷⁾ *LibActVII*, 8 ; de Jongh, *55-*56.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, II, 68 ; *Cran.*, 6, a ; *OlaE*, 510, 519, &c. — His arrival in Louvain is mentioned by Goclenius in his letter to Erasmus of July 14, 1530 : *Allen*, VIII, 2352, 344, 354, 368 ; his leaving, by Heemstede, in a letter of the same date : *Allen*, VIII, 2353, 24.

⁹⁾ Goclenius mentions his presence in Louvain : *Allen*, VIII, 2352, 344-355, 369.

¹⁰⁾ As he was de Corte's special friend, — *Cran.*, *xlvi*, *lxi*, *xc*, — he most likely was one of the 'plærique alii ex amicorum <Erasmi> numero', who came to the *Aula Doctoralis* : *Allen*, VIII, 2352, 344 : amongst them may have been Peter l'Apostole, of Mechlin, and two Bruges friends, John de Fevyn and Henry Nieulandt : *Cran.*, 188, 12.

¹¹⁾ The same friends had been invited, and had come, to de Corte's *Actus Licenciatus* on June 5, 1526 : *Cran.*, 188, 12, 189, 3-10, 191, 3, 23.

¹²⁾ Eustace van de(r) Rivieren, de Rivis, born in 1482 at Sichem, *de Zichenis*, matriculated in Louvain as a student of the Lily on August 31, 1499 : *Excerpt*, 92 ; he was the fifth of the promotion of 1500 : *ActArtV*, 175, r ; *ULPromRs*, 66 ; having entered the Dominican Order he was sent to study theology in Louvain, where he matriculated a second

the study of languages which Curtius had promoted to the best of his ability ¹⁾. The irrelevant and unhandsome attack cannot be explained as a joke, which might have been seasonable at the *vesperiae* ²⁾, but which certainly was out of place at the very function of the promotion, on 'die Martis', July 12, before a most numerous assistance : 'dum laurea corona theologica... donaretur', John van Heemstede relates ³⁾, after hearing himself the foolish and most uncomely speech ⁴⁾. Even if it had been directed against Erasmus' doctrine, and not merely against languages ⁵⁾, it could not have been pleaded free from impertinence and indelicacy, considering Curtius' well-known sympathy for the Great Humanist ; at any rate Heemstede understood it as levelled at what Erasmus had been striving for successfully : 'linguas', he wrote to him, 'hostilissime est persecutus, quas tu multa cum gloria bene fortunantibus superis in tuto propemodum collocasti. Male pereant... insulsiissimi asini, incognitas res tantopere vituperantes' ⁶⁾.

time in September-October 1508 : *Excerpts*, 96. On August 31, 1517, he was admitted to the Academic Senate, and on the following day, September 1, 1517, he promoted Doctor of Divinity ; he was allowed to teach in the Faculty on September 30, 1517. He was elected dean of that Faculty on February 28, 1525 and 1530, as well as on August 31, 1532, and became prior of the house of his Order in Louvain, where he died on April 16, 1538. About 1521, he published *Errorum Martini Luther brevis confutatio*, and in July 1523, once again, against Luther, *Sacramentorum brevis elucidatio*, both of which he dedicated to Bishop Erard de la Marck on April 30, 1523. To the same prelate he dedicated, on December 26, 1530, *Apologia Pro Pietate, In Erasmi Roterod. Enchiridion Canonem quintum*, 1531, which accused that treatise of favouring Luther's doctrine : *NijKron.*, I, 885-86, II, 2988-89 ; *TypMus.*, 12. Cp. *Mol.*, 243, 514 ; *LibActV*, 299 ; *VAnd.*, 104 ; *BibBelg.*, 214-15 ; *BelgDom.*, 151 ; *Paquot*, XI, 70-72 ; de Jongh, 167-70, *67 ; *BibRefNe.*, III, 199, sq ; *Allen*, VIII, 2264, *pr*, IX, 2443, 100, 2500, 21 ; *QuetEch.*, II, 106 ; *FG*, 421.

¹⁾ Cp. *bef.*, II, 83-84 ; he had namely introduced the teaching of Greek in the Lily, and continued using Erasmus' books, which had been proscribed in the other Pedagogies : *Cran.*, 257, a, 8 ; *Allen*, VI, 1537, 21-23.

²⁾ *Vern.*, 87 ; de Jongh, 65-66 ; the *vesperiae* had started for Curtius on July 7 : de Jongh, *55.

³⁾ John van Heemstede, Louvain Carthusian (cp. pp 75-77), wrote to Erasmus about that incident on July 14, 1530 : *Allen*, VIII, 2353, 15-23.

⁴⁾ The letter reads : Eustachium, qui... ridicula incultissimaque oratione, me quoque in frequentia illa audiente &c. : *Allen*, VIII, 2353, 18-20.

⁵⁾ de Jongh, 170.

⁶⁾ *Allen*, VIII, 2353, 19-23.

That antipathy for humanism was only a pretext to have the occasion to attack Erasmus : it seems to have been an obsession with van der Rivieren : in the last months of 1529, he availed himself of the presence of Talesius at a friendly meal to accuse his master of heretical statements : as already mentioned ¹⁾, the base attack elicited a polite request for enlightening, which probably was answered by excuses, if not by an apology, suggesting a peaceful conclusion to the incident ²⁾.

Most surprisingly, the drift of the oration at de Corte's promotion does not show any abatement in Siche'm's old animosity : he probably was then composing his *Apologia pro Pietate, in Erasmi Roterod. Enchiridion Canonem quintum* ³⁾, disputing the contention that real piety consists more in the disposition of the spirit than in the mere producing of external acts ⁴⁾. It came out in 1531 with a dedication of December 26, 1530, to Cardinal Erard de la Marck, in which he declares that he has no intention of attacking Erasmus, whose eloquence and erudition he praises, but merely wants him to remove from his book some passages proposing doctrines and principles which he has in common with Luther and Ecolampadius ⁵⁾. The *Apologia* itself is based on a mis-

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 131.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 132.

³⁾ Antwerp, William Vorsterman, 1531 : NijKron., II, 2988-89.

⁴⁾ *BibRefNe.*, III, 216, sq (where the *Enchiridion* is said to date from 1518 !); de Jongh, 169-70.

⁵⁾ It seems quite ridiculous to accuse Erasmus of advancing the same opinions as Luther and Ecolampadius in a work which was printed as early as February 15, 1503, amongst the *Lectvationes aliquot Erasmi Canonici ordinis diui Augustini*, by Thierry Martens, Antwerp : NijKron., I, 835. It was reprinted by the same Martens in Antwerp, in November 1509, and on June 25, 1515, in Louvain. It was reproduced by Valentine Schumann, at Leipzig, on August 27, 1515 and August 25, 1516; by Matthias Schurer, at Strassburg, in September 1515, June 1516 and in 1517, before Erasmus had it published with a letter to the Abbot of Hugshofen, Paul Volz, dated August 14, 1518, by John Froben, Basle, August 1518 : Allen, III, 858; *HB*, E, 1000-1003, 1124; NijKron., I, 836, II, 2926. — It was evidently the great popularity of this eye-opener — which from 1515 to 1528 was reprinted 43 times, besides being translated three times in Flemish, three times in Spanish, once in French and four times in German : *BB*, E, 1124, 1-5, 9-15, — which made it be looked upon as a danger for the traditional conception of devotion, and for the ascendancy of monks and friars over the faithful : yet Jerome Emser, editing it in Leipzig, on August 27, 1515, called it the *gemma reperta in agro euangelico* : *BB*, E, 1001.

understanding of the *Enchiridion*, which denies neither the advantage nor the necessity of external works of devotion, but contests the then prevailing opinion of their paramount importance and their sufficiency for piety and even for salvation. Erasmus was evidently displeased at that indirect attack, and even Erard de la Marck was : when, some days later, he entertained John Dantiscus and John Campensis at his country residence of Curange, near Hasselt, he declared that he disapproved in so far of Eustace's book that, whereas he was going to bestow some gold coins on the friar, he now refused to give anything for writing such odious ineptitudes against his good friend ¹). As Sichem's criticism was ridiculously inconsistent, Erasmus decided not to give any answer ²), and to let his adversary, the *Stentor*, continue bellowing against him, and causing himself to be laughed at by children, as he wrote to Resendius, who had libelled the tall, noisy prior in a poem ³).

¹) Letter of John Campensis to Erasmus, Curange, March 9/Frankfurt, March 21, 1522 : Allen, ix, 2629, 14-30.

²) Erasmus wrote to Julius Pflug, on August 20, 1531 : 'Dominicanum theologum Louaniensem nullo dignabor responso : qui sic scripsit vt non alia ratione magis potuerit se pueris ridiculum, doctis ac bonis omnibus inuisum reddere, denique suo ordini Cherubico labem quouis atramento sutorio tenaciorem imprimere' ; he adds that he and others have tried in vain to read the 'perexiguum libellum' ; that the author wants to boast his connection with Louvain, 'quo nomine scio', he adds, 'illi pessimam haberi gratiam ab eius Gymnasii theologis' ; and that he has the impudence to dedicate 'tam ridiculas, tam insulas, tam prodigiose fatuas nœnias' to the illustrious bishop of Liège : Allen, ix, 2522, 81-92. Martin Lips, answering a letter of Erasmus, wrote in November 1531 that, by his book, 'Apud Theologos Louanienses nonnihil aufert gloriæ Eustathius : dicunt enim plus esse eruditionis in præfatione libelli, quam in ipso libello' : Allen, ix, 2566, 186, sq. And in the letter of March 7, 1531, to James Sadoletto, the name *Eccius* amongst his adversaries, which is found in the manuscript autograph (*BbCopenh.* G. K. S. 95 : f 201), has been changed in the *Epistolæ Floridæ* (Basle, 1531), 37, and all the subsequent printed editions, into *Eustathius* : Allen, ix, 2443, 100.

³) In his letter to Andrew de Resende, the Portuguese Dominican, who at the time lived in the Louvain convent, much, it seems, to his regret : cp. before, II, 397, — Erasmus wrote, on June 8, 1531, thanking him for his *Carmen... aduersus stolidos politioris literaturæ oblatratores* (printed in Basle, Froben, September 1531) : Longum illum Stentorem, quem mihi quidem pulcre deliniasti, sed ipse seipsum in suo

B. DREAD OF SECOND UNIVERSITY

The wild and unwarranted onslaught of Eustace of Sichein at Peter de Corte's promotion, when, as well for the high dignity of the occasion as out of respect for the guests, all quarrels and disagreements should be put aside, may have been the irrepressible outbreak of discontent of some theologians, less at the new *Magister's* sympathies, than at the movement of Humanism at large, and at all the trouble it had given, and was still giving ¹⁾. Most probably, it was not intended as much for de Corte, as for the personages that had been invited, several of whom had come from Bruges to attend the function. It seemed, indeed, an excellent opportunity to let the representatives of the leading classes in the West of the Netherlands know once for all what were their views on the question of the necessity of a second university, which was raised by several towns there, not only Tournai, ²⁾, but Bruges ³⁾, Lille and Arras ⁴⁾. Of course they could not tackle

libello non minus indocto quam infante sic omnibus expressit coloribus, vt nullum speculum certiozem cuiusquam reddere possit imaginem; non potui non ridere. Quid illi venit in mentem, vt homo tragicam gerens personam se pueris deridendum propinaret? — Allen, ix, 2500, 21-27; in his poem, Resendius called him: 'longus homo... vasto corpore', and 'sus inamoena'; but does not describe him as *Stentor*: still Erasmus had correspondents and friends enough who could have depicted van der Rivieren as such, even if he did not know him personally, as is likely.

¹⁾ Cp. further, pp 143-44, 151.

²⁾ Tournai had a flourishing bilingual school, which Robert de Keyser, in 1517, and Peter Cotrel, in 1523, wanted to enlarge into an incipient University, especially for the French-speaking natives who, on account of the wars, were prevented from following the traditional ways to Paris, Orleans or Montpellier. Louvain ignored all their offers for an understanding, and had her monopoly protected by the monarch and the courts; in 1520, Busleyden's foundation was accepted largely for fear of seeing it transferred to Hainaut: cp. before, I, 280, 458, 520-25, II, 239, 292, 349-52, 602; Allen, xi, 3048, 25-37.

³⁾ There had already been an attempt at founding a second University there, about 1441, by Antonio de Recaneto (cp. before, I, 130-31); when, in 1519, the Louvain authorities did what they could to render the establishing of the *Trilingue* as difficult as was possible, Bruges made overtures to the executors, who even used that very offer as a threat against the ill-disposed academical Senate in the first months of 1520: cp. I, 514-20, II, 239, 349.

⁴⁾ About 1530, many students and young men resorted to those towns in order to learn French: cp. before, II, 352.

the matter directly : for, since several years, no decided request had been made, and no steps had been openly taken as yet ; but they wanted preventing any effective attempt by pointing out beforehand what they considered as the utter uselessness of another *Studium Generale*, which seemed only wanted by the favourers of the study of languages, — that ‘feigned’ foundation for all other branches, as they saw it most effectively, although quite unobjectionably, at work in the *Trilingue*. Without any doubt, it was the successful teaching of Latin and Greek that had brought the School of Tournai to the idea of making it into a *gallo-græco-latina Universitas* and of extending the range of studies ¹⁾ ; nor was it quite accidentally that the members of the staff emphasized wherever they could the existence and efficiency of their institute, from the days of Peter de Vriendt, *Amicus* ²⁾, who, in his *Institutionis grammaticæ... libelli duo*, proudly called himself *Gymnasiarcha Tornacensis*, dating the dedication *amico lectori*, June 22, 1521, *Ex Greco latino gymnasio Tornacensi* ³⁾).

The prosperity of the Tournai *Collegium Bilingue* or *Collegium Linguarum* ⁴⁾ caused great satisfaction to Erasmus : he never let an opportunity unused if he could encourage and praise the teachers, especially Ceratinus ⁵⁾, Viandulus ⁶⁾ and Broeckhoven ⁷⁾ ; he joined the Tournai *Ludus* to the Schools of Louvain and Alcalá in his requests for the Imperial protection and favour ⁸⁾, and he bequeathed to it a copy of his works in the will he wrote on January 22, 1527 ⁹⁾. The unequivocal encouragement of the great Humanist naturally emboldened the managers of the rising academical concern : yet it cannot but have incited the growing discontent of the Louvain

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 521, *sq.* There had been at work there most successfully James Ceratinus with Nicolas van Broeckhoven ; Melchior van Vianden still was at the time : cp. before, II, 323-30, 350-51.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 126-7, 419-20.

³⁾ NijKron., I, 116.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 520-23.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 281, *sq.*, 522, II, 98-101, 316, 328-29, 349.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 350, *sq.*, 602.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, II, 350.

⁸⁾ Allen, VI, 1747, 113-14 ; cp. before, II, 288, 350, *sq.*

⁹⁾ Allen, VI, p. 505 : *decimam quartam <summam> Tornacum, repouendam in Collegium quod instituit Petrus Coutrellus pro linguis ac bonis literis.*

divines, especially since, notwithstanding their complaint, and Margaret of Austria's prohibition, some lectures on theology and other branches were continued ¹⁾; the monopoly of the University was finally confirmed by the sentence terminating a law-suit before Mechlin Great Council, and ratified by the Imperial decree of October 8, 1530, which put an end to the Tournai attempt ²⁾, — at least for a time.

Indeed the favourers of a new *Studium Generale* in the West realized that the censure was due to a misunderstanding about 'languages', as they actually did not attach more importance to linguistics than to theology or to other branches; but wanted to create an institution which could replace the Universities of France, to which the access was often quite impossible, and yet proved almost indispensable: students did not like to live and be trained in a place where an unknown idiom was spoken. It seems as if their *desideranda* were duly communicated to the authorities of the country, who advised the Louvain Alma Mater. At the meeting of the Deputies of the Faculties, on July 31, 1531, it was stated that efforts were made to start a second university in Flandres, either at Lille or at Douai, and it was decided to ask for information; at the meeting of August 2, it was communicated that the motive invoked was the preventing that young men should have to go to France to learn French, which they would have every occasion to do if they could study in either of those towns. Of course, Louvain tried to counteract those efforts, and help came from the very rivalry of the towns, to which even Tournai joined as a third; it was announced at the meeting of December 17, that notwithstanding the condemnation, it insisted once more on the creating of an *academia* within its walls.

Further endeavours were made in 1532 by Douai, which are reported on at the meetings of the Rector and the Deputies

¹⁾ A. Hocquet, *Tournai et le Tournaisis au XVI^e siècle*: Brussels, 1906: 284: the town authorities of Tournai allowed, on May 10, 1525, Peter de Pottre, a Louvain student, to become for a year de Keyser's colleague as teacher; lectures were given on theology, laws and medicine from July 5, 1525 on, and continued even after Margaret of Austria had forbidden them.

²⁾ VAnd., 359; Hocquet, *Tournai* &c (cp. preceding note), 284.

of October 21 and November 9; on November 19, it was decided to secure the interference of the Prince of Nassau, on the ground of the danger of newfangled doctrines, which might be taught and spread, and a present was to be made to him in the shape of a quantity of wine. During the months of February, March and April 1533, the question was commented upon in the meetings, and, on May 11, the motives of the opposition to a new University, and, in particular, the danger of wrong doctrines at the approach of the General Council, were again pointed out. On September 5 of that same year, it was announced that dissension had broken out between the protagonists of the schemed institute and the various towns, after which the subject was dropped, whilst all the time the University enjoyed the full confidence of the Emperor Charles, who did not allow any infraction of the rights and privileges of his well-beloved Alma Mater ¹⁾).

C. AGRIPPA OF NETTESHEYM

The dread of losing the monopoly of higher studies and teaching in the country, which had been long haunting the University of Louvain and her most influential part, the Faculty of Divinity, and continued haunting them for centuries, was not the only annoyance attributed about that time to Humanism and to the interest in languages. Great animosity was felt in the first thirties at the criticism which, in the name of the 'new learning', was brought out by Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheym ²⁾), who, since 1529, was in

¹⁾ *LibActVII*, *passim* (the vith volume, with the *Acta Universitatis*, 1523-1542, perished in 1914: the *Acta Deputatorum* gives only summaries); VAnd., 359, quoting Flor. van der Haer, *De Initijs Tumultuum Belgicorum*: Louvain, 1587: ch. xvi.

²⁾ Henry Cornelius of Nettesheym, son of Henry, born at Cologne, Agrippa, in 1486, was an author versed in languages, law, theology, but especially in cabalistic and cryptic lore; his animosity against all contradictors caused him bitter disappointments. He matriculated in Cologne on July 22, 1499, and studied in Paris; whilst doing at times either military or secretarial service for Maximilian I, he lectured in Dôle on Reuchlin's *De Mirifico Verbo*, on divinity in Cologne. In 1510, he was sent by the Emperor on a mission to England, and, as John Colet's guest, he studied St. Paul's letters. From 1511 to 1515, he was

Margaret of Austria's service as the Emperor's historiographer ¹⁾). He abundantly censured all things and people as they were at the time, in the name of the new methods, forming a kind of more specialized, but far more outspoken, *Laus Stultitiæ*, choosing as frame the principle that all human knowledge, as it was then studied and taught, was wrong and unreliable, and that only faith as revealed by God in Scripture, was worth the name of knowledge and wisdom. The book was printed in September 1530 at Antwerp by John Grapheus under the title *De Incertitudine & Vanitate Scientiarum & Artium atque excellentia Verbi Dei Declamatio* ²⁾).

in Italy, serving in the army, or lecturing on Plato in Pisa, and on Hermes Trismegistus in Pavia, yet finding the time to promote in law and medicine. He became public Orator of Metz in 1518; his partiality for James Lefèvre involved him in quarrels with the Dominicans, and drove him to Freiburg, where he was physician and councillor from 1523. He was greatly interested in Erasmus, whom he knew through Cantiancula; also in Luther, though he did not follow him. By 1528, he came to Antwerp, and entered, in 1529, the service of Margaret of Austria, in whose honour he had composed his *De Nobilitate et Præcellentia Foeminei Sexus*, 1531; at her decease he pronounced a funeral oration. In *De Vanitate Scientiarum*, he attacked abuses, but also the authority of the monarchs, which lost him Charles V's favour in 1532; he took shelter with the archbishop Herman de Wied. His writings, and especially his *De Occulta Philosophia*, 1533, were censured by Cologne University: it elicited invectives, which became wilder as years advanced. The more he got to know monks and priests, he said, the more he liked the whelps of his dog *Filiola*, of which the death was deplored by Hilary Bertulphus, of Lede, with more verses than that of his faithful and patient wife, Jane Louisa Tyssie († 1521). From the Emperor's estates he fled in 1534 to France, where Francis I sent him to prison for having reviled Queen Louise. He died soon after his release, at Grenoble, in 1535. Cp. H. Morley, *The Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheym*: London, 1856; M. A. Prost, *C. Agrippa*: Paris, 1881; Keussen, 443, 15; AgripE, 345-53; Opmeer, 1, 486, a; AntvDiercx., 1v, 58; Foppens, 439-40; Knod, 699; FG, 291; Bianco, 1, 613-24; Herminjard, 1, 46, &c; Janssen, 11, 38, 97; SchelAL, 11, 513-96; Krafft, 140-41, 175, 207; Reuchlin, 198-99, 364-65; Varrentrapp, 29, 69, 84; KalHuRe., 189; PaulDom., 129-34; PaulHex., 224; Notestein, 62; Cran., 18, pr, &c; MonHL, 39, and references quoted; Allen, 1x, 2544, pr; HarvMarg., 119, 126, 156, 208, 214, 215; Henne, v, 52-54; &c.

¹⁾ His fame grew quickly throughout the country: on June 4, 1529, a 'legens' of the Lily wrote and requested him to come and see the wife of a Louvain secretary, who had been ailing several years, and had heard about his ability: AgripE, 267.

²⁾ NijKron., 1, 49.

It pointed out many of the defects of the sciences as practised up to then, all of which the 'new' movement endeavoured to correct in its struggle against blindly accepted tradition ; the brunt of the onslaught was directed against the excessive influence of Aristotle's doctrines on the study and teaching of religion, and the utility of logic and dialectics was contested, as the revealed truth far transcends all the quibbling debates, and, in a way, even the very principles on which the too much vaunted syllogism is based. The book bitterly criticizes the organization of the seven *Artes*, extolling against it Nicolas de Cusa's *Docta Ignorantia* ; it condemns the unwarranted value attributed to the doctrine of Aristotle, in so far that all its contradictors are suspected of heresy, thus giving to purely 'human' opinion the worth of eternal truth, and applying, most unfortunately, that estimation to religion and morals, in which human laws are often considered as more stringent than the laws promulgated by the Lord ¹⁾.

Agrippa thus was led to censure several of the conceptions and opinions of the time about the excellence of religious orders, the value of external devotion, the way in which Luther was treated, the overbearing importance of academical titles and degrees, all of which naturally roused the indignation of some of the theologians of Louvain ²⁾ and of other Universities. It is even possible that Agrippa's violent attack embittered Eustace of Sichem and his colleagues at the time of de Corte's promotion ; for, although his book only came from the press in September 1530, the work existed and was known long before : already on January 12, 1529, Charles V signed the approval and privilege to have it printed, and Agrippa ³⁾ mentions that it was examined on the Emperor's order by his councillors George de Themseke ⁴⁾ and Herman Zuderhuyzen ⁵⁾ : — it probably had been circulating in

¹⁾ The classic example quoted by Agrippa is the celibacy of the priests, based on the prescriptions of the Church, which, in the face of the general licentious living and the connivance of some bishops accepting a yearly gold fine in condonation, is in full opposition with St. Paul's doctrine.

²⁾ AgripE, 319, 327 ; in later editions much of the bitterness was softened : SchelAL, II, 513-29. ³⁾ SchelAL, II, 527.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 517 ; LuCha V, v, 99-101, 525. ⁵⁾ Cp. Busl., 430-31.

manuscript copies, or at least in extracts before it was published, as was the case with many other writings with which the author paraded ¹⁾).

An answer to many of Agrippa's remarks was made in verse by Busconius — no doubt Petrus Gherinx *Busconius*, of Hertogenbosch ²⁾), — evidently on the instigation or at the request of some theologians. It occasioned a most vehement reply, the *Apologia contra Theologistas Louanienses*, 1533, which answered the objections raised or instigated by the Louvain divines. That *Apologia*, no doubt, was, with *De Incertitudine Scientiarum*, the model of the sarcastic, and yet, seemingly benevolent, criticisms of Rabelais and of Philip Marnix of St. Aldegonde ³⁾; it insists on, and tries to prove, the statements against which the theologians objected through their spokesman. Although he declared to be a catholic, Agrippa insistently pointed out that Luther was not vanquished, and even told the bitter truth that a large part of the Reformer's popularity was due to the fact that, from all pulpits, his name was held up to the horror of the audience, which compelled him to resort to pamphlets in vernacular, whereas otherwise the difference would have been merely theoretical, academical, and treated only in Latin ⁴⁾). In another paragraph, he urges against them the statement that the real intelligence of the Bible and all the commenting should be based, not on the quarrelsome syllogisms of Aristotle and of the dialecticians, but on the thorough knowledge and understanding of languages, Greek and Hebrew, Latin, Arabic and Chaldaic ⁵⁾). Home truths like that one, forced upon the attention of the hegemonic Faculty of Theology in the name of Humanism, explain the distrust felt about linguistics by men like Eustace van der Rivieren, unable to draw the line between right, sensible use and extravagant excess : it accounts for the untimely criticism brought out at

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., for the *De Occulta Philosophia*, Paul Dom., 129.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 208-9 ; Busconii *Metriolus* : 1534 : NijKron., II, 2586.

³⁾ In his *Biënkorf der H. Roomsche Kercke*, <1569>, also chiefly directed against the Louvain theologians. Cp. Gabbema, 793-94.

⁴⁾ *Apologia pro Defensione Declamationis de vanitate scientiarum contra Theologistas Lovanienses*, 1533 : ch. xix.

⁵⁾ *Apologia* &c (cp. note ⁴⁾), chs. viii, ix.

de Corte's solemn promotion, as well as for the short-sighted censoriousness about the study and the explanation of Hebrew Bible texts, which was creating a continual diffidence about the *Trilingue* lectures, and was even going to spoil the career of the highly meritorious John van Campen.

4. BIBLE STUDY

A. FRANCIS TITELMANS

The growing distrust, which since several years, some of the Louvain theologians had conceived for languages and Humanism, was caused by the startling results of the study and the investigation of the Bible text, as revealed at first in Erasmus' editions of the New Testament of February 1516 and of March 1519 ¹⁾. The most ardent of the opponents, James Latomus ²⁾, tried to check and stop the new movement by denying boldly all need and use of the knowledge of languages for the study of Holy Scripture, yet managed his attack so as not to name Erasmus as his aim ³⁾. The Humanist cleverly avoided the thrust by stating that the pamphlet was not directed at him, but availed himself of the opportunity to show most efficiently the utter senselessness and inanity of the argument it endeavoured to convey ⁴⁾. Latomus, who about that time promoted Divinity Doctor, and was appointed professor ⁵⁾, far from owning his mistake, became a decided, although not openly declared, opponent of the *Trilingue* as it materialized Erasmus' views. He most zealously communicated his hatred to his students, amongst whom two are especially known. One of them, Nicolas Clenardus, never

¹⁾ *EraBib.*, II, 57.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 324, sq.

³⁾ Viz., by his *De Trium Linguarum & Studii Theologici ratione Dialogus* : Antwerp, <March> 1519 : cp. before, I, 327-42.

⁴⁾ *Apologia refellens suspiciones quorundam dictitantium dialogum D. Iacobi Latomi de tribus linguis & ratione studij Theologici Conscriptum fuisse aduersus ipsum* : Antwerp, April 1519 : cp. before, I, 343-48.

⁵⁾ He was created S. T. Doctor on August 16, 1519, and was amongst those who, on September 30 following, were allowed to profess theology : de Jongh, *43-*44 ; VAnd., 104 5.

dropped that hatred of the great Humanist, although thanks to Driedo, he became a most zealous lover of languages and of the *Trilingue* ¹⁾. The other, Francis Titelmans, did not content himself with latent dislike, but grew into a most tenacious adversary of the man who had never done him any wrong : he attacked him on his own ground, the study of the Bible text.

That Francis Titelmans, a native of Hasselt ²⁾, who lost his parents when very young, had studied at Standonck's *Domus Pauperum* from June 1518, thanks to the generosity of John Robbyns, the Dean of Mechlin, and of Charles de Carondelet, Lord of Potelles ³⁾. He was the first at the promotion to Master of Arts in 1521 ⁴⁾, and he started studying theology whilst teaching philosophy in the Porc. He had been under the direct influence of James Latomus, who resided and taught in the Pedagogy, which, since about twenty years, had been acquired by, and joined together for studies and lessons with, Standonck House ⁵⁾. It was Latomus who instilled into the young man his antagonism of Erasmus and his profound dislike of languages and of Busleyden College. His teaching in the Pedagogy, no doubt, gave ample satisfaction, for already on February 28, 1523, he was nominated by the Faculty to the first vacancy at the collation of the parish priest of Noduwez by dint of the Privilege of the Arts ⁶⁾.

Although he intended entering the secular clergy, he soon

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 220-24, 400, 507-8, &c.

²⁾ He was born, probably, in the last days of 1502 : Paquay, 25-28. He dedicated, in April 1532, to Dean Robbyns, 'patrono et patri fidelissimo', his edition of Arnold of Chartres, Abbot of Bonneval's *De septem verbis Domini in cruce* : Antwerp, Mart. de Keyser, June 15, 1532 : NijKron., I, 143.

³⁾ BN, xxv, 341 ; dedicatory letter to Titelmans' *Summa Mysteriorum Christianæ Fidei* : August 1532 : Paquay, 77-78 ; NijKron., II, 3963.

⁴⁾ *Excerpts*, 99 ; *ULPromRs.*, 72.

⁵⁾ FUL, 1003-8, 2026-30.

⁶⁾ *LibNomI*, 176, r : Die Sabbati ultima mensis Februarij MDCxxiii M. Franciscus Titelmans de Hasselt, clericus Leod. Dioc. et Art. Magister nominatus et admissus est per Corn. Sculteti de Weert, vice-decanum, ad collationem Curati seu Investiti Ecclesiæ parochialis de Noduwez, leod. dioc. presentibus Anthonio Salesetj de Aeth et Henrico Titelmans de Hasselt, Cler. Camerac. et Leod. dioc.

changed his mind and became a member of the Franciscan Order in the Louvain Convent, where he continued his theological studies, and was entrusted after a time with the teaching of philosophy. Some of his lectures were published at Antwerp in 1530 and 1533, no doubt for the use of his brethren, and were frequently reprinted ¹⁾. By 1527, he was entrusted with the lectures on Holy Scripture : he explained the Epistle to the Romans, not exegetically, but morally and mystically, basing his comment on the mediaeval or post-mediaeval authors, and consequently holding up to scorn the new theories of Lorenzo Valla, of James Lefèvre, and especially of Erasmus. As those lectures were as good as public, several of the Humanist's friends communicated to him some of the criticism ²⁾, so that, on April 29, 1527, he complained about the malevolent comments to Chancellor Gattinara ³⁾, and even addressed the young friar himself on May 18, 1527 ⁴⁾. In reply, the latter expressed his veneration for the great Erudite, as well as his sincerity, but claimed the right to scrutinize and criticize the writings of his contemporaries with the same freedom Erasmus took to censure those of St. Jerome and the other Fathers, and of all subsequent authors ⁵⁾. No further move was made, and the Humanist

¹⁾ *Libri dvodecim de consyderatione rerum naturalium* : Antwerp, S. Cock, November 30, 1530 ; *Libri Sex de consyderatione Dialectica* : Antwerp, S. Cock, October 1533 ; cp. *BN* ; Paquay, 62-65, 78-80 ; NijKron., I, 2037-38, II, 3957-59. — In James Shirley's play *Love in a Maze*, 1631-32, act IV, sc. II, Thornay says to Gerard : I a philosopher ? / I studied Titelman sometimes i' the College, / As others did...

²⁾ On June 17, 1527, Martin Lips wrote to Erasmus : Semel interfui lectioni Minoritæ Francisci de Hasselt, magni, vt fertur, tui aduersarii. Interpretabatur illud Apostoli <2 Cor., x, 13-5>, 'Non gloriamur in immensum'. 'Græce', inquit, 'est ametra, quod significat infinitum vel non mensum. Similiter immensum infinitum vel non mensum' : Allen, VII, 1837, 55-59.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1815, 28-30 : 'Ecmondano mortuo extitit Louanii Franciscanus quidam, qui in publicis prælectionibus subinde perstringit nomen meum'. Just before those words, Erasmus wrote, complaining about the difficulties caused to him and his friends in Louvain : *Negotium duorum arte geritur : viz., of James Latomus and Nicolas Coppin* : Allen, VI, 1747, 24-64.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1823.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1837a.

contented himself with an occasional mention of the 'juuenis mire gloriosus' ¹).

B. OPEN HOSTILITIES

Notwithstanding the condescending reply to the admonitory letter of May 18, 1527, Titelmans continued his criticisms, which compelled several friends and well-wishers to inform the great Humanist of the malicious and yet senseless remarks. Even the calm, patient and peace-loving Goclenius was stirred up, and wrote repeatedly, 'crebris literis', that the young man was the very limit of contemptibleness, of childishness and of lack of all common sense ²). On May 10, 1528, he announced that, in his wish to provide an unexceptionable proof of his utter ineptness, he had in vain looked out for means ; a hope on success had been given by Gerard Morinck, the theological instructor of St. Gertrude's Abbey ³), who had discovered who was to copy out the text of some of his censures, and had nearly managed to obtain a transcript ⁴), when he was most abruptly recalled to his home, Bommel ; still he promised to realize his plan on his return. Two days before, on May 8, Morinck himself had written to Erasmus about the life of St. Augustine at which he worked, and

¹) In his letter to Alonso Valdes, March 21, 1529, Erasmus mentions as adversary : Louanii Titelmannum quendam iuuenem mire gloriosum quod illius indicant progymnasmata : vtinam tantum possit quantum sibi tribuit ! Allen, viii, 2126, 169-71.

²) Allen, vii, 1994a, 1-4 : ...scripsi, hoc iuvene nihil esse contemptius, nihil infantius, nihil magis a sensu communi alienum.

³) Gerard Morinck, of Bommel, had been most successful in his studies of the Arts, and was Dorp's amanuensis, at least for some time ; by the end of 1525, he was entrusted with a lectureship in Holy Ghost College, and wrote Dorp's life. By 1529, Abbot Peter Was made him instructor in theology of St. Gertrude's ; by 1536, Gerard had accepted a similar office in St. Trudo's Abbey under Abbot George Sarens. He died on October 9, 1536, leaving a biography of Adrian VI, 1536, and several other writings : *MonHL*, 461-94 ; Allen, vii, 1994, *pr*, and before, II, 504-5, &c.

⁴) 'Moringus nonnihil spei fecit libelli obtinendi, subodoratus per quem illæ næniæ describerentur. Ac cum iam ferme ad articulum rei esset peruentum, ille ob grauissima negocia in patriam repente fuit auocatus. Sed operam suam in reditu mihi sedulo est pollicitus... : Allen, vii, 1994a, 5-14.

which had been requested for the *Opera Omnia* that were then printing ¹⁾. He also mentions Titelmans' criticism, and promises more information ²⁾: 'Audies non solum viua voce sed et iustis voluminibus tecum pugnare iuuenem vixdum barbatulum', he announced, 'licet sua legat et premat velut Cereris Eleusinæ mysteriis operans; vt scilicet hoc minori rubori cedat, si præceps fortitudo in neruum denique erumpat' ³⁾. He mentions that the friar had written a book: 'opus ipsum degustavi, pressius lecturus si copiam eius diutius suffurari licuisset', probably at the transcriber's, who had to copy out the author's rough draught ⁴⁾. Still the little he had read of it, allowed him to judge of its worthlessness: 'nihil est cur d<ominatio> tua sollicitetur. Eiusmodi omnia sunt vt a tali alia expectari non potuerint, hoc est ridicula et puerilibus crepundiis consentanea; indigna denique ad quæ celsitudo tua sese inclinet, nisi fortassis in Vniuersitatem ipsam inuadendam censeas. Dabo specimen aliquot horum quæ prima fuerit occasio'. Morinck further requests not to make his name known to spare him all unnecessary trouble ⁵⁾.

The judgment of those two earnest erudites about the criticism by Titelmans on the *Novum Instrumentum* is as important as it is significative. Of course, Erasmus' critical edition was a most praiseworthy attempt, and its significance in Bible study can hardly be gauged ⁶⁾. Still better than anybody, he knew that it was not perfect, and the changes he brought about in 1519, and in subsequent issues, are unequivocal proofs that his work was liable to be rectified ⁷⁾, — although not by a Titelmans, and certainly not at that time, when he was quite a novice in that study. Yet the applause of his audience and the lack of all outspoken contradiction, incited the young lecturer to publish his attacks on the great enemy of his and of all other Orders. On October 7, 1528, Goclenius announced that he was at Antwerp 'vt pariat suos

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1994, 1-56, 1994a, 15-17. — Morinck's *Vita Divi Aurelii Augustini* was printed by Mich. Hillen, Antwerp, August 1532, and dedicated to Prior John Bosverkens, Achterius, and to the canons of Bethleem, Herent, on January 8, 1532: *MonHL*, 471-72; *NijKron.*, I, 1543.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1994, 69-73.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1994, 73-76.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1994, 77-78, 1994a, 6-7.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1994, 77-84.

⁶⁾ Cp. Bludau, 143-45.

⁷⁾ Bludau, 51-58.

foetus', from which, as he knew for certain, the chief Louvain theologians had tried to dissuade him ¹⁾; and he concludes his information by the assurance of the worthlessness of the criticism : 'Sed hic tibi metuendus non est' ²⁾. Three months later, on January 25, 1529, the question of the printing had not been solved ; for Peter Gillis announces that a *Michaelita*, a canon of St. Michael's Abbey, at Antwerp ³⁾, had had the *Minoritæ ineptias*, no doubt Titelmans' manuscript, but had returned it. He had tried every endeavour through friends to have it back, but the friar had refused, 'nam', he added, 'vetitum est ab Academia Louaniensi, non solum ne proferat, sed omnino supprimat' ⁴⁾, — which corroborates Goclenius' statement.

Notwithstanding the severe prohibition of the University, it is most likely that the Order ⁵⁾, or its powerful protectors, insisted on having the book brought out ⁶⁾ : it was printed by William Vorsterman, in May 1529, as *Collationes Qvine Sæper Epistolam ad Romanos*, of which, as is explained at length on the title-page, the difficult places are elucidated with the help of the Greek text, so that even those who ignore that language, can understand, whereas, moreover, the authority of the Latin Vulgate 'rationabiliter defenditur' ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 2063, 57-58 : Franciscanus iam agit Antuerpiæ vt pariat suos foetus, dissuadentibus theologorum — quod compertum habeo — coryphæis.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 2063, 58-59.

³⁾ *AntvEpisc.*, 146, sq.

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2089, 1-5.

⁵⁾ No doubt the then most powerful Order assisted in bringing out publications, especially if they criticized an old enemy and slanderer, like Erasmus ; that the University did not patronize such editions, may have been an incitement to have them recommended even over a wider area. Titelmans' lectures were thus issued after he had left the country, either by his former hearers or by his brother Peter, the Inquisitor : cp. Paquay, 49-85, 98-105 ; and further, p 153 ; some are still found as manuscripts, such as the comments on Job taken in 1534 by Jod. Ant. Sol, which are now in St. John's College, Cambridge : Allen, VIII, p xlii.

⁶⁾ Erasmus wrote to Peter Mexia, March 30, 1530 : Ridetur <Titelmans> a doctis omnibus. Ipse suorum fratrum applausu contentus est ; and about May 14, 1530, to Sadoletto : quicquid audet in suorum sodalium conuiuio garrere, non veretur committere litteris... ; quumque rideatur ab omnibus, tamen sibi displicere non potest, tanta est philautia : Allen, VIII, 2300, 40-41, 2315, 269-274.

⁷⁾ NijKron., I, 2036.

Those *Collationes* are offered in the form of paraphrases, like in Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*', which they are meant to criticize and correct. Instead, however, of taking as basis the very wording of the Sacred Books, and deducing its meaning from the terms and the expressions, with the help of linguistic erudition, and of a collation with renderings in various languages, so as to prepare a thoroughly established text, ready to be interpreted by the authentic teaching of the Church ¹⁾, he provided explanatory, mostly mystical even and devotional, comments, taken from the writings of the Fathers and of subsequent authors, based on the traditional exegesis. It thus was a step backwards, compared with the *Novum Instrumentum*, and an unequivocal return from science to tradition.

In his comments, moreover, Titelmans mixed profusely bitter remarks on Erasmus and on his explanations, and especially on the unceasing censuring of the degenerated lives and some of the devotional practices of monks and friars. The great Humanist was vexed, and mentioned his antagonist in several letters for his insolent loquacity ²⁾, calling him *xxxelmans*, cackling man ³⁾; he replied by two bitter letters, addressed to John Botzheim ⁴⁾, of which one was worked out into *Ad Collationes cuiusdam <iuuenis Gerontodidascali> Opus Recens*, 1529 ⁵⁾. Titelmans, as if rejoiced at the attack, replied by an *Epistola apologetica* ⁶⁾, and continued criticizing the Humanist's views in *De autoritate libri apocalypsis*,

¹⁾ Bludau, 51-58, &c.

²⁾ Thus in the letters written in the first months of 1530 : to Peter Gillis, Cuthbert Tunstall, the Franciscans, John Botzheim, Peter and Christopher Mexia and James Sadoletto : Allen, VIII, 2260, 123-144, 155-311, 2263, 106-14; 2275, 13, (2352, 303-306), 2277, 7, 2299, 114, 2300, 27, *sq.*, 2315, 270-74.

³⁾ On January 31, 1530, he wrote to Herman Hompen Phrysius : *Louanii exortus Titelmannus quidam vel xxxelmannus potius, iuuenis confidens et effrenis cuiusdam petulantiae, qui nobis singulis mensibus parit mali corui ouum, applaudentibus gregibus Seraphicis. Ridetur a doctis, sed ipse nihilo secius sibi placet* : Allen, VIII, 2261, 71-75.

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2205, 2206 : August 13 and 19, 1529.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Petrus Sylvius : October 15, 1529 : NijKron., I, 866. Erasmus did not name his adversary to make reconciliation the easier : Allen, VIII, 2260, 130, *sq.*, 2300, 33-38.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, William Vorsterman : January 1530 : NijKron., I, 2042 ; Allen, VIII, 2245.

1530 ¹⁾, charging him with confirming heretics in their errors; it occasioned the virulent <Epistola>*ad quosdam impudentissimos Gracculos* ²⁾, in which he was called *juvenis gloriosissime loquax*, and *Thrasonica gloria juvenis*, who could not realize that he was worsted, and continued provoking his vanquisher ³⁾).

C. RETREAT

Titelmans did not reply any more to that *Epistola*, as, most likely, his former protector John Robbyns, Dean of Mechlin, interfered on behalf of his old and most intimate friend ⁴⁾; he likewise may have quelled all contradiction by Goclenius and Morinck ⁵⁾, so as to let the quarrel die out. Some echoes may have recalled the virulent attacks, such as the untimely criticism brought out, at Peter de Corte's promotion to *Magister* ⁶⁾, by Eustace of Sichem, who continued, as by the past, denouncing the study of languages and Busleyden's College as the source of all error and perverseness, declaring that there was hardly any less danger in Erasmus' books than in those by Luther ⁷⁾.

Meanwhile Titelmans continued his lectures, keeping strictly to the matter; he issued his explanations of the Psalms in June 1531 : *Elucidatio In Omnes Psalmos Ivxta Veritatem Volgatae*; it was dedicated to Charles V ⁸⁾; he added to it *Annotationes Ex Hebræo Atque Chaldeo In Omnes Psalmos*, May-June 1531 ⁹⁾. Those comments were followed in June-

¹⁾ Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1530 : NijKron., I, 2035 ; Allen, IX, 2417.

²⁾ *Epistolæ duæ recens conditæ et editæ* : Antwerp, Mart. de Keyser, 1530 : NijKron., II, 2941.

³⁾ Erasmus mentions that obstinacy, March 30, 1530, to Peter Mexia : *Vinci non possunt : etiam victi ac prostrati, tamen vrgent et attrahunt aduersarium, quemadmodum solent pertinaces sed imperiti palestritæ* : Allen, VIII, 2300, 42-44.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 8-12, &c, II, 242-49, &c.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 147.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 133, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. the quotation from Eustace de Zichenis' dedicatory letter of *Apologia Pro Pietate*, In *Erasmi... Enchiridion*, 1531, to Erard de la Marck, December 26, 1530 (NijKron., II, 2988) in de Jongh, 169.

⁸⁾ Antwerp, Martin de Keyser, for Will. Vorsterman : NijKron., I, 2041, also II, 3961 (May 1532), 3962 (March 1540) ; cp. further, p 170.

⁹⁾ Antwerp, S. Cock : Paquay, 65-68 ; NijKron., I, 2034, II, 3955, (1540).

September 1536, — when he himself was leaving the Netherlands, — by his *Commentarii In Ecclesiasten Salomonis, cum annotationibus ex Hebræo & æditione Græca in singula capita* ¹⁾. They differ from his preceding works by the absence of all criticism on Erasmus ; but, like their predecessors, they were still made by means of the already existing comments on those texts, rather than by a study on their originals in the various languages. Such quotations and the evidently traditional method pleased the larger part of those interested in the matter ; yet the work of a pioneer, the ingenious toiler John Campensis, was scornfully moved aside, when he asked Cardinal John de Carondelet, and even Lorenzo Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre, for the printing licence. The Hebrew professor, writing to John Dantiscus on August 19, 1531, imputed the refusal of all licence for his *Enchiridion Psalmorum*, and for his rendering of the *Ecclesiastes*, ‘uni Francisco Titelmanno, iuueni imberbi, qui ante annos aliquot scripsit contra Erasmum, Jacobum Fabrum et Laurentium Vallensem, quos ipse conatus est docere græce, qui vixdum legere posset græce ! Idem hoc anno edidit commentarios in Psalmos, opus tam grande ut asino oneri esse possit, cum privilegio Imperatoris, in quo opere et Hebraicam et Chaldaicam linguam se scire iactat, cum mihi ipse confessus sit, se nunquam cepisse Hebraicæ, multo etiam minus Chaldaicæ, linguæ operam dare !’ ²⁾ Already on March 30, 1530, Erasmus had pointed out to Peter Mexia, that Titelmans was ‘nec Grece nec Latine peritu(s)’, and consequently judged rightly ‘non esse parem ei prouinciæ’ ³⁾.

It is quite possible that, in the calm of subsequent studies ⁴⁾, Titelmans understood, at length, that a new day was breaking, and that the indispensable renewal of Church life and authoritative teaching could only be realized by a return to the purity of the original *disciplinæ*, based on the thorough understanding of Faith and Scripture, thus giving to the

¹⁾ NijKron., II, 3956 : Antwerp, S. Cock ; it was dedicated to Card. Francis Quignonius, Quiñones, from Louvain on June 10, 1536 (cp. Paquay, 84-87), shortly before he left for Italy.

²⁾ Cp. DantE, 155.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2300, 34-35.

⁴⁾ On July 26, 1533, Goclenius wrote to Erasmus : Titelmannus extra sua sæpta frigescit : Allen, X, 2851, 10.

Bible and its study the primordial importance which, since long, had been usurped by easy-going and self complacent tradition ¹⁾. If Erasmus' attempt at helping the upward move of Christianity by his *Novum Instrumentum* was not unobjectionable in all its details, even the difficulties he roused, as Bludau says, as well as his paraphrase and as the edition itself, proclaim his love of Scriptural research and his ardour for the purity of God's Word throughout future times ²⁾.

That there happened in Titelmans' mind a complete veering, results from the fact, that, having assaulted Erasmus on account of his criticism on the laxity of his and of other Orders, he found that, after all, he was right; for notwithstanding the difficulties which were, authoritatively, put in the way, he left the Observant branch of the Franciscans for the far more severe family of the Capuchins, started in 1528 by Matteo da Bascio. With a few 'confratres', he reached Italy in September 1536, and was chosen already in May 1537 as Vicar for the province of Rome ³⁾; abandoning books and teaching for works of charity, he died on September 12, 1537, at Anticoli, in consequence of his austere living and of the incessant labours of his last months ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. Bludau, 51, sq.

²⁾ Bludau, 145: auch diese Streitigkeiten, in welche Erasmus sich verflochten sah, verkünden wie die Paraphrasen und die Ausgabe selbst seine Liebe zum Bibelstudium und seinen Eifer für die Reinhaltung des Wortes Gottes für alle Zukunft.

³⁾ Paquay, 86-96.

⁴⁾ Paquay; Opmeer, I, 461, a; Dirks, 49-59; Allen, VII, 1823, pr; BN, & references; Pastor, IV, II, 630-4. His brother Peter edited his Paraphrases on Job, Matthew and John, 1543-47; Francis also published writings of some of his elder confratres, such as Amandus of Zierikzee's *Chronica*, 1534, which is followed by a report about the Ethiopian King Presbyter Joannes, based on that of Goes: cp. before, p 57; and wrote a biography of the jurispudent John a Myrica, vander Heyden, of Louvain, who became D. V. J. on June 18, 1526, along with Dominic Cakaert, of Termonde, at a promotion at which assisted the Mechlin Councillors Peter l'Apostole, Francis de Cranevelt and Louis de Schore; elected Rector at the end of the following August, he presided at the first Jubilee of the University, on October 9, in St. Peter's, where he pronounced a panegyric; he died prematurely on September 15, 1527, Titelmans delivering a funeral oration: cp. *LibAct* VI, 55, v; Vern., 35, 51; VAnd., 184, 41, 157, 176; *ULCinqS*, 19; and before, II, 73.

5. CAMPENSIS' TROUBLE

A. HIS STANDING

The opposition against the *Trilingue*, which had proved unsuccessful for Latin, considering the unexceptional value and prudence of Goclenius, and useless for Greek, on account of Rescius' decidedly obstinate character, weighed so much the more heavily on the Hebrew professor. He had no share in the material advantages by which Rescius and, far more even, Goclenius were held up : his audience was far less numerous than that which encouraged and gladdened his colleagues, and he could not supply the insufficiency of his wages by private tutoring, as the matter in his attribution did not interest richer students preparing for juridical, diplomatic or political careers, being only useful to some of the students in divinity, who, generally, were not favoured by fortune ¹⁾. Moreover Campensis' lofty mind paid more attention to the enlarging and deepening of his own knowledge than to the profit he might make by teaching the rudiments of Hebrew to new-comers. No wonder that a more practical man, with a sense for the possibilities of securing profits, soon availed himself of the opportunity, almost turning a profession into a trade ²⁾. No doubt, to make up for the inequality in the conditions, Campensis had been entrusted with the celebrating of the Masses in the College as he was a priest, and the accounts of Wary and of van der Hoeven mention him for eighty Masses celebrated during the year ³⁾, which increased his wages by one ninth ⁴⁾. As long as Nicolas

¹⁾ Even Goclenius, who had several private pupils, found his wages hardly sufficient : letter to Erasmus, May 10, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1994a, 72-80 ; cp. II, 610, sq. and before, pp 94, sq.

²⁾ Cp. further, pp 165-69.

³⁾ Item den seluen M Jan van Campen voor lxxx missen tselue jaer <October 18, 1525 to October 18, 1526> jnder Collegie ghedaen : *AccMaroI*, 107, r. — Item : for the same dates of 1526-27 : *AccMaroII*, 64, r ; — of 1528-29 : *AccMaroIII*, 78, v ; — of 1529-30 : *AccHoevI*, 37, v ; — and from October 18, 1529 to April 18, 1530 : *ManHoev.*, 12, r.

⁴⁾ Except for the last, the quotations from the accounts referred to in the preceding note, follow on the entries : Item voor meester Jan van Campen den hebreuschen professor voer een Jaer... liiij Rgs. — In the

Wary of Marville was at the head of the College, no difficulties seem to have occurred; van Campen is even mentioned in the account for 1529 for having advanced the money for the weekly expenses of the servants in the kitchen, having possibly been replacing the President, who then may have been ailing already ¹⁾).

Trouble seems to have started during the first year of van der Hoeven's regency, when, in July, Campensis requested him on two occasions for a considerable loan of money, which was granted very unwillingly ²⁾). On August 3, 1530, a student was sent to him as *discipulus domesticus* by an old friend, 'magister' Joseph Mussche ³⁾, namely Michael of Horion, of Maastricht ⁴⁾, who was accepted as boarder in the College with a reduction, which Campensis had obtained from the President; with that Michael he was probably invited to Maastricht at the end of that year ⁵⁾; on that account, he had to request, on December 29, the loan of four Rhine florins in order to accompany the boy ⁶⁾. Four weeks later he was once

Motivum Juris against Rescius, it is stated that Campensis had been accepted in the service of the College at the same conditions as Rescius, which were not those of the Founder's Will, but at the rate of eight great Flemish pounds up to 1522, and afterwards nine Flem. pounds: *MotJuris*, 18, 19, 25, 26, 30, 35.

¹⁾ At the end of the weekly account for Saturday, October 3, is mentioned: *Jtem op dese weke heeft Campensis verleit die reste die grieten quam te wetene ij R. ix st. i ort.* Then follows as heading: *Hiernae volghet tghuent dat M J Campis verleit heeft...* to 'Martinen', — no doubt another servant than 'griet': *AccMarvIII*, 60, r, v.

²⁾ *Die lune xj Julij <1530> mane hora quinta aggressus est campensis me petens mutuum ad octo renen. vltra sex et decem eidem prius mutuatos / quod (licet non libenter) fecj unde dedit mihi cyrographum xxiij reñ. : ManHoevI*, 13, v.

³⁾ No doubt the John Joseph Mussche, of Antwerp, who had some difficulty with the Promoter in 1510: cp. I, 14. By 1510, he is mentioned as being admitted to the Council of the Faculty of Arts, and, having taught six years, he was amongst the first to receive a nomination of the Arts, 1515: *AcArExc.*, 49, 100.

⁴⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, r; *StudAtt.*, 34; cp. sect. 5, c, of next chapter.

⁵⁾ On December 28, 1530, van der Hoeven received from Michael's father, Sir William, a gift of six capons, which a messenger brought to the College: *ManHoev.*, 5, r.

⁶⁾ *ManHoev.*, 5, r: *xxix^a decembris dedi mutuo m. Jo. Campensj qui altera die fuit cum m^o horion ad traiectum super suo stipendio cedendo*

again in low water, and van der Hoeven had to advance on two occasions five Rhine florins ¹⁾; still they were soon refunded ²⁾. That repeated shortage of money may be due, not only to the insufficient wages of which his colleagues also complained ³⁾, but to unforeseen claims to which Campensis was exposed on account of his natural son Jerome, who was then probably beginning his studies ⁴⁾. In a letter which the young man wrote to John Dantiscus on December 12, 1539, he stated that his father was as *indiligentissimus* in his son's studies as in his own affairs ⁵⁾; it explains at least part of the difficulties he experienced, in full contrast with the situation of his colleagues, who took greater care of their interests. Conditions were more favourable to them, and, moreover, it appears that Campensis did not enjoy a strong constitution : he is mentioned several times in 1531 as suffering from an old skin disease, *scabies infantilis*, he called it, which did not, however, prevent him from eating, as he wrote to Dantiscus, on August 27, 1531 ⁶⁾.

xl duplices st. constituentes iiij R. — Campensis probably was entrusted on that visit with the fees for the young man's board and lodging, which he paid to the President up to February 2, 1531, being the first semester : *ManHoev.*, 3, r.

¹⁾ Jtem xxxa Januarij <1530> aen meester Jan Campis betaelt v ren. — Anno trigesimo nona februarij Receipt m Jo Campis mutuo... v R : *ManHoev.*, 5, r, 11, r.

²⁾ On April 18, 1531, when van der Hoeven paid his professors for the first semester, he wrote down : Jtem betaelt mgro Johanni campensi pro medio anno suj stipendij tam ad causam lectionis quam missarum cesso xvij aprilis xxx R. — which shows that the loans had been refunded : *ManHoev.*, 6, r.

³⁾ Cp. II, 611-13, 618-20, 621, sq, 632, and before, pp 91-95.

⁴⁾ He mentioned in December 1539, through James a Barthen that he had seen Dantiscus and Henemannus Rhodius in Louvain, when he was about twelve, which must have been in 1531; at the moment he was writing he was still in Louvain, and contemplated composing a history of their times, from about 1500, as Barthen announced to Dantiscus on February 8, 1540 : *DantE*, 406, 410.

⁵⁾ *DantE*, 406.

⁶⁾ *DantE*, 157. On December 2, 1531, Goclenius writing to Dantiscus, refers to that disease : Contra omnia amicorum consilia initio malum contempsit, quodcumque sit; ipse scabiem puerilem vocat, sic jam adultam, ut possit vel virilis numerari, nisi credamus Campensem nostrum ante senectutem repuerascere : *DantE*, 181.

That ailment occasionally interfered, manifestly, with the regularity of his lessons, which had a disastrous influence on the number of his auditors : they naturally were far less numerous than those of his colleagues. That scarcity of hearers had several other causes : to begin with, the absolute absence of any previous Hebrew teaching, such as generally had been supplied to students, before coming to Louvain, for Latin and even for Greek ; moreover the absence of a pedagogical training in the professor himself, which would have suggested starting with the very first principles of lexicography and syntax ; further the entire novelty of the study of that most intricate language, of which many phenomena remained mysteries to Campensis himself till the last years of his life ; above all, the lofty aim he had in view in his lessons : far from merely retailing the elements of the old language, he wanted to explain texts or passages up to then badly understood, if not totally misconstrued ¹⁾, so that he addressed only those of his auditors who could follow him in his abstruse deductions ; he thus aimed at bringing out the proper original sense, hoping thereby to vanquish Luther and the Reformers by the very authority on which they tried to build their novel doctrines ; for his wish to convince their mentor, Melancthon, of his mistakes in understanding the Bible text, had become as the ultimate purpose of his life ²⁾. Consequently his lectures, in which he freely expressed his frank conviction,

¹⁾ He especially wanted to oppose Luther's principle, inspired by Melancthon, about the supreme and exclusive authority of the Bible, as expressed in his introduction to the comments on the Psalms, and, even more decidedly, in his oration on the doctrine of St. Paul, January 25, 1520, in his *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie Præludium*, 1520, as well as in his address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, 1520 : *Melanch.*, 109-17. The result was that the Reformers, as Cochlæus owns, referred wherever they could to the Bible, and stabilized their conclusions with quotations from the Greek and the Hebrew texts, and with antique readings : they made the Catholic priests and monks appear as inferior to them, if not as illiterate, and they thus produced a great impression on all those who heard them : Grisar, III, 897-99.

²⁾ Cp. I, 503-4. He communicated his grand plan of depriving the Reformation of its cleverest promoter, to Dantiscus, Andrew Crzycki, Aleander, Goes and Sadoletto : cp. before, pp 54, 60, and II, 583-84 ; *Mela Vers.*, 18-21, 79.

naturally sounded offensive to some auditors partial to the Reformation ¹⁾, and occasioned the *dissidium*, to which Erasmus referred in his letter of March 19, 1528 ²⁾, — no doubt a remonstrating by some '*evangelici*' amongst the audience, and the threatening of resorting to repressive measures by the loyal President Wary, backing up his professor of Hebrew ³⁾.

B. LACK OF SUCCESS

Campensis' irregularity in giving his lectures and the lack of all adaptation to the necessities of the audience, sadly disappointed and diverted the students who wanted to learn Hebrew⁴⁾. Since they were unable to attend Campensis' erudite lessons with profit, they looked out for someone to help them, and found an efficient tutor in Nicolas Beken Clenardus. The latter had been Campensis' disciple, and he readily accepted teaching the rudiments of the sacred language, which he did with so much success that, in 1529, he saw himself compelled to have a synopsis of Hebrew grammar printed for his growing audience ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ By 1528, there were, amongst others, John Sturm and John Sleidanus, who for certain favoured the Wittenberg movement: cp. II, 572-76, 579-90. It seems as if the presence of some young German tutors and private teachers of languages in Louvain, made the University look as a dangerous school, from which Andrew (Gheeraerds) Hyperius' father Gerard wanted to keep away his son, who, on that account, was sent to study in Paris: Paquot, xvii, 186.

²⁾ Allen, vii, 1973, 3, sq; it appears as if Erasmus had been informed of some incident, and had referred to it in his letter to Wary, mentioning also Campensis and their freedom of language, in the winter months of 1527-28. Most probably the President had replied, expressing his fear of some pamphlet or libel on that account, but Erasmus' letter of March 19, 1528, tranquillized him by the declaration that he had not heard of the event, except by Wary's own letter. — It follows that this incident, belonging probably to the last months of 1527, cannot have been the cause of Campensis' leave in the winter of 1531-32, as is suggested in *EraSpain*, 448-49.

³⁾ Cp. II, 603-4.

⁴⁾ In November 1531, Goclenius wished for his successor some one who would show '*assiduitatem... in docendo, et diligentiam, quod plerique omnes non sine iusta querela in Campensi nostro desiderabant*': Allen, ix, 2573, 44-46.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 220-24, 507-8, 580, and next section.

Meanwhile, instead of making a summary of elementary facts and forms to be proposed to, and to be dinned into, one set of hearers after another, as Clenardus did, Campensis devoted his whole attention to the study of the text of the *Ecclesiastes*, so as to investigate the language in its living reality, detecting the various laws and rules in their effective application, searching continually for new phenomena, and, by more adequate observation, for more authentic interpretation. Passing by the mystic or devotional comments, like those proposed by Titelmans ¹⁾, although pretendedly based on a comparison between texts in various languages, he focussed all his attention on the original Hebrew wording, and derived from it the obvious sense, which he tried to elucidate by means of similar passages in other books.

It was natural that he did not think in the least of attracting an audience ; he had a much too lofty idea of his duty as professor to entice hearers to his classes by descending to their lowness ; nor did he undertake research work only to provide his lectures with some effective bits to interest beginners. The very comparative scarcity of hearers ²⁾ made him the more eager in his own pursuit of knowledge : from the very outset he was interested far more in the investigation of all the mysteries of the sacred language, especially those of its roots and their transformation, and of the system of vowel-points, than in the dispensing of some scraps of knowledge to a few *tirones*. Realizing the ideal work of a humanist, he shrank from turning University teaching into the dogmatic imparting of rudiments to new-comers, but conceived it as a communication of one's views and doubts, of one's experience and aims, of one's carefully checked methods and attainments, to all those who wish to accept them to make use of them and work them out better and further.

It was on account of that ideal work that he devoted years of study on the Psalms, on the *Ecclesiastes*, on Solomon's

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 146, 150-52.

²⁾ Sturm relates to his Hebrew teacher, Elias Kyber, that : *Antequam Nicolaus Clenardus hebraicas literas Lovanii docere inciperet, exiguus erat eorum numerus, qui hujus sermonis essent cupidi, et tamen Joannes Campensis in Collegio Buslidiano docebat, eruditus et doctus homo... : EpClassArg., 112-14.*

Proverbs ¹⁾, and on other Bible books, and felt a lifelong hunger for spending some time with Elias Levita, whose writings had explained to him much of the mystery of Hebrew ²⁾, and whom he longed to ask for enlightenment for so many more obscurities. Nor did he, in his lofty pursuit, ever lose sight of what had led him to the study of the Bible : namely the refuting of Luther's and Melanchthon's dogmatizing by means of an unobjectionable exegesis ; for that purpose he even turned, later on, from the Old Testament to the Epistle to the Romans, which he subjected to a close scrutiny in order to convince Melanchthon of his wrong interpretation of the texts quoted by the Reformers as their chief authority.

C. SPECIALIZED STUDY

If considered in connection with the advance in the development of studies and in the right training of young intellectual toilers, Campensis' work accomplished in the *Trilingue*, far from being a failure on account of the absence of material, business-like success, appears to be most glorious on account of its sterling quality. He, indeed, built all his knowledge on the sound foundation of reality, and never contented himself with repeating merely what he had heard or learned from others. 'Nuncquam potui iurare in verbis hominis alicuius', he wrote to Olah on February 4, 1532 ³⁾, to excuse himself of a vehement argument in his dining-room ⁴⁾, and relates on that occasion how the theological discussions had directed him to the study of languages, so as to be able to read the Bible ⁵⁾ ; also, how he had been led to ask for some respite ⁶⁾ when he had been requested to take the place of Matthew Adrianus ⁷⁾ and of his two English successors in the *Trilingue* ⁸⁾, so as to be able to go and learn

¹⁾ In his letter to Dantiscus of June 2, 1531, Campensis refers to his Paraphrase on the Proverbs as finished : DantE, 131.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 54 ; II, 119-20.

³⁾ Letter to Olah : OlaE, 192.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, pp 164, 176.

⁵⁾ Cp. I, 504, sq. ⁶⁾ Cp. I, 505, II, 120, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. I, 241-55, 334-39, 369-75, 534-42 ; Rupprich, 9 ; *CorpCath.*, XIII, xxxviii ; *EllenbE*, lxxviii, 104-5, 111 (referring to the influence he had on several erudites, like Nicolas Ellenbog, before he came to Louvain).

⁸⁾ Cp. I, 379-86, 447, 500-3.

in Germany ¹⁾ the mystery of the Massoretic points and accents for the thorough understanding of the formation of words from the roots. One of the most important acquisitions he had made when he returned, by October 1521, was the explanation of the vowel-points, provided by the great Hebrew teacher of the Christians, the grammarian Elias Levita ²⁾, in his writings and by his disciples ; the information gathered and put to use by Campensis to the best of his ability ³⁾, had kindled in him an insuperable longing to make his personal acquaintance, and to submit to his experience the doubts that had tortured him for years, in so far that,

¹⁾ Adrianus lacked all systematic knowledge of his native language and all pedagogic method, and his successors were little more than apprentices : so Campensis could hardly be called 'equipped' with what he had received in Louvain. Great difficulties were then inherent to the study of Hebrew : Jews were unwilling to help the Christians, and the latter considered even the language as a danger for their faith. Only converted Jews were generally taken as tutors ; they were not always familiarized with the intricacies of the idiom, which the Massoretes rather made more enigmatic instead of explaining forms and rules : *HebStud.*, 14, sq. — Most probably Campensis, who started studying Hebrew in 1515 or 1516, used treatises like Francis Tissard's *Grammatica*, of 1508, or Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*, of 1506, before the arrival of Matthæus in Louvain : *CorpCath.*, XIII, xxix-lxi. Cp. I, 504, sq.


²⁾ Eliah ben Ascher ha-Levi, Elias Levita, was born at Neustadt near Nuremberg, in 1472 ; he was and remained a Jew the whole of his life. He was educated in Germany, but soon went to Italy ; he taught Hebrew in Padua, 1504-1509, in Venice, 1512, and in Rome, where he became the preceptor of Cardinal Ægidio Canisio, of Viterbo, General of the Augustine Hermits (Pastor, iv, i, 141, &c), who took him up in his house, and taught him Greek, and other sciences. In 1527, having lost all his property in the Sacco, he settled in Venice, where, with the exception of a few years spent with Paul Fagius, at Isney, he remained until he died, in 1549. He was excellent as grammarian, and one of his great disciples, Sebastian Münster, translated his works from Hebrew into Latin, namely the *Composita verborum et Nominum Hebraicorum* : Basle, 1525, and *Accentuum Liber Unus ; Item Liber Traditionum* : Basle, 1539 : — *HebStud.*, 56-65. Levita was also Cochlæus' master : *CochlHum.*, 101 ; *CochlSpahn*, 30. Cp. MasE, 4 ; NèveRen., 229, 287 ; *CorpCath.*, XIII, xxxix, xli, 46, 60, 65, 67, 75.

³⁾ Campensis acknowledged his indebtedness to Elias' works in his Grammar of 1528 and in the *De Natura Litterarum et Punctorum Hebraicorum*, printed at Cracau in 1534. In his correspondence, Levita is frequently referred to : DantE, 282, 290, 298.

to some, his admirable eagerness seemed as an avowal of insufficiency ¹).

Campensis put into practice his garnered knowledge by applying it in researches on the text of the *Ecclesiastes*, explaining in his lessons the formation and the changes of roots and words in an actual Hebrew text, of which he did not propose a translation, but made a kind of paraphrase; it allowed him to offer almost to exhaustion the various meanings of words lacking correspondent equivalents in other languages.

It was especially the word formation that interested him; through it, he wanted to acquire, and also to communicate, a thorough insight in the language: it induced him to place at the disposal of his hearers an accumulated riches of experience and information, in one of the last of Martens' publications, July 1528 ²):

 Ex variis/libellis Eliæ gramma/ticorum omnium doctiffimi, huc fere cō-/gestum est opera Iohannis Campē/sis, quicquid ad abfolutā grāma/licen Hebraicam est ne-/cessarium.

That grammar was appreciatively inscribed to Daniel van Bomberghen ³), a member of the Antwerp printers family, established also in Venice, who published several useful books for the study of Hebrew. Campensis communicates in

¹) Campensis wrote to Olah, February 4, 1532: unus est omnium, qui his proximis annis mille vixerunt doctissimus, Elias, natione Germanus...; apud illum, si mihi contingere potuerit mensibus aliquot versari, beatissimum me iudicabo: OlaE, 193.

²) In-4°, A⁴-N⁴: NijKron., I, 1201; Iseghem, 337-38; Lambinet, 313; and I, 120-21.

³) Daniel van Bomberghen, born at Antwerp about 1483, the son of Cornelius, printer (cp. Polain, I, 542-45), and of Agnes Peeters Vranckx, had an office in Venice, where, in September 1515, he published the Latin translation of the Psalms by Felix Pratensis; he printed also a *Biblia Hebraica* with the comments of the Rabbini, and several other Hebrew books. He died at Antwerp in 1553. A Cornelius van Bomberghen lent his Hebrew type to Plantin, and joined him and John Gropius Becanus, as well as James de Schotti, from 1563 to 1567. Cp. II, 120; Guicc., 106; *BibBelg.*, 169; *AntwHist.*, III-V, *passim*; *AntwAnn.*, II, 387, b; *BrabNobl.*, 390, sq; F. van Ortroy, *Les van Bomberghen*: Antwerp, Compas, 1924; and *Rev. des Biblioth.*: Paris, 1924-26, 102-08; Polain, I, 544-45; PlantE, I, 181, 255; *SweMon.*, 74, 78.

that treatise the rich knowledge he gathered most exactly and minutely of a matter, which, up to then, had been encumbered, if expressed at all, by the intricate niceties of the Massorettes ¹⁾. It has been reprinted several times ²⁾, and for several centuries it has been praised as very well ordered, most methodical, most complete, and yet not at all burdened by the tiresome minutiae supplied by subsequent grammars. Although it could hardly serve as a handbook to beginners, it got an ample share of appreciation as the ideal work of an erudite who, irrespective of any other considerations, is only bent on the severe task of checking, ordering and enlarging the amount of knowledge he himself gathered ³⁾.

It was no doubt an example to be studied in his lectures, that he added the Hebrew text of Psalm LXI, *Nonne Deo subjecta erit anima mea*, with the vowel-points and accents, on the last pages of the grammar ⁴⁾. In fact, about 1528, Campensis left the commenting on the *Ecclesiastes*, and started studying the Psalms ⁵⁾, which exposed him to some suspicion from the theologians : as long as he had kept to the Koheleth or to any other out-of-the-way text, there had been hardly any occasion for criticism, on account of their unfamiliarity. The Psalter, on the contrary, was a more dangerous ground : it was continually read, and far better known ; besides difficulties and obscurities, it offers many discrepancies between the various translations and the original. The paraphrase which Campensis provided, in consequence of a close and comparative study of the Hebrew text, necessarily differed in many places from the reading of the Vulgate, and from the

¹⁾ Cp. Iseghem, 337-38 ; NèveMém., 238-39 ; and II, 120-21.

²⁾ It was reprinted, e. g., in Paris, Chr. Wechel, 1535, 1539, 1543, 1545, 1553 : *BibBelg.*, 475 ; Paquot, XI, 228.

³⁾ Paquot, XI, 228 ; NèveMém., 239, sq, 259, where is explained how one of his successors in the *Trilingue*, Valerius Andreas, wanted to publish a grammar entirely built upon the plan and even on the text of that by Campensis, in Wechel's edition of 1545.

⁴⁾ Iseghem, 338.

⁵⁾ On October 2, 1531, he mentioned, in a letter to John Dantiscus, that, *ante biennium*, he had explained the first forty psalms, and that the notes taken during his lectures had been sent to France, from where he received repeated offers to have his comments published : DantE, 168.

meaning generally attached to it. It evidently greatly displeased the theologians headed by Eustace van der Rivieren, of Sichem. Still, as Campensis' exposition was, like his outward appearance ¹⁾, very composed and discreet, and not at all offensive, he did not give any occasion to his adversaries to attack him openly ²⁾, so that, on February 4, 1532, he could assure Olah, as he had already done a few days before at a meeting in his house, that he had never had any quarrel with the Louvain Theologians ³⁾.

6. CAMPENSIS' REVERSES

A. ENCROACHINGS

Difficulties, unfortunately, did come to Campensis : not from the theologians, at least not directly, but in a large part from one of his old students, who, in the beginning, appeared to offer welcome help, although after a series of peaceful and beneficent months of active work, he evidently let himself be used as a cat's-paw. He was the old student of the Porc, Nicolas Beken Clenardus ⁴⁾, whom James Latomus had filled to overflow with hatred of Erasmus, of the *Trilingue* and of languages ⁵⁾; but who, on his appointment, in 1521, as bursar-president of the diminutive Houterlee College ⁶⁾, was brought under the happy influence of an inmate, his professor John Driedo ⁷⁾, who managed to make him feel the utter

¹⁾ Erasmus sketched him in his letter to Wary of March 30, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1806^a, 41-42 ; and before, II, 613-14.

²⁾ Writing to Dantiscus, June 2, 1531, Campensis refers to a joke badly understood by the University Syndic, John Macket (cp. I, 450-51) : 'nemo unquam persecutus est me, quod quidem sciam ; minime autem Macquetus' : DantE, 131.

³⁾ Cp. OlaE, 192 ; and further, Ch. XVI, 1, A.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 220-24, 580.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 250-53, 286, 414.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 412 ; *ClenHum.*, 8-10 ; also II, 222, 505-7.

⁷⁾ Driedo, professor of theology, one of the most conspicuous men of Louvain University, in which, for the Faculty of Theology, he spoke the initial speech of the year on Oct. 1, 1519 (*LibActV*, 314, v), had been an intimate friend of Henry of Houterlee, the founder ; he had been offered the presidency of the College, which extended over ten years ; after his resignation, 1521, he still remained in it as an inmate : cp. *MonHL*, 412, 344-45 ; also II, 505-7, 543.

senselessness of that opposition to linguistic knowledge and studies. He started attending the lectures of the *Trilingue*, with the strange result that, from an adversary, he became a warm-hearted apostle ¹⁾; his theological studies were put into the background, and he devoted most of his time to tutoring those students for whom the lectures on Hebrew and on Greek proved too difficult. Those amongst them who thus wished for private tutoring in Greek were probably too numerous to be managed by Rescius personally, especially after his marriage; whereas John Campensis' unsystematic and unordered Hebrew teaching made a coaching indispensable for the generality of the hearers. The presence of a zealous and clever man, who, after the several years of university training, had started learning those languages in the full maturity of his judgment, must have been a godsend: for he could point to what is material and useful, leaving out what is superfluous or obscure, so as to communicate the clear, concise and effective knowledge, with the help of his own experience in a mature age, almost as the crowning of his intellectual formation. Helped by his natural buoyant common sense, Clenardus met with ample success: not merely for Greek, to second Rescius in his tutoring ²⁾, but more especially for Hebrew; for the spasmodic teaching ³⁾ and the lack of a gradual, systematic instructing by a scholar, wholly absorbed in the intricacies of the sacred language ⁴⁾, made a methodical training most welcome. Answering the large demand, Clenardus obtained the approval of the academic authorities to organize, not merely private and well-paid coachings, but also less expensive, and more numerous attended, public lessons, which, however, were neither part nor parcel of the regular system of lectures of the *Trilingue*, nor of those of any other University institute ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. II, 397, 473-77, 507-8, 580, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. II, 318, *sq.*, 333, *sq.*, 581, *sq.*

³⁾ Even Campensis' friend and protector, Goclenius, had to admit the truth of the complaints about the insufficient 'assiduitatem... in docendo et diligentiam': November 23, 1531: Allen, ix, 2573, 44-46.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 157, *sq.*

⁵⁾ In his letter of July 14, 1530, Goclenius mentions to Erasmus: 'Nicolaum Clenardum, qui hic priuatim docet literas Græcas et Hebrai-

Clenardus was most prosperous in his Hebrew lessons : he was not only more considerate and regular than Campensis, but also more pedagogical and practical ¹). His former master Latomus realized what profit could be gained through him to harm the *Trilingue* by diverting as many divinity students as possible from the lectures in the College : ‘propositum collaudavit magister meus Latomus’, he wrote of him, ‘et ut est fautor cum uidet recta studia recte tradi, perpetuo curren-

cas’ : Allen, VIII, 2352, 323-24. That statement does not contradict the one by Valerius Andreas : ‘Ita cum priuatim tum etiam publice Louanij docuit *Nicolaus Clenardus*’ : since, as it is mentioned in the sentence preceding, that teaching took place with the consent and permission of Rector and University : VAnd., 357 ; there is question here, at any rate, of the teaching of a man not appointed by the University, but who, out of his own authority, ‘privatim’, lectures not only in an exclusive way to one or to two students, but to a larger audience, against some special retribution, with the permission of the University : cp. *ClénCorr.*, II, 23. — In the same passage of the *Fasti Academici*, Val. Andreas, mentioning Clenardus’ teaching, adds : ‘item *Ioannes Lud. Vives* admissus ad legendum eodem anno MD. IX. XX, v. Non. Martij’ &c. That *eodem anno* does not refer to the teaching of Clenardus, but to the difficulties caused by William Nesen, mentioned just before, to which an end was put by the decree of the Brabant Council in 1520, that nobody should be allowed to teach, dispute, or take part in any function, except he be immatriculated, and have obtained the permission of the Rector and the University : VAnd., 357. As a sequel to that decree, the University Senate granted the right to teach to Vives on March 3, 1520 ; still no mention at all is made in the report of that session of Clenardus : de Jongh, *18.*20 ; nor, in fact, in any of the meetings recorded in that vth volume of the *Acta*, 1495-1522, which perished in 1914, but which had been carefully studied through on that account by my friend Professor de Jongh and by myself. — It is consequently through this evident collusion of notes in V. Andreas’ text that it has been wrongly surmised (cp. further, p 167) that Clenardus started teaching Greek and Hebrew before 1520, and even in the Porc, although the text of the *Fasti* only says : *docuit*, without mentioning any time or any special subject. It is moreover evident that Clenardus *could* not have given any lessons in Greek, and certainly not in Hebrew, before 1525, or 1524 at the very earliest, as in 1521 he still ignored those languages ; consequently wrong statements are made in *Clénard*, 9, 110 ; *ClénCorr.*, I, xii, II, 15, 145, &c.

¹) ‘Campensis in Collegio Buslidiano docebat, eruditus et doctus homo, sed non æque ac Clenardus ad docendum idoneus’ : letter of Sturm to Kyber, March 1565 : *EpClassArg.*, 114.

tem amice confirmavit' ¹⁾). Even after July 1528, when Campensis' '*Grammatica Hebraica*' had made his teaching more effective, his competitor, far from adopting it for his lessons, compiled himself a *Tabula in Grammaticen Hebræam* ²⁾, which was printed by Martens, and issued on January 30, 1529 ³⁾. No doubt the systematic manual even improved the author's success, as Sturm declared afterwards to his Hebrew teacher Elias Kyber, of Gengenbach : notwithstanding Campensis' erudition, he wrote, there were very few who wished to study the Sacred Language before Clenardus started teaching : 'posteaquam vero... suas tabulas edidit et illas explicare incepit, mirum erat tam multos subito exstare, qui huic studio sese dederent et breui tempore quod optabant assequerentur' ⁴⁾. So great was his popularity, that he even started teaching Greek in public ⁵⁾, and composed two welcome treatises, which, to propitiate Rescius, he had printed by him, namely, on April 28, 1530, the *Institvtiones in lingvam græcam* ⁶⁾, dedicated to his friend Francis Hoverius, Mechlin ludimagister ⁷⁾, as well as the *Meditationes Græcæ in artem Grammaticam*, of July 11, 1531 ⁸⁾, ascribed on June 20, 1531, to James Canta, Cardinal Campeggio's chief chamberlain ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Letter to Aleander, December 26, 1536 : Euenit mihi... ut in publicum proderem, primum hebraicæ, deinde græcæ linguæ professor : propositum collaudauit &c : *ClénCorr.*, I, 94, 29-36 : he adds that, thanks to his teaching, Hebrew was found useful to many : cp. *ClénCorr.*, I, 9, 63, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 158.

³⁾ *Clénard*, 162-69 ; *NijKron.*, II, 2676. The *Tabula* was greatly appreciated for the clearness, brevity and conciseness of the rules : *EpClassArg.*, 112-14.

⁴⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 114.

⁵⁾ He started teaching Greek after Latomus had left Louvain, as he declared to Aleander : Itaque postea, illo <Latomus> iam absente... græcas literas docere cep[i]... : *ClénCorr.*, I, 8, 28, sq, 94, 38, sq. Latomus was still entrusted with his professorship of theology on St. Jerome's feast 1528, for one year, but on September 30, 1529, his name is not mentioned any more in the *Acta Fac. Theol.* ; he had then left for Cambrai : de Jongh, *54, *55. — It follows that Clenardus did not teach Greek, and for certain not Hebrew, in the Porc in 1520 : *Clénard*, 9, 110 ; *ClénCorr.*, I, xii, II, 15, &c ; and before, p 166.

⁶⁾ *NijKron.*, I, 585 (R. Rescius and J. Sturm), II, 2673 ; *Clénard*, 110-12, 190-201.

⁷⁾ Francis de Houwer : cp. further, Ch. XVI, 6.

⁸⁾ *NijKron.*, II, 2674-75.

⁹⁾ Cp. Allen, IX, 2570, 54.

Those lessons in Greek were not so disagreeable to the proper professor, for Rescius himself had a numerous audience, and had, moreover, his profit on the manuals used. Far more harm was done to Campensis, whose audience was slinking rapidly ¹⁾. Probably it was attributable for a considerable part to the fact that, instead of explaining an indifferent author, as was done for Greek, he commented on the Psalms, instead of on the Koheleth, and even introduced a new rendering from the original text. At any rate his lectures were severely judged by some of the divines ²⁾, although not openly attacked. Even from the letter to the students of Hebrew, prefixed to his *rudimentorum tabula*, it clearly appears that Clenardus' grammatical synopsis and his very teaching were intended to make Campensis' lectures completely superfluous : 'enarraturi', he concludes, 'hoc animo et spe, ut bimestri aut trimestri diligentia aliquid omnino iudicii in his literis comparetur ; quo ualeant quibus et libet et licet ea quæ restant citra præceptoris auxilium absoluere' ³⁾.

It thus happened that Clenardus, having started tutoring some of his fellow-students for Hebrew ⁴⁾, arranged on Latomus' advice a teaching by which he dispensed to others what he himself had received 'gratis' ⁵⁾, in such a way that he emptied the auditory of his master. He did not even mention his name in his *Tabula*, nor in its introductory letter *Hebræarum Literarum Studiosis*, of January 30, 1529, either, although eight years later, on July 18, 1537, in a letter to John Vasæus, he assures that he did not want to have the appearance as if he wished to correct Campensis ! ⁶⁾ He thus revealed his base ingratitude, and, what is worse, with all his craft and

¹⁾ On November 23, 1531, Goclenius wrote to Erasmus that Campensis deprived the College of his teaching 'propterea quod non ferret solitudinem aut certe infrequentiam auditorii' : Allen, ix, 2573, 38, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 164.

³⁾ *ClénCorr.*, i, 9, 80-84.

⁴⁾ *ClénCorr.*, i, 9, 63-64.

⁵⁾ *ClénCorr.*, i, 9, 67-68.

⁶⁾ Scripseram quondam tabulam Hebraicam... non iustam Grammaticam, quod et typi minores deessent, et Campensem nollem uideri emendare ; eam sic disposueram, ut mirifice iuuaret memoriam. — He adds that he regrets that his *tabula* had been disfigured in Wechel's reprint so that : 'merito doctis omnibus meus labor displiceat. Sit iam tandem finis fabulæ' : *ClénCorr.*, i, 135, 595-601.

cunning, he proved to be a short-sighted, malevolent adversary of progress : thirty years later, his old friend Sturm could not but own that 'præter tabulas suas nihil attulit præceptorum, quibus hujus sermonis assequebantur doctrinam et bibliorum intelligentiam ¹⁾'. As if a table of multiplication were the *nec plus ultra* in Newton's science, or a solmization, that in Beethoven's art !

B. OPPOSITION TO BIBLE STUDY

It is evident that the difficulties made to Campensis were not directed merely against the language that was taught, but against the professor, who, after having occupied himself and his students with the philosophy of the Koheleth, started studying the far more familiar Book of the Psalms ²⁾). The specimen of his explanation which he gave in his *Grammatica Hebraica* of July 1528, for Psalm LXI ³⁾, no doubt roused suspicions in the man who since ten years had been the soul of the opposition against Erasmus and against all novelties ascribed to him, James Latomus ⁴⁾. He apparently advised Clenardus to start public lessons on Hebrew, which, through the lively teaching, made the number of Campensis' auditors smaller and smaller, and thus circumscribed as much as possible the spread of the novel and suspected exegesis of the Psalms ⁵⁾.

The lectures on that book by Campensis probably had begun before the middle of 1528, when the rendering of Ps. LXI was given as example in his *Grammatica Hebraica* (July 1528) ⁶⁾ ; it had progressed so well that, by October 1529, he had explained the first forty Psalms, of which a French

¹⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 114.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 163.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 163.

⁴⁾ On July 31, 1520, Erasmus wrote about him to Mosellanus : 'is est vnus qui Noxum (<viz., John Briart>) instigauit, quique nunc est huius tragœdiæ caput, homo mire virulentus ac pertinax &c : Allen, iv, 1123, 17-19. Cp. II, 251-53.

⁵⁾ In his dedicatory letter to John Dantiscus, Nuremberg, May 3, 1532, Campensis declares that his *paraphrastica interpretatio* had not been intended for a published edition, but for his lectures in Busleyden College : 'hanc paraphrasim... maxima ex parte, ante aliquot annos Louanij cum linguam Hebraicam in Buslidiano collegio profiterer, auditoribus meis... dictaueram' : *EnchiPsal.*, a 3, r.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 163.

printer wished to edit the text and the paraphrase in 1531 ¹⁾. It was, in all probability, the occasion which, on Latomus' suggestion, caused Clenardus to make his lessons even more attractive by editing his *Tabula*, January 30, 1529 ²⁾; nor was it a mere coincidence that another adversary of Erasmus and of all his innovations, Francis Titelmans ³⁾, started explaining King David's book about that time in his lessons in the Minorite Convent, and, naturally, defended the traditional wording and explanation by might and main. The text of his expounding and his comments was printed at Antwerp by Martin de Keyser for William Vorsterman in June 1531 ⁴⁾, as *Elucidatio in Omnes Psalmos Iuxta Veritatem Volgatae & Ecclesiae vsitatae æditionis Latinæ*: it brought, with the text, the arguments and summaries, the explanations and annotations for each psalm, and, besides, for each of the *cantica ferialia* of the Office. As second part to that book was printed by Simon Cock, in May 1531, with a separate title, Titelmans' *Annotationes Ex Hebræo Atque Chaldæo In Omnes Psalmos* ⁵⁾, which was not the outcome of his own studies, as he totally ignored Hebrew and Chaldaic, but only borrowings from St. Jerome's version of the Hebrew text ⁶⁾, as well as from the recent translations edited by Felix Pratensis ⁷⁾, or from any of the several works, published on the Psalter in the first decads of the xvith century ⁸⁾, and most of all, from the famous *Psalterium Nebiense*, of 1516 ⁹⁾.

Meanwhile Campensis continued his work and lecturing

¹⁾ On October 2, 1531, he mentioned to Dantiscus the first forty Psalms which he had explained in his lectures *ante biennium*: DantE, 168.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 167.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 151-52.

⁴⁾ Dirks, 54; Paquay, 65-68; NijKron., I, 2041.

⁵⁾ NijKron., I, 2034 (in-folio, A⁶-F⁶, G⁸).

⁶⁾ Reproduced as *Translatio beati Hieronymi* in the Polyglot Bible of Alcalá, 1514-17.

⁷⁾ *Psalterium Felicis Pratensis*: Venice, 1515: cp. before, p 162.

⁸⁾ Cp. *CorpCath.*, XIII, xxix-xliii.

⁹⁾ Viz., *Psalterium Hebræum, Græcum, Arabicum et Chaldæum, cum tribus Latinis Interpretationibus et Glossis* (Genua, 1516), by Agustino Giustiniani, Bishop of Nebbio, Nebiense, 1470-1536, chaplain to Francis I; he taught in Paris by 1518. — A copy of that work was shown by an inmate of Houterlee College to the President Clenardus: *Clén-Corr.*, I, 200, 23, sq, 208, 81, sq.

on the Psalms, irrespective of a lessening audience, and construed a paraphrase which tried to solve the many difficulties in the Vulgate by an attentive study of the original Hebrew and of the manifold meanings of the various words. As he declared later on in the dedicatory letter to Dantiscus, he did not want to provide a final, definite work, but what would serve until the authoritative translation of the Bible by six Jewish and six Christian Hebraists, working in Rome on Clement VII's command, should be issued. He further intended his paraphrase as an invitation to study Hebrew, assuring that he had found more light to understand the Bible from the limited knowledge he had of that language, than from all the commentaries, although he had perused nearly all those which have any value ¹⁾. He had not thought of publishing his paraphrase, and would never have issued it, if he had not made Dantiscus' acquaintance in the first months of 1531 ²⁾, before Charles V's Court stayed twice for a few days in Louvain ³⁾.

Already at the first of their meetings, the far-sighted ambassador heard about the exegetic work, and advised to have it published : on March 7, 1531, Campensis promises to send the *Ecclesiastes* ⁴⁾ ; on March 31, he fulfils his promise, offering, with his thanks for presents received, his paraphrase on the Royal Preacher, as well as a few Psalms, of which he attributes the difficulty to the popular images which the sacred author used ⁵⁾. The samples sent must have greatly pleased Dantiscus, for on April 16 ⁶⁾, Campensis promises to

¹⁾ *EnchiPsal.*, a 3, r, sq ; the dedication is dated from Nuremberg, May 3, 1532, where John Petreius printed in 1532, the *Psalmorum omnium iuxta Hebraicam veritatem Paraphrastica Interpretatio*.

²⁾ He was in Brabant from the end of 1530 : DantE, 101 ; cp. II, 437.

³⁾ The Court arrived from Cologne by Maastricht and Liège, Namur and Wavre, to Brussels on January 24, and afterwards was in Louvain from 14 to 16 March and from 13 to 16 April : Gachard, 49, 98.

⁴⁾ DantE, 112 : he also announces the sending of an astrolabe and the explanation of its use.

⁵⁾ DantE, 114 ; at Dantiscus' request, Campensis provided for one of his countrymen, the physician Wenceslaus [Lubicensis], the attestation for two *disputationes* held in Louvain, who therefore thanks on May 3, 1531, from Leipzig : DantE, 118, 123.

⁶⁾ DantE, 117.

add the rest of the Psalms, of which he has finished about one hundred. In that same letter he gives his judgment on the book on the same subject by one Aretius Felinus ¹⁾; he condemns him for not reproducing in many places the mind of the author ²⁾, and for his *scabies*, — no doubt his partiality to Reform ³⁾ : — he rightly suspects him to be identical with Martin Bucer ⁴⁾. In his letters, Campensis refers to the *Ecclesiasten*, which he intends comparing once again with the original text before having it printed ⁵⁾. As to the Psalms, he is working at them as zealously as he can, especially since Dantiscus and his friend Cornelius de Schepper are eagerly looking out for them ⁶⁾. By the end of June, the correcting of the copied text with the notes was finished, and Rescius had even printed a few pages of the Psalms to be submitted to Dantiscus, June 26, so as to have his opinion about the size of the forme and about the characters to be used ⁷⁾.

No doubt the interest displayed by Dantiscus in the books of his colleague, made Rescius put at once the work in hand : by July 25, the *Ecclesiastes* was being composed ; yet doubts seem to have started whether it would be safe to continue ; for it was rumoured that Dantiscus was leaving, and Rescius was afraid of being annoyed by the officials of the State Treasury after his departure. He therefore went to Brussels

¹⁾ The book *Psalmorum Explanatio*, ascribed to Aretius Felinus, published in 1529, — a third edition appeared in 1532, — was rather favourably known, even in catholic circles, until it was proved to have been written by the decided Reformer Martin Bucer. John Eck used it for his *Explanatio Psalmi Vigesimali*, 1538 ; but, although he ranks its author amongst the Novatores, he does not show anywhere that he was sure of his identity : *CorpCath.*, XIII, xxxiii, xxxvii, li, lv.

²⁾ *CorpCath.*, XIII, 15, 21, 22, 27, 31, 33, &c.

³⁾ *CorpCath.*, XIII, xxxvii, li.

⁴⁾ Gough, 136, a ; — the fact that Campensis suspected the identity of Felinus and Bucer, long before it was found out, gives ample proof of his erudition and clear insight.

⁵⁾ Letters of April 27, 1531 : DantE, 120 ; on April 18, and again on May 12, he mentions that, for some Psalms, he may have to go to Rome and Venice : DantE, 118, 126 ; on June 2, 1531, he even refers to making the Proverbs of Solomon ready for publication : DantE, 131.

⁶⁾ Letter of June 26, 1531 : DantE, 139.

⁷⁾ DantE, 139 ; Campensis learns that Dantiscus likes small-sized volumes which are easy to be carried about.

to request a formal privilege, which he hoped to obtain through one of the *familla* of Lorenzo Campeggio, the Papal Legate ¹⁾, — most probably James Jespersen ²⁾. — As was natural, Dantiscus also interposed his influence, and submitted to the President of the Privy Council, Archbishop John de Carondelet, some of the Psalms, expecting no doubt a speedy solution. Still in the beginning of August no decision had been taken yet, which greatly disappointed Campensis, since an offer had been made by a French printer ³⁾, and since a French Bishop had requested his manuscript to have it published. However, as he preferred supervising the issue himself, he decided on waiting for Carondelet's verdict, although, as he said, he was *living* through all the psalms on that, his fortieth, year, the most disagreeable he ever went through ⁴⁾.

A few days later came the disappointing news that the privilege was not granted : both Carondelet and the Legate, the Bishop of Feltre, advised him to keep back his book about the Psalms for several years : 'they counsel me', he wrote, 'ut adhuc premam in annos plurimos hoc opus'. Yet, he argued, if Horatius judged that a simple poem was to be kept back for nine years, for how many years is this work to be laid aside, at which so very many erudites toiled so many years without avail, as Hebrew was either disdained or ignored ? ⁵⁾

Campensis had expected the refusal from Carondelet, whom he styled *Begina Panormitana*, but not that of the Bishop of

¹⁾ DantE, 147.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII, 1 ; that young man, who was often used to carry messages to Rescius (Allen, ix, 2570, 103-105 ; OlaE, 168, 178, 188, 193, 203, &c), was a servant to Jacobus Canta, great chamberlain to Cardinal Campeggio. In November 1531, when the Legate intended leaving for Italy, he resigned and recommended as his successor James of Alost, who had been working ten years in Thierry Martens' office ; he himself entered Olah's service : Allen, ix, 2369, 16-20, 2570, 52-58, viii, 2352, 312-18.

³⁾ Probably Claude Chevallon, Paris : in 1532, he printed the Psalms, and added to them the *Ecclesiastes*, not by Campensis' leave, but from notes of his lectures : cp. further, p 176.

⁴⁾ DantE, 150.

⁵⁾ Letter of Campensis to Dantiscus of August 27, 1531 : DantE, 157.

Feltre, Cardinal Campeggio ¹⁾, and he wondered what had exactly offended them. To Dantiscus he declared that he imputed the refusal to Francis Titelmans, a beardless youngster, who, a few years before, wrote against Erasmus, James Lefèvre and Lorenzo Valla, and wanted to teach them Greek, he, who hardly could read that language! That very year, 1531, he had published so big a book of comments on the Psalms ²⁾, that it might be a burden for a donkey; it was provided with the Emperor's privilege, Campensis wrote, and in it the author boasts his knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldaic, although he had owned to him that he never even had started studying Hebrew, let alone Chaldaic! ³⁾ There is another man, whom you know, he continues, who pours on cold water; a man, of the stature of Homer's Thersites, with a face like Ovid's *Invidia* ⁴⁾, who used to be my disciple, yet none the less clownish ⁵⁾. Without any doubt Nicolas Clenardus is meant; he, indeed, was of the size of a lubber: in his letters, he mentions several occasions when he became as the laughing-stock of all those who saw him ⁶⁾; as to manners, he candidly owned that he still had the awkward and uncouth habits of his native place when he was requested to become the preceptor of the King of Portugal's brother ⁷⁾; it, no doubt, accounts for the originality and the ingenuousness of

¹⁾ Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, Erasmus' friend and protector (Allen, III, 961, *pr*), was appointed as Legate to Charles V, on March 16, 1530: Pastor, IV, II, 406, *sq*; he resided in Brussels in the summer of 1531: Læmmer, 72-86; SadolE, 547-50.

²⁾ Viz., the (folio) *Elucidatio*: Antwerp, May-June 1531: cp. before, pp 151-52, 170.

³⁾ Ego imputo omnia uni Francisco Titelmanno, iuueni imberbo... Idem hoc anno edidit commentarios in Psalmos, opus tam grande ut asino oneri esse possit, cum privilegio Imperatoris, in quo opere et Hebraicam et chaldaicam linguam se scire iactat, cum mihi ipse confessus sit, se nunquam cepisse Hebraicæ, multo etiam minus Chaldaicæ, linguæ operam dare: letter of August 19, 1531: DantE, 155.

⁴⁾ The person sent by Minerva to Aglauros, Cecrops' daughter: cp. Ovid's *Metamorph.*, II, 760, 770.

⁵⁾ Est et alius tibi notus, qui frigida suffundit: statura corporis Homericus Tersites, vultu inuidiam Ouidianam, meus olim discipulus, sed nihil minus agresticus: letter of August 19, 1531: DantE, 155.

⁶⁾ Cp. e. g., *ClénCorr.*, 219, 491, *sq*, 104, 253, *sq*.

⁷⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 226, 788, *sq*, also 40, 102, *sq*, 47, 12, *sq*, 18, *sq*, 51, 11-21, 74, 200, *sq*, 207, 20, *sq*; *Clénard*, 29, 31, 55.

his speech ¹⁾, which, though it be a source of humour, does not at all testify to considerateness and discretion ²⁾.

That lack of discretion in Clenardus is quite evident since he remarks sarcastically, on one hand, that all who favour the *Trilingue* are considered as heretics ³⁾, or that it would be right to compel all its adversaries to speak Greek ⁴⁾; yet, on the other, he lets himself be used by the decided adversary Latomus to make life and work at the *Trilingue* impossible for his own master, who, if he was not a paragon as pedagogue, was, for certain, one of the most upright and clear-sighted erudites of his time ⁵⁾. The lack of discretion, maybe, was only a contrivance, for the supposition forces itself on the mind, that Clenardus, whose term of presidency of Houterlee College had come to an end ⁶⁾, and whose ambition to become Louvain *Plebanus*, or *curatus* of the Diest *béguinage* had recently been nonplussed ⁷⁾, wanted to remove Campensis, by foul or fair means, so as to secure his professorship.

C. LICENCE REFUSED

The refusal of the printing licence for Campensis' *Psalterium* thus may safely be considered as the result of the contrivances of Titelmans and especially of Clenardus, helped by some friars and theologians and their influence on Carondelet, as his friends at Court were certain to have known. Nor did those adversaries leave their victory unused. They availed themselves of all the advantages it might yield against, at least, that lecture in the *Trilingue*, which thus was branded with the disapproval of the chief dignitary in State and

¹⁾ *ClénCorr.*, 1, 101, 117-18, 155, 163-65, 219, 486.

²⁾ He showed very little consideration when, e. g., he told cruel truths to John Petit, in whose house he had been received so well and so long : *ClénCorr.*, 1, 205, 19, *sq* ; or when he turned the news of Erasmus' decease into a cruel joke, in his letter to Polites, December 27, 1536 : *ClénCorr.*, 1, 97-107 ; *ClenHum.*, 4-6 ; or when he bitterly criticized life in Spain and Portugal, where he stayed as a guest : *ClenHum.*, 21.

³⁾ Letter to James Latomus, April 9, 1541 : *ClénCorr.*, 1, 176, 158-59.

⁴⁾ *ClénCorr.*, 1, 15, 20-21 : ut tandem cogantur Græcari uel nostri hostes.

⁵⁾ Cp. next Chapter, sect. 2.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 418.

⁷⁾ *MonHL*, 414-22.

Church. Besides occasioning a relapse in Campensis' disease ¹⁾, it took away some of the few hearers that were left ²⁾, on account of the disapproval of the divines, with which he was still reproached in February 1532 at Olah's table by a Spaniard invited like he as a guest ³⁾. Naturally, the renown of his erudition and his excellence had reached France, where, as he wrote on October 2, 1531, the notes of his lessons of the last years about the first 40 Psalms, had been secured by someone who wished to publish them, and was asking for the sequel ⁴⁾. Nor was the refusal of this licence accepted with calm equanimity by his friends and protectors. It certainly made Dantiscus the more eager to bring out the book that was to be dedicated to him. At a *prandium*, at which the Archbishop of Palermo and the Bishop of Liège were present, with several other distinguished personages, he formally requested the privilege necessary to print Campensis' Comments; on which a 'supinus theologaster' interposed a haughty: 'Sat commentariorum in Psalmos'! Unfortunately Dantiscus tackled him at once, and asked him the solution of some knotty places, which he was not able to elucidate. It made the bishop-elect of Culm remark: You are fine men, begrudging such a boon to the Christian world. If Titelmans or Eustace of Sichem, or any other most ignorant monk, had written it, it would not have been necessary to ask for your privilege to print it, for the only reason that they write against Erasmus. Therefore I shall not insist any further; but I shall see that not merely five hundred, but five thousand copies be printed at my expense, and I shall offer them freely to all the bishops and legates, to all the Universities and Kings of Christianity. I shall have it published by those who do not value your privileges very high. At those

¹⁾ Letter of August 27, 1531, to Dantiscus, about the *puerilis morbus*, from which he suffers since a few days: DantE, 157.

²⁾ Goclenius to Erasmus, November 23, 1531: Campensis... sua opera destituit collegium, propterea quod non ferret solitudinem aut certe infrequentiam auditorii: Allen, ix, 2573, 39-41.

³⁾ On February 4, 1532, Campensis wrote to Olah: dominus ille Hispanus... audierat, nescio a quo, mihi nonnihil fuisse contentionis cum Theologis Louaniensibus, quod quia falsum erat, volui sinistram illam suspicionem ex animo illius delere penitus: OlaE, 192.

⁴⁾ DantE, 168: letter of October 2, 1531; cp. before, pp 163, 169, 173.

words there was silence, as James Jespersen, Olah's secretary, remarks in his report of that incident to Erasmus on November 19, 1531 ¹⁾).

The unequivocal appreciation of a man like Dantiscus must have been a welcome consolation in Campensis' trouble : so was that of Olah, who, far from discouraging him, requested from him a thorough study on Daniel ²⁾). The Polish ambassador, who was then contemplating returning to his country, insisted on having the *Psalterium* printed on his own responsibility ; still as he intended quitting soon, there seemed to be no time left to finish the work ; on the other hand, the author objected to having the book printed in his absence ; as so many before had failed in their commentaries, there was no use in bringing out a new one, except it be the object of the greatest care and attention ³⁾). It seems as if several circumstances thus pleaded for a temporary absence from Louvain : the lack of hearers, his own flagging health, the sullen opposition on account of his exegesis ⁴⁾), made more distasteful through the double-dealing of Glenardus, to whom he had never shown even a suspicion of envy ⁵⁾); further, the wish to supervise the printing of his *Psalterium*, and, above all, the longing for the occasion to complete his studies by an interview with Elias Levita ⁶⁾). Meanwhile he continued with his work for as far as his health did not prevent him ⁷⁾), and was continually looking out for opportunities that might help him in his great scheme. On November 19, 1531, he writes to Dantiscus ⁸⁾) that, hearing that the erudite linguist Jerome

¹⁾ Allen, ix, 2570, 85-103 ; when a few days later Jespersen expressed his surprise to Dantiscus that he had spoken so boldly 'Leodiensi et Panormitano : Quid', inquit, 'mihi cum ipsis ? sunt episcopi, et ego ; habeo Cæsarem mihi non minus fauentem atque illis ; habeo regem meum Poloniæ' : *ibid*, 105-109.

²⁾ OlaE, 192-93 : reply of Campensis, February 4, 1532.

³⁾ Letter to Dantiscus, September 16, 1531 : DantE, 160.

⁴⁾ Letter of Goclenius to Dantiscus, December 2, 1531 : DantE, 181 ; Allen, ix, 2573, 40-41.

⁵⁾ There does not sound any envy in the remark Campensis made to Glenardus when he returned from Paris with 'coronatos... supra quingentos', besides his fame : *ClénCorr.*, i, 215, 336, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 161.

⁷⁾ DantE, 181.

⁸⁾ DantE, 177.

Aleander has come to Brussels as Papal Legate ¹⁾, he wants to submit to him his paraphrases; he therefore reminds that prelate that they are not intended as word by word translations, but as full expressions of the sense of the original by means of explanations interpreting as concisely as possible the places which still are puzzles on account of the obscurity of some images and expressions of the old idiom; he wishes to know Aleander's opinion about whether the meaning of the texts in the Sacred Books is well grasped and rendered. Forgetful of himself, he thus merely wished for the enlightenment of the mysteries that still darkened many passages of Scripture, and whereas a Titelmans, a Latomus, and even a Clenardus, tried to make his work most irksome in Brabant, the enthusiastic welcome, which, in the next months, fell to his share in Cracow, in Venice and in Rome, must have confirmed him in his unshaken belief in the excellence of the principles and of the methods constituting the life and soul of the *Trilingue*.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 31-33, 96.



CHAPTER XVI

PRESIDENCY OF VAN DER HOEVEN

III. STAFF AND BOARDERS

1. CAMPENSIS' LEAVE

A. RESIGNING

John van Campen, restless scholar and erudite as he was, and only by accident a professor, thought far more of enriching his knowledge and of realizing his intellectual plans, than of securing a profitable teaching. He considered it as a paramount duty to solve all the doubts and problems he lighted on in his researches, and reckoned it to be his unquestionable duty to contribute his share in the great struggle of humanity against error and evil ¹⁾. He had so well availed himself of the great teachings of the *Trilingue* that he was quite willing to forego his own ease and advantage to realize the great aims he had in view, solving some of the many difficulties hovering on the Bible text ²⁾, and helping to bring back peace to the Christian world by showing the real exegesis to the wisest amongst the Reformers, Melanchthon ³⁾, — even though he himself should have to abandon his place and his career in Busleyden College.

On that account he announced, on April 18, 1531, to John Dantiscus ⁴⁾, that he might not get any further letters from him from Louvain, as for a long time he had wanted to play the part of Ulysses in order to interview Elias Levita, either in Rome or Venice, in the household of Cardinal Ægidius of Viterbo ⁵⁾, so as to get enlightenment about Hebrew problems.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 157, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 160, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 54.

⁴⁾ DantE, 118.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 161.

On May 12, 1531, he is sorry to announce that the journey, which was decided on for June, is to be postponed ¹⁾ on account of an accident ²⁾, at least until September. On July 25, he intimates that, although invited to France, he rather goes to the Ratisbon Diet ³⁾, hoping to meet there, at last, Melancthon. At that time he even requested the College authorities to see to a substitute, and on that account Goclenius asked Erasmus in the name of the Executors for a qualified man by his letter of July 17 ⁴⁾, which did not reach, it seems, Freiburg before the middle of November, probably intentionally; for since Erasmus did not want any change in the staff of the *Trilingue*, and Goclenius had become fully aware of Campensis' excellence, knowing exactly what prompted him to leave, they may have tried to solve the situation by slowness and delay, so much the more as the absence was not intended to be final, but only temporary. At any rate the decision was kept a secret, even for a close friend like Gemma Phrysius ⁵⁾, and after the refusal of the licence for the printing of his book on the Psalms, when Campensis lost all courage and longed for a change ⁶⁾, he made a confident of his great protector Dantiscus only, announcing on September 16 : 'decretum est mihi sedes mutare et hanc regionem ad tempus relinquere' ⁷⁾.

No doubt Dantiscus saw the advantage he could derive from an erudite like Campensis and proposed taking him into his

¹⁾ DantE, 126.

²⁾ Possibly on account of his ailment : cp. before, p 156.

³⁾ DantE, 147.

⁴⁾ Goclenius repeated his request on November 23, 1531, probably at the demand of Giles de Busleyden : Allen, ix, 2573, 36-50. In his reply of December 14 to Goclenius, Erasmus announces that his letter dated July 17 (16. *Cal. Augusti*) only reached him 'sub finem Nouembris'; on December 15, he wrote to Giles de Busleyden : 'Goclenii litteræ ad Idus Iulias scriptæ <viz., about July 15> ad Idus demum Nouembres <November 13> mihi redditæ sunt' : Allen, ix, 2587, 60-61, 2588, 2-4.

⁵⁾ On August 7, 1531, Gemma excusing his silence and his not paying the promised visits on account of his poor health, appeals to the testimony of Campensis in whom Dantiscus has full confidence : DantE, 152; *GemFrissius*, 403.

⁶⁾ On August 19, 1531, he wrote to Dantiscus : fieri poterit, ut scena harum rerum semel vertatur, et alia appareat facies, quod, nisi me fallat animi præsagium, fiet breui : DantE, 155.

⁷⁾ DantE, 160.

service ; still as Poland was not exactly the country which Campensis wanted to visit, he was not eager in accepting ; he meanwhile may have endeavoured to resume his lectures, which were even less attended than before, as his adversaries naturally turned to their profit the fact that the privilege required for the printing of the Psalms had been refused. He himself seems to have been poorly, and to have returned from a visit to Engghien with a catarrh on his eyes. He refers to his ailments in a letter to Dantiscus, as late as November 19, 1531 ; he then adds that he accepts his protector's offer, and is ready to follow him to Poland as soon as his health will be restored ¹⁾. Four days afterwards, on November 23, he had actually left the *Trilingue*, as Goclenius relates to Erasmus : 'Campensis iam dudum sua opera destituit collegium, propterea quod non ferret solitudinem aut certe infrequentiam auditorii' ²⁾

In the absence of an authentic report, there hovers some contradiction about the circumstances of Campensis' leave. The 'Provisores' Ruard Tapper and Peter de Corte, who, in the forties, had to protect the College against Rescius' exorbitant claims, called it a dismissal in their *Motivum Juris* of 1547 : they state that the Executors had the right to discharge the Greek professor on account of his continuous complaints, 'vel verbo vno... vti M. Joannem Campensem professorem hebreum Rescio non inferiorem ob causam longe leuiorem extra collegium trilingue eiecerunt' ³⁾. Naturally the 'Provisores', in their struggle against Rescius' unjust claims, related the fact as they heard of it at the time ; still they could not know the events as well as Goclenius did, for he was not merely a witness, but, for certain, an adviser, if not one of the judges : yet he never mentions the 'departure' as a 'dismissal', and that it certainly was not a proper *dismissal*, follows from the fact that, not only Campensis contemplated coming back to the College, but Goclenius expected that the Hebrew professor should actually return to the *Trilingue*, and resume his work after his journey home from Italy ⁴⁾ : he

¹⁾ DantE, 177.

²⁾ Allen, ix, 2573, 39-41.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 41.

⁴⁾ Cp. further in this chapter, 2, c ; it also follows from the way in which Goclenius and Erasmus refer to Campensis' leave : cp. further, pp 182-83.

considered Campensis' leave as the repetition of his 'voyage d'études' of 1520-21 ¹⁾).

Most probably the President, who does not seem to have had much patience with Campensis, exasperated at his complaints and his despair, requested the interference of the Executors, possibly also of Giles de Busleyden; appalled by the miserable state of Campensis, and his down-hearted irresolution, they probably took him at his word, when, in his hopelessness, he unceasingly repeated that he could not stay any longer in the *Trilingue*. At any rate, they requested Goclenius to write to Erasmus about what the Latin professor called the 'lost collaboration'; he is to declare their decision not to appoint any one except with the Great Humanist's approval; they hope that, like the two other lectures, which are highly flourishing, that of Hebrew also, which has always been rather frigid, will change if the new professor should exhibit assiduity in teaching and diligence, which nearly everybody has regretted — and not without reason — to be lacking in their Campensis ²⁾). Erasmus is further requested most entreatingly to assist the *Trilingue*, which, up to then, owed chiefly to him all its prosperity. In return, Goclenius wants Erasmus to mention that he made this request in the name of Busleyden and of the Executors, for fear of being suspected of unwillingness to discharge the accepted message: 'ne suspicentur me destinatum onus noluisse subire' ³⁾).

From that remark may be safely deduced that Goclenius was far from being pleased with his colleague's departure; Erasmus, too, regretted it, and, as on a former occasion, when Rescius had been nearly ostracized ⁴⁾), he abstained from naming any one as possible successor. To Goclenius he wrote on December 14: 'De professore nihil habeo quod pollicear. Hic vnicus erat Erasmi <Frobenii> nostri præceptor.

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 564-65, II, 102, 120-22.

²⁾ Reliquæ... professiones florent, vt cum maxime, et haud scio qui fiat vt nostrates ad studia hebraica semper fuerint frigidiores, mutaturi, sicut speramus, animos, si adesset qui assiduitatem præstaret in docendo et diligentiam, quod plærîque omnes non sine iusta querela in Campensi nostro desiderabant: Allen, ix, 2573, 41-46.

³⁾ Allen, ix, 2573, 46-50.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 321, sq.

Is clam demigravit Argentoratum amore sectæ' ¹⁾. On the next day he wrote to Giles de Busleyden : I have been advised, he said, 'Campensem deposuisse profitendi munus, id quod doleo... Hic neminem noui quem ausim vobis commendare. Adeo lues hæc opinionum corrumpit studia. Vestigabo tamen diligentius, et perscribam'. He added that unless the diligence of the professors keeps awake, the College would decline ; they were liable to doze off unless they should be, now and then, roused up by pleasure or novelty ; he had already written to warn them for that danger ²⁾. With an apology for not answering the request for a candidate made in July, which reached him only in November, Erasmus dismissed the affair ³⁾, with the unspoken hope, no doubt, that the absence of any fit man to fill the vacancy, would bring the Executors to reinstall Campensis in his office ⁴⁾ on his return from what he called his *motoriam fabulam* ⁵⁾.

Most probably such a drastic solution had not been expected : Campensis may have contemplated leaving, although not so abruptly. On November 19, he was still buoyant when thinking of requesting Aleander's opinion for his paraphrase ⁶⁾ ; four days later he seems to have been crushed down and to have left the *Trilingue* ⁷⁾. On December 2, Goclenius informed Dantiscus that John's illness had got worse since he left the College : 'Res videtur assidue (postquam collegium nostrum deseruit) in peius ruere, et retro sublapsa referri'. He promises to do what he can to make his colleague accept what is offered by Dantiscus : Campensis is not bad, nor without will,

¹⁾ Allen, ix, 2587, 33-35.

²⁾ Namely in the letter about the Paris Royal Lectures ; incidentally Erasmus hints at the hard conditions of the Professors : cp. Allen, ix, 2456, 19-26 ; before, pp 85, sq and 88-90.

³⁾ Allen, ix, 2588.

⁴⁾ Erasmus evidently considered that Campensis had left the College of his own choice, and only for a time, for when he wrote to Goclenius on November 7, 1533, he mentioned that the *Trilingue* would be ruined unless the Professors were more diligent : Campensis abest, he said : Tu litigas... Rescius varias personas sustinet : Allen, x, 2876, 38-40.

⁵⁾ In his letter of May 3, 1532 to <Goclenius>, Erasmus announces that Joannes Campensis agit motoriam fabulam. Nunc Norenbergæ excudit opus, nesetô quod : Allen, x, 2644, 23-24.

⁶⁾ DantE, 177.

⁷⁾ Allen, ix, 2573, 39-41.

Goclenius writes, but would do better if his body were stronger, so as to help his mind; he has taken another physician, who promises recovery; unfortunately he has neglected too long the disease: 'contra omnia amicorum consilia initio malum contempsit, quodcumque sit'; he also understands that he will have to get his *Psalterium* printed elsewhere than in Louvain, but he dare not journey before he is well again. Goclenius hopes that by that time he will have accepted duly the proposal of the great Maecenas; if not, he will have to be sent home to his family as insane. Since nothing can be said for certain as yet, he will keep Dantiscus informed of whatever will be decided on ¹⁾.

The recovery in the following weeks was such that, by the end of January, or in the beginning of February, Campensis was again able to accept an invitation by Olah, on which occasion he contradicted the rumour that he had had to leave the *Trilingue* through the complaints of the theologians on account of his interpretations of the Bible, as was mentioned by a Spanish courtier at their dinner. It led to a rather voluble and vehement altercation, for which Campensis apologizes in a letter to his host on February 4, after he returned to Louvain ²⁾; he expresses his sorrow for having spoken so rashly and so much about himself for the sake of truth; he also mentions the admiration for the *Ecclesiastes* and for the *Psalms*, which has prompted Olah to compose a few verses ³⁾, as well as his request to make a paraphrase of Daniel ⁴⁾. That letter further brings Campensis' opinion about the aim and the requisites of the study of languages ⁵⁾; also the announcement of his contemplated journey to Germany, where he will consider himself 'beatissimum' if he could spend a short while with the *doctissimus Elias* <Levita>, the great teacher of Hebrew ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ DantE, 181.

²⁾ OlaE, 192-93; cp. before, p 164.

³⁾ Campensis thanks for the verses which James Jespersen was going to copy; he adds that several others offered epigrams in honour of the book, in which he, however, will not print even those by Dantiscus if he can help it.

⁴⁾ Olah repeats that request in his reply of February 10, 1532, in which he thanks Campensis for the paraphrases of the *Ecclesiastes*, offered to Queen Mary of Hungary and to himself: OlaE, 193-94.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 157.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 161, sq.

B. CLENARDUS FRUSTRATED

To all appearances, Campensis' leave was to be the opportune chance for which Clenardus had since long been waiting: he seemed the fitting man to replace him; unfortunately, instead of rendering his former master's work and position easier and more comfortable, he had done what he could to make his life and his task in Louvain as good as impossible ¹⁾. On that account it almost seems certain that he wanted to see him ousted from the *Trilingue*: for he himself had lately been disappointed in his expectations. He had hoped to secure the place of William Joannis Lamberti, of Vianen, *plebanus* of St. Peter's ²⁾, who died on November 20, 1529; yet Peter de Corte was appointed as his successor ³⁾. Thanks to the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts, he had also been nominated spiritual director of the *Béguinage* of his native Diest in 1530; unfortunately that benefice had just been conferred on Arnold de Breughel, who, backed by the Court and by the Liège diocese, had secured far more chances of success ⁴⁾. As the ten years of the presidency of Houterlee College were at an end ⁵⁾, Beken was left in the lurch. At that time he contemplated to start and learn Arabic, and hoping to find a teacher in Paris ⁶⁾ he went there in the summer months of 1530; on that occasion, he paid a visit to his friend Louis de Blois, Blossius ⁷⁾, who had just been elected Abbot of Liessies; and also called on his late master James Latomus, at Cambrai, who entrusted him with the tutorship of his nephew in Paris ⁸⁾. Clenardus, unfortunately did not find there the teacher he wished for; yet, he got a most encouraging number of eager students for Greek and Hebrew ⁹⁾, in so far that, by October 1530, he had

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 165, sq, 168, sq, 174, sq.

²⁾ Mol., 73, 511, 617, 623, 633, 637; VAnd., 78, 99, &c; de Jongh, 155; MonHL, 190, 415.

³⁾ Cran., 83, a-h; MonHL, 415-16.

⁴⁾ MonHL, 414-18.

⁵⁾ MonHL, 412.

⁶⁾ Clénard, 15-16; ClénCorr., 1, 19, 90, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp further, Ch. XVII, 1.

⁸⁾ Clénard, 14; ClénCorr., 1, 13, 4, sq.

⁹⁾ In his *Oratio pro Rostris* to Lisbon University, October 1, 1534, Resendius declared that he had seen in Paris University men of over fifty starting to learn Greek under Clenardus: Carvalho, 11; Cerejeira, 34-35; cp. II, 397; ClénHum., 14-15; ClénCorr., 1, 215, 346, II, 149, mentioning Rochus Almeida as hearer; &c.

his *Institutes* reprinted by Simon de Colines, as the supply of copies which he had brought, was insufficient ¹⁾. Besides a good amount of profit ²⁾, he also made there the acquaintance of John de Tartas, president of Lisieux College ³⁾, and he returned to the *Dulce Lovanium* in the beginning of the spring of 1531.

About that time Campensis thought of leaving Brabant ⁴⁾; yet that wish, which grew into a decision by July 17, 1531, was kept a strict secret, known only to the College authorities and to Goclenius ⁵⁾; above all, they wanted to hide that resolve from Clenardus, and from all his favourers, including especially his very particular friend Rescius ⁶⁾, no doubt on account of the disheartening way in which Beken had cavilled at his late professor's comments on the Psalms, criticizing them, and helping to prevent their publishing: in fact, he had made Campensis' life very difficult, if not quite impossible, in Louvain ⁷⁾, — which naturally suggests that he hoped to be installed in his place. At any rate, the staunch, upright Goclenius backed his colleague, and deeply resented the insidious treatment he had suffered; he advised Erasmus of the intended leave of the Hebraist by the middle of July 1531 ⁸⁾, with the request to see to a successor, or at least to a supply, entrusting, no doubt, at the same time, the carrier with the secret message to wait at any rate for further events; for if he had been at all favourable to Beken, Goclenius would not have gone so far out of the way to find a professor of Hebrew, as there was one at hand who had already gathered a far more numerous audience than Campensis, and had made

¹⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 13, 9-24; *Clénard*, 14, sq., 190.

²⁾ *Clénard*, 14; cp. before, p 177.

³⁾ Cp. Polet, 240, sq; *ClénCorr.*, II, 27, sq.

⁴⁾ Already on April 18, Campensis contemplated starting a *Motoria Fabula*: cp. before, p 179.

⁵⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Goclenius, Dec. 14, 1531: Allen, IX, 2587, 60-61.

⁶⁾ He evidently was on most intimate terms with Clenardus, as results from their subsequent correspondence: cp. II, 223.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 165-69.

⁸⁾ In his letter to Goclenius of December 14, Erasmus says that the letter was written on July 17, and reached him by the end of November; to Giles de Busleyden, he refers to it as 'ad Idus Iulias scriptæ ad Idus demum Nouembres... redditæ': Allen, IX, 2587, 60, 61, 2588, 3.

a better hit with his *Tabula* than his own master with his *Grammatica*. Still Clenardus' appointment would have secured to the *Trilingue* a repetitor, an usher, a phonograph, instead of a professor. Erasmus' reply therefore was not forthcoming, and the academic year started without the Hebrew lessons at the College; yet Clenardus was not requested to step in; nor was he even then advised of Campensis' intended leave ¹⁾, which could be kept a secret on account of the disease from which he happened to be suffering. Although zealous for the regular working order of the *Trilingue*, Goclenius did not apply at all for the help of the over-eager linguist, who, although by far not as able as Campensis, yet might have served as his understudy until his return. On the contrary, he let the time pass on, without repeating even his request to Erasmus. Meanwhile the son of the discoverer of America, Ferdinand Colon ²⁾, desirous of forming a library ³⁾, engaged Clenardus with his friend John Vasæus, of Bruges ⁴⁾, as advisers; they left during the latter half of October, entering Spain on November 12 or 13, 1531 ⁵⁾. A month after their departure ⁶⁾, on November 23, Goclenius once more wrote to Freiburg, mentioning that Giles de Busleyden was looking forward to his reply about a new professor ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ It is thus evident that, in the summer of 1531, Beken was no longer Campensis' 'ami intime' (as is surmised in *Clénard*, 18); nor does he seem to have been on excellent terms with Goclenius, who, on May 12, 1531, mentions in a business-like way to Dantiscus that he had shown him his letter as he was requested, but does never refer to him again in any of the subsequent ones: DantE, 127.

²⁾ ClenE, 232-33; Carvalho, 10, 12, 22; *Clénard*, 23.

³⁾ Cp. *EraSpain*, 107, quoting titles of books offered by Erasmus to the *Colombina*.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 474-75.

⁵⁾ Carvalho, 13; *MonHL*, 419.

⁶⁾ Clenardus left Louvain after the middle of October 1531: *MonHL*, 418-19. Martin Lips, who happened to be in Louvain in that month, had been invited for dinner by Rescius, who, on account of his guest, also asked Clenardus and some theologians. As Clenardus was going to set out for Spain, Lips took leave of him, — and relates how the theologians judged the *Colloquia* and their recent censure by the Paris Faculty of divinity, in his letter to Erasmus of November 1531: Allen, ix, 2566, 203, sq.

⁷⁾ Allen, ix, 2573, 36, sq: Aegidius Buslidius auide responsum tuum expectat de nouo professore hebraico.

It is clear that Campensis had seen through Clenardus, who, thanks to circumstances had managed to make his work in Louvain impossible, at least for a time, yet had not managed well enough to take his place, thanks to the interference of his staunch ally, his colleague Goclenius. The eager schemer must have been bitterly disappointed when Andrew Balenus, who had not published a *Tabula*, was entrusted with Campensis' succession, and, even more, when he felt the estrangement with which his former master met all his advances : in April 1536 he complained that no answer was given to a letter he wrote the year before, although it might have been handed to two common friends whom he had seen in Pavia : Valeat, he concludes, cum suis Cardinalibus ! ¹⁾ Nine months later, in December 1536, Campensis, who was then actually living with some Cardinals in Rome, is suspected of being too proud to drop a line ²⁾ ; nor does he seem to have sent word afterwards ³⁾ : for besides a couple of stray references to the Louvain days ⁴⁾, Clenardus made only one mention of him afterwards, namely that of his decease on his journey home. On that occasion he gave expression to the strange forefeeling that he himself was to share the fate ⁵⁾ of the man in whose track he had stepped, and whom he had tried to overtop with his lectures and his handbook, although modesty and gratitude prompted more discernment and magnanimity ⁶⁾. Afterwards

¹⁾ Letter of April 22, 1536, to Joachim Polites : *ClénCorr.*, I, 86, 192-201 : Clenardus had learned from Polites' and Goes' letters that Campensis had been eleven days in Pavia and called on them, though he did not deign to write a line to him, and that he was in Contarini's family ; he requests his friends, if they meet him again, not to offer him his greetings ; cp. further in this chapter, 2, B.

²⁾ Letters of Dec. 25, 1536, to de Houwer, and of Dec. 27, to Polites : *ClénCorr.*, I, 92, 18-22, 110, 461 : nos immemorum sumus immemores.

³⁾ On July 8, 1537, Clenardus wrote to Polites : Valeat, ualeat Campensis cum suis purpuratis. Nihil illi inuideo : *ClénCorr.*, I, 118, 90.

⁴⁾ Letter to J. Vasæus, July 18, 1537, and to the Christians, 1540-41 : *ClénCorr.*, I, 135, 597, 215, 339.

⁵⁾ Letter to the Christians, 1540-41 : *ClénCorr.*, I, 208, 54-58 : Rogatus a me Ioannes Campensis, piæ memoriæ (nam iam obiisse mortem intellexi, dum per Germaniam pararet reditum in patriam : cuiusmodi casus si me quoque manet in Africa, qui impotenti teneor desiderio redeundi ad meos, defunctum precibus Deo commendabit).

⁶⁾ *Clénard*, 36, where Clenardus is pleaded free from envy : — yet Campensis would have ignored it, had Goclenius not pointed it out.

he even tried to secure the glory of one of Campensis' life schemes, the conversion of Melancthon, which, on July 12, 1539 ¹⁾, he communicated to James Latomus in the same terms as his master had done eight years before to John Dantiscus ²⁾. After all, Campensis got no worse treatment at Clenardus' hand than Vives did for the prompting of the Pacific Crusade ³⁾, or Erasmus for helping him to that other of his claims to fame, a sound pedagogic erudition ⁴⁾: the latter's death became the subject of an indecent mummery ⁵⁾; the former got off with a nasty sneer ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Cogito nonnunquam Italiam et Germaniam, ut quando semel peregrinari cœpi, eadem opera uideam Romam, et quendam in Germania periclititer priuato colloquio : *ClénCorr.*, I, 159, 334-337, II, 125; *Clénard*, 21, 22; *EraSpain*, 448.

²⁾ DantE, 150 (int. August 1531).

³⁾ Without any doubt he learned that novel kind of apologetics from Vives, the ardent apostle of the *Pacific Crusade*, the author of the admirable *De Veritate Fidei Christianæ*, of which the value and significance took hundreds of years to be appreciated : *ClenHum.*, 16-18; P. Graf, *Ludwig Vives als Apologet. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Apologetik* : Freiburg i. B., 1932 : 13, sq, 122-27, 130-37 : the book is praised as the most important of its kind in the humanistic period ; it has often been used, and even gives now the impression as if it had been written in these days instead of four centuries ago.

⁴⁾ Clenardus owes to Erasmus, besides the magnificent example of epistolary style, and, by contrast, the model of his descriptions of inns and shipwrecks (*ClénCorr.*, I, 162, 19-20, 219, 503-5, 231, 971), an amount of adages (*ClénCorr.*, II, 178, s.v. *Erasme, Adages*), besides opinions, like those on Ciceronianism, on teaching, on the use of his *Copia*, and even on the interpretation of places in the Bible : *ClénCorr.*, I, 90, 71, sq, 131, 467, 239, 4, 247, 325-249, 370.

⁵⁾ Referring to Erasmus as the *amicus monachorum*, and to his fatal illness in his letter to John Vasæus, November 6, 1535, Clenardus says that he will mention no name for fear of being charged with announcing it with gladness : *ClénCorr.*, I, 79, 94. At the news of his death, he wrote to Polites, December 27, 1536, that he had conquered the name of poet, and even invented a new metre, thanks to Erasmus' dying : he dwells on that disgusting theme over more than three hundred lines (*ClénCorr.*, I, 97, 1-111, 508) making a show of mock-sadness in that, and in other, letters (*ClénCorr.*, I, 99, 56-64, 101, 138, 103, 198-99, 104, 230-31, 91, 10-11, &c), referring to that mood, later on, as : 'dum... insanire defuncto Erasmo', and 'ridiculo conclusi luctum et seria in iocum conuerti' : *ClénCorr.*, I, 132, 497, sq, 106, 298, sq ; *ClenHum.*, 4-6.

⁶⁾ On July 18, 1537, he wrote to Vasæus that Alonso de Castro hoped to get some bestowal from the King, as Vives did ; 'At', he adds, 'cum Viues ducentos, ut credo, ducatos abstulisset, Erasmus tamen et Turnout nullas egerunt gratias' : *ClénCorr.*, I, 121, 85-87 ; *ClenHum.*, 16-18.

Meanwhile Clenardus, quitting Colon's service in February 1533, had devoted himself to teaching Latin and Greek in Salamanca for several months, until he was appointed preceptor to Don Henrique, Cardinal Infante of Portugal, on November 17, 1533. In November 1538, he left that office, wishing to find an Arab teacher in Spain before journeying home. He spent some time in the Alhambra with the Marquis of Mondejar, vice-roi of Granada, and went to Morocco by the end of March 1540. He returned to Granada in January 1542, and died there on November 5 following. His adventures and impressions on the eventful journey to Spain, from which he did not return, are the warp and woof of his famous *Epistolæ* ¹⁾. Against that glory, which, if closely examined, looks rarely more than *naïveté*, rises his sad lack of perspicacity and straightforwardness in failing to gauge his master's great value, and in actually disconnecting him with the chair from where he himself had gathered all his knowledge of Hebrew.

C. FAREWELL TO LOUVAIN

By the beginning of 1532, Campensis decided accepting Dantiscus' offer and entering his service; he was to follow him to the Diet of Nuremberg and, from there, to Poland. He had as colleague Gemma Reineri, at least at first; for when, in the beginning of March, the ambassador's household started the journey, he could not be brought to accompany his great friend, who wished to make his country and diocese profit by those two choice collaborators: he, instead, took the way home ²⁾. Dantiscus and Campensis were for several days Cardinal de la Marck's guests at his country-seat of Curange; there Campensis wrote, on March 9, to Erasmus about the Bishop's joy in receiving his letter, about his declaration of

¹⁾ Cp. *Clénard*; *ClénCorr.*; Mol., 603; Opmeer, I, 482, a; Vern., 313; VAnd., 107, 232, 357-58, 401; *BibBelg.*, 682; Paquot, xviii, 265; Carvalho, 9-15; Cran., lvii, 46, c, &c; MonHL, 411-23; ULAnn., 1854, 246-285; Mameran, 20; Lomeier, 235; LouçEven, 235; ErasPort., 6, 32, 35-6; &c. — A 'Judocus Clenardus', of Diest, student of the Porc, was placed 34th at the Promotion of the Arts, April 1555: *ULPromRs.*, 192.

²⁾ Cp. II, 550. On March 11, 1532, Cornelius de Schepper wrote to Dantiscus, who had left a few days before, that he was sorry hearing about Gemma's defection, and expressed even his doubt about whether Campensis would accompany him farther than Cologne: DantE, 202.

deep affection, as well as of his displeasure at Eustace van der Rivieren's attack in a book dedicated to him. The letter was taken further on the journey, and was despatched finally from Frankfurt on March 21, 1532 ¹⁾. Whilst Dantiscus went on to Ratisbon, Campensis stayed at Nuremberg for the printing of the Psalms at his master's expense. He was heartily welcomed by Eobanus Hessus, Heliuss, rector of the Nuremberg School ²⁾, and during the month of April and the beginning of May, he lived in close intimacy with him ³⁾ and his family ⁴⁾, whilst correcting the proofs of his book : it caused him to forget the two years of melancholy and depression through which he had passed ; he made a deep impression on his host, the poet, who, not only composed several epigrams to adorn the work of his new friend, the *amabile et candidum pectus*, but amply used his paraphrases for a poetical and metrical treatment of the *Ecclesiastes* ⁵⁾, as well as for a rendering of the Psalms in distichs ⁶⁾, in which he had been interested for some time, and which his contemporaries, especially Joachim Camerarius, considered as his best work ⁷⁾.

In May 1532, John Petreius, Nuremberg printer ⁸⁾, issued :

Psalmorum Omnium iuxta Hebraicam Veritatem Paraphrastica Interpretatio, autore Joanne Campensi, publico, cum nasceretur primum et absolueretur, Louanii Hebraicarum Literarum Professore.

From Nuremberg, May 3, 1532, Campensis dedicated the

¹⁾ Allen, ix, 2629.

²⁾ Hessus ; Allen, iii, 874, *pr* ; *PoemGrud.* ; *HuMünst.*, 115, 198 ; Kaufmann, ii, 552-53 ; Lomeier, 241 ; and II, 32-37.

³⁾ There are several letters from Campensis (April c 10, 16, 20 and 23, May 4), as well as from Eobanus Hessus, to Dantiscus at Ratisbon, informing him of the progress of the book, and mentioning their gay pastimes : DantE, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214.

⁴⁾ Hessus, ii, 99, *sq* ; on June 20, 1532 and Jan. 23, 1533, Hessus sends the greetings of his wife '*Regina*' and '*Cunnibenigna*', their '*filiole, Campensis uxorcula*', to his friends : DantE, 220, 249.

⁵⁾ Letters to Dantiscus, June 12, 20, July 1, 1532, November 10, 1535, to Campensis, June 20, 1532 : DantE, 218, 220, 221, 223, 313.

⁶⁾ Those works were printed in Nuremberg by John Petreius in 1532 : the former, under the title : *Salomonis Ecclesiastes Carmine redditus*, was dedicated to John Frederic, Prince Elector of Saxony : Hessus, ii, 99.

⁷⁾ Hessus, ii, 98-101.

⁸⁾ Cp. *CochlHum.*, 139, 159 ; Voigt, 533, 537 ; Enders, ii, 209 ; &c.

book to Dantiscus, whom he greatly praises for what is expressed in most languages by only one syllable : — he quotes : *lēb* (heart), *νοῦς*, *mens* (*Geist*, mind, &c), — but which is most efficient in him, besides his knowledge of nearly all the European idioms ¹). He further states that his book is not meant to be a word by word version, but rather a paraphrase, verse by verse, which, in the confused state of the renderings, will give as a foretaste of what the Bible text of Clement VII, at which six Jews and six Christian Hebraists have started in Rome, will provide ²). He declares that he did not intend publishing that paraphrase, as he had made it for his lectures in Louvain, so as to invite others to the study of Hebrew, since he himself had found more light to understand the Bible from the small knowledge he had secured than from the comments, of which he read nearly all those which have any value.

John Dantiscus made a poem in praise of it : amongst others, these verses occur :

Dulce quidem numeris, sed sensu dulcius omni

Melle, quod ex Hybla sedula legit apīs.

Clarius hoc tandem Campensis reddidit orbi,

Interpres linguæ candidus Hebraicæ...

Hic est firma fides, hic spes, hic fervor amoris,

Quem quisque in summum debet habere Deum ³).

As soon as the copies were ready and bound, Dantiscus, who resided for some time at Ratisbon after the breaking up of the Diet, sent copies from there, on July 7, to the Queen of Poland, to Peter Tomiczki, Bishop of Cracow and Vice-chancellor of the Realm, to John Choienski, Bishop of Plock, and to one of the chief Officials of the Queen, with accompanying letters, in which he describes the book as '*opusculum plane divinum*', '*æditum a viro eximio qui ex Louanio ubi fere 10 annis hebraicam linguam professus est, mecum proficitur*'; it is further announced that it renders the reading of the hard text of the Psalms quite clear and enjoyable ⁴).

¹) *EnchiPsal.*, a 3, v.

²) *EnchiPsal.*, a 3, r; the work and even the plan seems to have been abandoned at the *Sacco*.

³) *DantCar.*, 161-62.

⁴) Letters of July 7, 1532 : *DantE*, 224, 225, 226. On February 13, 1533, George Zimmerman, of Thorn, thanks Dantiscus for the copy of the Psalms sent to him : *DantE*, 251.

The *Interpretatio*, which is praised by modern exegetists as 'one of the best and soundest renderings of the sense' ¹⁾, pleased to such an extent that, in the same year, it was reprinted in Cracow by Florian Ungler, and in Paris by Claude Chevallon, who added to it :

Succinctissima, & quantum Hebraica phrasis permittit,
ad litteram proxime accedens Paraphrasis in Concionem
Salomonis Ecclesiastæ.

That paraphrase, which Campensis called his '*primitivæ laboris*', was the text of his lectures, which 'a French publisher' had wanted to print for some time already ²⁾. It was dedicated by a 'V. H.' to James Dures, dean of St. Peter's, at Lille ³⁾. Although there were separate issues of these works ⁴⁾, they were mostly printed together, not only in the *Psalmorum Omnium Paraphrastica Interpretatio* ⁵⁾, but also in the *Enchiridion Psalmorum, seu Liber Psalmorum, ex Hebraica veritate Latinitate donatus; cum Joannis Campensis... in eosdem Paraphrastica Interpretatione*, which Sebastian Gryphius brought out at Lyons, in 1533 ⁶⁾. He had joined to it an anonymous version, which was found to be Zwingli's ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ Cp. CorvE, I, 163; Antony Corvinus highly praised Campensis' rendering when dedicating his translation to the Mayors and the Council of Lübeck, December 1518 : CorvE, II, 219, sq. ²⁾ Cp. before, p 173.

³⁾ The title of the dedicatory letter reads : *Ornatiss. viro Iacobo Dures, Ecclesiæ collegiatæ sancti Petri apud Insulenses Decano V. H. S.*

⁴⁾ Thus the Psalms were reprinted, no doubt after the Nuremberg edition, by Martin de Keyser : Antwerp, October 1532 : NijKron., II, 3257; the *Ecclesiastes*, at Strassburg in 1534 : Paquot, XI, 228, sq.

⁵⁾ E. g., Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1533, William Vorsterman, 1533, John Steels, 1533, 1535, &c : NijKron., I, 1202, 1203, II, 3258, 3259; Cracow, 1534 (2nd ed.) : Paquot, XI, 228, sq; and further, p 198.

⁶⁾ Besides reprints at Lyons, 1536, 1540, 1548, &c; Paris, 1534, 1545, &c; Basle, 1548, &c; Cologne, n. d.; Strassburg, 1545, &c, it was issued at Antwerp by John Grapheus in 1535, 1536, 1537 and 1540 : NijKron., I, 1204, 1205, II, 3255, 3256.

⁷⁾ Cp. p 203; Herminjard, III, 75. — On Dec. 23, 1535, Dantiscus wrote to Corn. de Schepper that he knew already from some of the editions that Zwingli's *Psalterium* had been joined to the book under Campensis' name, and that there is an introductory letter, in which that Reformer is represented as a saint as he had fallen in the war against the Emperor; and yet he left behind him a pest of erroneous doctrines : DantE, 317. — Paquot, XI, 231, notes that that version was printed for the first time at Zürich by Froshoverus in 1532.

whereas in the Netherlands, the editors added, as the title indicated, the version by St. Jerome both for the Psalms and for the *Ecclesiastes* ¹⁾. One more proof that the book was very successful is the fact that it was translated before long, in the various forms of the editions, into Flemish ²⁾ and French ³⁾, into Low German ⁴⁾, German ⁵⁾ and English ⁶⁾, notwithstanding the unfavourable advice given by the Louvain Faculty of Theology : when requested, on October 27, 1533, by Queen Mary of Hungary to give their opinion on the French and Flemish translations, a commission judged, on examination, that the Faculty should discourage the editing of the renderings of *M. Johannis Campensis Psalterium* : for it does not agree with the text of the Fathers of the Church ; nor has it

¹⁾ *Enchiridion psalmorum D. Hieronymo interprete, una cum Ioannis Campensis e regione ad ueritatem Hebraicam paraphrasi... Præterea Concio Salomonis Ecclesiastæ D. Hieronymo interprete, & Ioannis Campensis in eandem e regione paraphrasis succinctissima* : Antwerp, J. Grapheus, for J. Steels, 1535 ; -1537 ; -1540 : NijKron., I, 1204, 1205, II, 3255, 3256.

²⁾ Delft, 1534 ; Leyden, 1534, 1535, 1537, 1538 : NijKron., I, 1206-11 ; Antwerp, 1550, 1551 (George Smaltzinck) : Paquot, XI, 229-30 ; *CatCloet*, 1013. — It was rumoured about 1534 that Campensis himself was the author of that Flemish rendering, which he denies in his letter to Dantiscus, of February 4, 1535 : DantE, 298.

³⁾ Paris, 1534, 1542 (the latter by Et. Dolet : *Dolet*, 364, 537) : Paquot, XI, 230 ; Antwerp, de Keyser, 1537 : NijKron., II, 3260.

⁴⁾ Antony Corvinus edited it as *Ein nye Psalter uth der Latinischen Paraphrasi Joannis Campensis verdüdeschet* : Hannover, 1549 : CorvE, I, 163-64, II, 219-24.

⁵⁾ George Frœlichius, *Verteütschung aller Psalmen vwie die Joannes Campensis nach Hebreischer vvarheit in das Latein gebracht hat* : Augsburg, 1536 : SchelAL, XI, 76.

⁶⁾ An English translation : *A Paraphrasis vpon all the Psalmes of David made by Iohannes Campensis*, reader of the Hebrue lecture in the vniversite of Louane and translated oute of Latyne into Englyshe — containing also 'the boke of Solomon called Ecclesiastes' — was published at Antwerp, in 1535, by (the widow of) C(hristopher) E(ndo-viensis) : AmHerb., III, 1545 ; NijKron., II, 3261 ; *DuffCent.*, 140-41 : Christopher van Ruremond, or Rémonde, or Endhoven. An English translation is recorded to have been printed in 1535 (Campensis, *Psalmorum Interpretatio*) by Thomas Berthelet, who, in 1534, had a book under the same title printed in Paris by F. Regnault : *LondPrint.*, *Berthelet*, 4, 5 ; finally, an English rendering was published by Thomas Gybson, London, 1539 : *LondPrint.*, *Gibson*, 3.

the interpretation from which those Fathers argued against heresies ; and, moreover, the Archbishop John de Carondelet had done what he could to prevent it to be printed even in Latin ¹⁾. Still Campensis' Psalter shows an immense advance : it offers an excellent literal sense, and solves most successfully many of the difficulties in the text ; it is one of the first to do away with a large amount of comments, to which credit was given in those days on the authority of St. Athanasius, of St. Jerome, of Arnobius and of others, which, in many cases, was proved to be unfounded. If Theodore de Beza found fault with it, he certainly did by far not approach to its value by his own dull rendering ²⁾.

2. CAMPENSIS' FURTHER CAREER

A. STAY IN POLAND

Meanwhile Campensis had followed Dantiscus to Poland and to Löbau, in his diocese of Culm, where the Bishop exercised an administration over Pomerania in the King of Poland's name. The late professor could devote himself entirely to his studies, and yet he greatly pleased his host, who declared, on December 23, 1535, that he had thoroughly enjoyed his guest's erudition and agreeable manner of life ; for he was so little a burden that he suggested the wish that he should remain much longer ³⁾. In the letters from mutual friends, Campensis is mentioned regularly : Cornelius de Schepper sends him his greetings ⁴⁾ ; Eobanus Hessus inquires after him, and reminds him of the ties of friendship made up in Nuremberg ⁵⁾ ; the imperial councillor John de Weze, Archbishop of Lund, rejoices at hearing of his good health and welfare ⁶⁾, and the great protector of learning,

¹⁾ Cp. de Jongh, 261, *61.

²⁾ Paquot, xi, 231-32 ; cp. M. B. Eyragues, *Les Psaumes traduits de l'Hébreu* : Paris, 1905 ; J. K. Zenner-H. Wiesmann, *Die Psalmen nach dem Urtext* : Münster i. W., 1906 ; &c. ³⁾ DantE, 317.

⁴⁾ Letters dated Innsbruck, January 25, 1533, Vienna, March 18 and 27, 1533 : DantE, 250, 253, 254.

⁵⁾ Letter of January 23, 1533 : DantE, 249.

⁶⁾ Letter of September 11, 1533 : DantE, 261.

Justus Ludovicus Decius, then enriching his library in his hours of leisure at his castle of Wola Justowska, near Cracow ¹⁾, communicates a letter from Erasmus, in which the Hebraist is recommended, and the wish is expressed that, instead of hiding in some small corner of the country, he should take up teaching in Poland ²⁾. Erasmus also wrote to Dantiscus praising Campensis, which rejoiced him, for since years he thought he was in disfavour ³⁾. When that information reached him, he had just found at Marienburg the annotations on the Epistle to the Romans by Melanchthon, and noticed how miserably the commentator strained himself without great result to explain this most important amongst the Sacred Books. On the other hand, it soon became known to Dantiscus that Andrew Crziczki, Cricius, Bishop of Plock since 1527 ⁴⁾, had, in the autumn of 1532, in full agreement

¹⁾ Justus Lud. Dietz, Decius (1485-1545) a native of Weissenburg, after having served John Boner, the King of Poland's administrator of salt-mines, became royal secretary in 1520, whilst carrying on trade and being sent on missions. He became administrator of the Wieliczka salt-mines and of copper-mines, and was very prosperous. He used his wealth to promote study and erudition, and, from 1532, he paid a pension to his friend Erasmus : FG, 336-37 ; Allen, v, 1393, *pr* ; *DantCar.*, 132-33.

²⁾ Letter to Dantiscus of May 10, 1533 : *DantE*, 256 ; also that of August 16, 1533 : *DantE*, 258.

³⁾ On November 7, 1533, Erasmus wrote to Goclenius : *Joannes Campensis iam, ut opinor, reliquit Poloniam, per ambages visurus Venetiam, vt colloquatur cum Iudæo quodam, cuius copiam illi promisit Aleander* (probably by the end of 1531, in Brabant), *qui nunc Venetiæ plane viuunt Epicureum, non sine dignitate tamen. Campensis mentionem feci in proximis ad Dantiscum literis honorificam. Eo nomine mihi gratias agit ingentes, non dissimulans se suspicatum me implacabili in illum odio teneri, quod toto quinquennio nunquam iusserim illum salvere. Hic risi satis, quum de odio in illum ne somniarim quidem vnquam* : Allen, x, 2876, 9-17.

⁴⁾ Andrew Crziczki, Cricius, Krzycki (1482-May 10, 1537), born of a noble family of Krzycko, son of vice-chancellor P. Tomiczki's sister, was canon and scholaster at Poznań. An *Epithalamium*, 1512, on Queen Barbara Zapolya († 1515) made him be called to the Court ; he was appointed Royal secretary, provost of Poznań, 1519, Bishop of Przemyśl, 1522, of Plock, 1527, and Archbishop of Gniezno, 1535. He was a great protector of studies, and wrote some poetry : he was Erasmus' regular correspondent, and tried to gain Melanchthon as a confederate against Reform : Allen, vi, 1629, *pr* ; *DantCar.*, 59, 20-24 ; *CatCzart.*, i, 9-10, 40-49, ii, 30, 157, 211 ; *MelaVers.*, 10-29, 36, 40, 57, 77, *sq.*

with his uncle Peter Tomiczki, Bishop of Cracow, invited for a second time Melanchthon to come and enjoy a few months' rest and peaceful study in Poland ¹⁾, after the quarrels and dissensions of Wittenberg ²⁾. Writing to his uncle on September 20, 1533, Cricius related how, on the occasion of drawing up the deed of his consecration, Dantiscus noticed in his room Melanchthon's letter, and confided that he, too, had worked in that direction, so as to disjoin the clever humanist from the party of the Reformation, and how he and his friend Campensis urged Cricius to continue the work started, than which nothing more advantageous and praiseworthy could happen to them ³⁾.

Great hope was placed on that invitation of Melanchthon, who, on September 5, 1533, had written a most friendly letter to Dantiscus ⁴⁾. Campensis longed to point out to him the way to rectify his erroneous conclusions, and he prepared the matter, subjecting the Epistle to the Romans to a searching study. After waiting six months in vain, he decided on the publishing of the results of his work, which would have been superfluous if the personal interview, which he had contemplated for years, had allowed him to place Melanchthon in the necessity of correcting some of his interpretations in a second edition ⁵⁾. As soon as that commentary was published, he intended going and meeting the great Elias Levita.

After having thus enjoyed for two years Dantiscus' liberal hospitality ⁶⁾, he took leave of his great friend and protector in January 1534, with a hearty recommendation to Peter Tomiczki, Bishop of Cracow, in his residence of Petrokovia ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ *Melanch.*, 312, sq, 319, 356-59, 361; Gabbema, 71-93.

²⁾ *MelaVers.*, 17, sq.

³⁾ *MelaVers.*, 18. Several efforts were made to that end, e. g. by Campensis, Dantiscus, Campeggio, Sadolet and others: cp. II, 583-84, and before, pp 157, 179, &c; *MelaVers.*; Pastor, iv, ii, 433; Kolde, *Die älteste Redaction der Augsburger Konfession*: Gütersloh, 1906.

⁴⁾ DantE, 259; MelEBind., 523-24.

⁵⁾ Dedicatory epistle to the *Commentariolus in duas divi Pauli Epistolas*: *MelaVers.*, 20-21.

⁶⁾ Dedication of the *Proverbia* to Tomiczki, Febr. 19, 1534: DantE, 274.

⁷⁾ On January 25, 1534, Tomiczki replied to Dantiscus that he would specially favour Campensis, and help him as much as he could by advice and means for his deserts and erudition 'cum illius institutum melius perspexero': DantE, 270.

in whose *familia* he was welcomed : on January 26, 1534, he wrote from there to Dantiscus, announcing that he had met the Bishop of Plock, who had shown him a letter in which Melanchthon promised to visit some day Cracow University, and mentioned Dantiscus, but not him : so Campensis supposed that the Reformer had found out that he did not at all approve of his writings : 'credo', he wrote, 'illum olfecisse parum mihi probari quæ scribuntur ab illo' ; he therefore resolved to publish the whole commentary on St. Paul so consistently that it could not be gainsaid ¹⁾. He was so enthusiastic about that subject, that he was requested by Bishop Tomiczki, in whose house he staid ten days, to explain to him and to his *familia*, the Epistle to the Romans.

He afterwards went to Cracow ²⁾, where he saw through Matthias Scharffenberg's press, not only the *Proverbia Salomonis*, but also the *Commentariolus in duas Divi Pauli Epistolas, sed argumenti eiusdem, alteram ad Romanos, alteram ad Galatas*, and even a second edition of the Psalms ³⁾. At Bishop Tomiczki's request he had started lecturing on the Epistle to the Romans in the University ⁴⁾, and in deep gratitude for the kindness experienced, he dedicated to him, on February 19, the *Proverbia*, expressing the hope that they would be helpful to Prince Sigismond August, whose '*alter pater*' he was ⁵⁾. To the *Proverbs* were added, at Tomiczki's

¹⁾ DantE, 271.

²⁾ In Bishop's Tomiczki's chariot, which had been placed at his disposal, Campensis had as companion Albert Kyewski (Kiewski), a canon of Frauenburg, who had criticized Dantiscus : DantE, 284, 293.

³⁾ The Paraphrase on the Psalms had been reprinted in Poland, but the publisher, who probably wanted them to pass as copies of the Paris edition which he reproduced, did not add his name nor the place, as Campensis wrote to Dantiscus from Petrokovia on January 26, 1534 : DantE, 271. — Cochläus, on August 7, and December 30, 1535, mentions a second edition in Cracow *non absque laude*, which was proof to him of Campensis' having been in Poland : DantE, 309, 318.

⁴⁾ Letter of Campensis to Dantiscus, Cracow, February 23, 1534 : DantE, 275. In that letter he relates that he had seen his *psalteriolum*, with the *Ecclesiastes* added — as in the Paris issue, — printed at Lyons, which de Schepper sent to Dantiscus from Prague on his way to Constantinople on February 13, 1534 : DantE, 272.

⁵⁾ DantE, 274 : a transcript of that missive, in which Campensis thanks the Vice-Chancellor for having treated him most kindly, was

wish, *Precationes aliquot ex variis Scripturæ locis depromptæ*, which, in gratitude, were also dedicated, on March 10, 1534, to the Prelate in whose household he had paraphrased the *Proverbs* and made the translation of those *preculæ* at his bidding. They had been lent to be read by friends, and had only come back to his hands after six months, when Scharffenberg was finishing the book ¹⁾. On March 28, Campensis sends to Dantiscus six presentation copies of the *Proverbia* and six of the *Commentariolus*, which he promises to complete with the other letters of St. Paul : he wants Melanchthon to answer him, as it will give him the occasion to prove the truth. He also announces his intended leave for Venice ²⁾ as soon as he will have finished his lectures in the University on the Epistle to the Romans, and he mentions that they have found great favour ³⁾. That was testified to, a few days afterwards, by Bishop Tomiczki : on April 11, 1534, he wrote to Dantiscus that Campensis 'placuit vehementer omnibus auditoribus' ⁴⁾ ; he added that he had offered him a rich prebend in Cracow in case he would remain ⁵⁾, but the longing to go and learn some more Hebrew from Elias Levita was stronger than all the advantages which were assured to him in Poland. He promised to return after having seen the great Hebraist ; he left a corrected copy of his own grammar, which he had completed, so that it could be reprinted ⁶⁾, and

sent, on February 23, to Dantiscus, who had kept him *liberaliter et humaniter* for two years, and, perhaps at the same time, there were despatched to him some copies of the *Proverbia* : DantE, 275, 276.

¹⁾ Hipler, 507-508. — An edition of the *Proverbia* was also printed in Cracow by Florian Ungler, without year date : cp. J. D. Janozki, *Nachricht. Zalusk Bibliothek*, 1753 : III, 223-25 ; A. Jochera, *Obraz biblio. histor. w Polsce*, 1842 : II, 28, 34, 152, 161.

²⁾ Already on January 26, 1534, he had requested Dantiscus to write a testimonial to be shown to Cardinal Aleander that he had left him 'cum gratia' for the case it should be required : DantE, 271.

³⁾ DantE, 280.

⁴⁾ DantE, 282 : letter of Tomiczki to Dantiscus.

⁵⁾ Letter of Campensis to Dantiscus, April 11, 1534 : DantE, 283.

⁶⁾ It was published on April 20, 1534, by Matthias Scharffenberg, in Cracow, under the title *De Natura Litterarum et Punctorum Hebraicorum aliisque ad exactam Grammaticen, Christianis et neotericis Iudæis hucusque incognitum, necessariis ex variis Eliæ Iudæi opusculis, grammaticorum facile principis*. The book was dedicated to Tomiczki : *HebStud.*, 56, sq.

he recommended as his successor a converted Jew, who knew Polish, but no Latin ¹⁾).

B. ACTIVITY IN ITALY

With presents from his protectors, Campensis left Poland in April, and, by Vienna ²⁾), he reached Venice on May 25, 1534 ³⁾); he entered the *familia* of Cardinal Aleander, to whom he had dedicated his *Commentariolus* by a letter, dated February 17, 1534 ⁴⁾), explaining his efforts to reclaim Melanchthon, so as to bring about a salutary solution to the prevailing disorder by a peaceful understanding. 'For I know', he added — with an earnest freedom and an accuracy, for which he, no doubt, was indebted to Dantiscus' experience, — 'I know how deep you are interested in peace, and also how you acknowledge that very little good is done by the clamour and the poisoned writings of some people, who breathe hatred; for you yourself declare openly that you are sorry that, at one time, when this affair might have been handled better, you gave too much value to some people — I am not mentioning of what quality'! ⁵⁾)

Whether Aleander was pleased with the free-minded and free-spoken man, — who evidently was known as such by all his friends ⁶⁾), — may be doubted; on the other hand the

¹⁾ Letter of Campensis to Dantiscus, April 12, 1534 : DantE, 284.

²⁾ Campensis wrote to Dantiscus, February 4, 1535, that he had hoped to find John de Weze, Archbishop of Lund, in Vienna, as he wished to stay a few months with him and work, so as to avoid the Italian hot months; but he had left for Flanders; he stayed a few days, though, as a guest of Bishop Faber, who gave him a letter of recommendation to Aleander : DantE, 298.

³⁾ It was the monday of Pentecost, and a very hot day : DantE, 298.

⁴⁾ It was addressed : Ad Reumum et trium linguarum peritissimum Patrem Hieronymum Aleandrum, Archiepiscopum Brundisinum &c, Summi Pontificis apud Venetos Legatum. ⁵⁾ *Mela Vers.*, 20-21.

⁶⁾ On April 28, 1534, Nicolas Grudius sent a letter to Dantiscus from Toledo, to which he added some poems; one of them was *Narcissus*, which he recently made in Almogna, and described as 'rem sane Theologiæ plenam, sed uetustioris, et a Campensis noua Theologia multum diuersæ : quam tamen ille sine aliquo hæresis metu legere ac relegere possit, præsertim quoties illum in Venerem stimulabit Natura' : DantE, 288. On the same day, Janus Secundus, who was with Grudius, wrote to Dantiscus, with hearty greetings to Campensis : DantE, 287.

Hebraist did hardly notice it, as he was too highly delighted in meeting Elias Levita; he learned from him information which he had been longing for since many years. In his eagerness he drank most exhaustively from the source he had been aspiring after, so as to slake his lifelong thirst ¹). He himself made such an excellent impression that Levita dedicated to him the *Logica Rabi Simeonis*, by a letter in which he protests that he, Campensis, like 'Pellicanus ²), Aurogallus, Jacobus Jonas, et multi alii Hebraicæ linguæ professores', keeps hidden amongst his own, although far better equipped, and able to accomplish *felicius et gloriosius* the work that he himself is doing ³).

Since Aleander did not provide anything for his guest except food, and did not even allow him the use of any one of his books, life became very difficult for Campensis: he lacked all means of study; he had hardly the wherewithal to pay for Levita's lessons; in so far that he mentioned his intention of returning to Louvain, which Goclenius announced with great joy to Dantiscus, declaring that if the *exoptatissimus* should wish to take up his old position in the *Trilingue*, he would do whatever he could to help him ⁴). Campensis stayed five months with Aleander, although he afterwards owned that he felt disgusted 'tanto tædio quanto nusquam unquam' ⁵), assuring that Dantiscus was right in styling him

¹) On July 24, 1534, Goclenius announces to Dantiscus that Campensis had reached Venice and met Aleander and Levita, 'cuius desiderio iam multis annis prope contabuit'; he adds that his lifelong thirst was quenched in nine days: 'tanta sitj iam per nouem dies extincta. Tanto enim spatio temporis hæsit Venetijs, cum significaret se satis esse assecutum illa quæ ab Elia expectarat, et quorum cupiditate tot annos flagrasset. Jamque ad nos parare reditum, qui certe nobis erit exoptatissimus': DantE, 290. The news which had reached Goclenius was not quite exact; for, on February 4, 1535, Campensis wrote to Dantiscus that Aleander had not given him one penny besides his food, so that he was in great want of money, as he had to find the wherewithall to pay Elias, namely, two ducats a month: he therefore had been glad to enter Reginald Pole's service: DantE, 298.

²) Allen, vi, 1637, *pr*; Gabbema, 101-107.

³) *StudHeb.*, 135.

⁴) Letter of July 24, 1534: DantE, 290.

⁵) DantE, 325: on September 16, 1535, Cornelius de Schepper declared to Dantiscus that he is not surprised that Campensis cannot hit it with Aleander: they are too different: DantE, 310.

'hominem... in quo nihil esset præter cerebro vacuum caput'; he bitterly regretted that he had dedicated to him his *Commentariolus* : 'Doleo libellum meum infami illius nomine conspurcatum' ¹⁾).

By the end of October 1534, he was happy to leave him to enter the service of Reginald Pole, who studied in Padua ²⁾, and often resided at Venice. He read with him Isaias, and found ample occasion in his new employ to try and unravel the biggest knots in the Prophets. He was then rapidly reaching the zenith of his fame : in three years the noble and generous Gasparo Contarini had helped him to publish several times the Paraphrases on the Psalms; the Louvain authorities had sent him a most honouring attestation of his studies; Granvelle ³⁾, on receipt of a copy of the *Commentariolus*, exhorted him strongly to go on in that research; his writings were translated in various languages ⁴⁾, and he himself was sent for from Rome to come and restore there the interest in Hebrew ⁵⁾. The only disappointment that he felt was Melancthon's mutism, which prevented him from contributing by his work to the establishment of general peace and tranquillity; for, if Philip had answered, he should have had the opportunity to prove that the doctrine of St. Paul is that of the other books of the Bible, in so far that no syllable could be pointed out that should be different. 'Si mihi', he wrote to Dantiscus, 'cum Philippo daretur venire in colloquium, <certus sum> me posse illi ostendere rem ita se habere, nec posse aliter' : it was the aim that he had striven for more

¹⁾ DantE, 298.

²⁾ He met there Damian a Goes, Joachim Polites and Francis de Houwer, who mentioned him to Clenardus : *MonHIL*, 618, 620; *ClénCorr.*, 1, 85, 192, 92, 18, 110, 461. Cp. about Pole, Opmeer, 1, 498, *b*, 500, *b*; Pole; *PoleFr.*; SadolE, 557-81, 862-72; Gabbema, 119-20 (letter of January 14, 1555 to his *amicus carissimus*, Ruard Tapper); *MélMoell.*, 11, 114; *HarveyMarg.*, 218; *UniDill.*, 45, 50; — Joannes Pierius Valerianus Bolzanus Bellunensis (*SaxOnom.*, 69, 589, 657) dedicated to Cardinal Pole part of his *Hieroglyphica*, Basle, 1557 : 384, v-385, *r*. Cp. before, *p* 188.

³⁾ Nicolas Perrenot, Lord of Granvelle, Secretary of State : *Cran.*, 273, *a*.

⁴⁾ Letter of Campensis to Dantiscus, Venice, Febr. 4, 1535 : DantE, 298.

⁵⁾ Goclenius announces that piece of news to Erasmus, adding that it seems that Aleander dissuades him : letter of February 25, 1535 : Allen, XI, 2998, 46-50.

than twenty-six years ! ¹⁾ Meanwhile he studied relentlessly : so his friends Cornelius de Schepper ²⁾, Eobanus Hessus ³⁾, Cochlæus ⁴⁾, and even Dantiscus ⁵⁾ did not hear from him, although they witnessed to the spread of his works.

When, about the end of September 1535, Campensis, having decided returning to his native country, took leave of his eager disciple Reginald Pole ⁶⁾, he was invited by the Bishop of Verona, Matthew Giberti ⁷⁾, to visit him by a little way about, and was so well received that he staid with him the whole winter, and lectured to him and to a few learned friends, on the Prophets, on all the letters of St. Paul, and on the books of Moses and of Job. It took him five months, and, by the end of February 1536, his old friend of Venice, Gasparo Contarini ⁸⁾, Cardinal since May 21, 1535, managed

¹⁾ Letter of February 4, 1535 : DantE, 298 : cp. 280.

²⁾ In his letter to Dantiscus of September 16, 1535, de Schepper, at Bruges, mentions that he has not heard of Campensis ; he says that Zwingli seems to be the author of the Latin version added to the Psalms : the copies are sold out in the Netherlands, but the book is, so it is rumoured, reprinted at Lyons : DantE, 310 ; cp. p 193.

³⁾ Quo vero abiit Campensis ? Hessus asked Dantiscus, Nov. 10, 1535, from Marburg, and is surprised that he has not received the *Ecclesiastes* versified by him and dedicated to the Bishop of Culm : DantE, 313.

⁴⁾ On August 7, 1535, Cochlæus inquires after Campensis, about whom he only knew that he had been in Poland from the second edition of the *Psalterium* in Cracow, *non absque laude*, as he added in his letter of December 30, 1535 : DantE, 309, 318.

⁵⁾ On December 23, 1535, Dantiscus wrote to de Schepper : de Campensi nostro quod nihil audierim, nescio quid ominari debeam : DantE, 317.

⁶⁾ Pole was created Cardinal on Dec. 22, 1536 : Pastor, v, 114-17, &c.

⁷⁾ Erasmus' old friend and protector, the late Datary : cp. II, 278, 281 ; SadolE, 10-13, 142-49.

⁸⁾ Gasparo Contarini, one of the greatest churchmen of the xvth century, was born in Venice in 1483 from a noble and distinguished family (cp. Polain, 2391-2 : Io. Matthæus C.). Having studied in Padua, he became councillor and was entrusted with the embassy to the Emperor, 1518-1525, and to the Pope, 1527-1530. On January 4, 1529, he had the courage to remind Clement VII that, instead of pursuing his own advantage as Head of the Papal State, he should consider the welfare of Christianity ; he suggested that he should abandon parts, and even the entirety, of the temporal dominion, reminding him that the welfare of God's Church is in no way identical with the possession of that worldly state, as before She acquired it, She was the Church of Christ, and undoubtedly, the Best Church. From the spring of 1530, he returned

to vanquish Campensis' hesitation, and made him come to Rome, on the suggestion, it was whispered, of Pope Paul III himself ¹⁾. As a member of Cardinal Contarini's *familia*, he became acquainted with the highest personages of the Eternal City, and met Sadolet, who was working out his plan about Melanchthon. At any rate he there taught Hebrew with great success. Still it could not satisfy the upright man, who was scandalized at the responsibilities entrusted to one whom he knew from having resided five months with him ²⁾ : for Aleander was given the lead of the planning of the Council, as well as of the managing of the affairs in Germany ³⁾. John complains that there are too many protectors 'veteris inscitiae', who rather would see three new Luthers rise up, than the one there is, come to resipiscence ! ⁴⁾ And yet he is still full of confidence in the effect of a personal interview with Melanchthon, who, although touched by the *Commentariolus*, made an honourable mention of him in a writing to the King of England ; he even expresses the assurance that there might be a way to save a whole nation, if it were treated properly by men with the full knowledge and the spirit of the Bible ;

to Venice, and merited by his exemplary life and his sound religion, as well as by his erudite humanism and his studies of theology, the title of : the Ornament of the Italian Nation. Although a layman, Paul III created him a Cardinal on May 21, 1535, along with the illustrious Bishop Fisher, then a prisoner ; and from that time, Contarini worked most energetically for the regenerating and the Reforming of the Church and her members, not by force or pressure, but by charity and peaceful conviction. Death overtook the valiant champion in the latter part of August 1542 : Pastor, iv, ii, 346-47, v, 104-6, 473, &c ; Læmmer, 274-385 ; Buschbell, 49, 260, sq.

¹⁾ Letter of Campensis to Dantiscus, Rome, May 15, 1536 : DantE, 325 ; cp. *ClénCorr.*, i, 86, 192, sq.

²⁾ Letter of May 15, 1536 : DantE, 325.

³⁾ Campensis is most bitter in his letter to Dantiscus of June 1, 1537, when announcing the news of Aleander's promotion : DantE, 351 : 'illi Verpio furioso Aleandro Mottensi commissa sunt negotia Germaniæ hoc nomine bis infelicitis : &c.

⁴⁾ In his letter of June 1, 1537, Campensis bitterly remarks that Aleander considered himself almost as the 'magnus Germaniæ Cancellarius', and as stayed by four columns, the four Evangelists Faber, Eck, Cochläus and Nausea, who should prefer three more Luthers to come up rather than that the one who is there should repent : cp. before, p 54 and DantE, 351.

men, who would not only reclaim Melanchthon, but Luther himself. 'Our Lord, and, after Him, St. Paul', he argued, 'had lifted the veil from Moses and the Prophets; sophists had laid it on again, Luther and the Protestants took it off once more, but did it in a wrong way altogether; a proper insight in the Bible, however, must bring back to truth all men of good will' ¹).

C. UNTIMELY DECEASE

Campensis' return home, which he already announced on April 6, 1537, was delayed on account of a pension of one hundred ducats on the provostry of Würzburg, which had belonged to Maurice of Hutten, and which Cardinal Contarini and his friends tried to secure for him; he was still waiting for it on June 1, 1537, which did not prevent him going on relentlessly with his studies. Appreciation had come in, even from the Louvain divines: 'Lovanienses', he wrote to Dantiscus, 'hortati sunt me diligenter ut libellum <the *Commentariolus*> augeam, quod et faciam'. He hoped to add soon the comments on all St. Paul's Epistles, and on some of the Prophets, compared with whom Homer and Virgil seem like nothing. 'Miraberis forte præter meum morem hæc tam magna, tam audacter audere promittere', he concludes: 'nisi certissimis essent certiora, nequaquam auderem' ²).

It was in the full development of that great plan and with the hope of settling for work once more in Louvain, that he left Rome, where he felt disgusted at the too many favourers of the old ignorance: 'satur enim sum Italiæ ob veteris inscitiae nimis multos patronos', whereas he yearned for help for 'miserable Germany': 'Deus Optimus Maximus dignetur causæ suæ favere et afflictissimæ Germaniæ succurrere' ³). He longs to see the error vanquished and remedied — 'verum' he writes, 'per alios quam quos hic Romæ video, ubi est tanta literarum sacrarum inscitia et tantum veteris inscitiae patrociniū, ut nusquam fuerit unquam maius. Si isthic apud te essem <viz., in Ermland>, nec Papa, nec Cardinales omnes

¹) Letters of April 6 and June 1, 1537 to Dantiscus: DantE, 348, 351.

²) Letter of April 6, 1537: DantE, 348.

³) DantE, 348: April 6, 1537.

me Romam pertraherent' ¹⁾). In his eagerness to continue his work in Brabant, he had already reached Freiburg in Breisgau, when he was laid up with the pest, of which he died on September 7, 1538.

The untimely decease of the thorough Humanist, who had already before been praised by Andrew de Resende in his *Encomium... Academiæ Louaniensis*, 1530 ²⁾), was lamented by his old friend Alard of Amsterdam :

Campensis, præstans sanctæ mysteria linguæ,
Davidicos Psalmos fusius explicuit.
Non sine laude diu Veneta prælegit in urbe :
Obtinet hinc Romæ multa sacerdotia.
Louanii statuit vitam finire docendo :

Friburgum veniens, peste repente perit... ³⁾).

The mention of his '*multa sacerdotia*' in Rome is probably as false as his '*prælectio in urbe Veneta*'; it may have been an inference suggested by some envious acquaintances on account of his connection with the influent Cardinal Contarini ⁴⁾). For it is most doubtful whether Campensis ever got more than the Würzburg pension, — nor did his son Jerome gather much pelf from him. In December 1539, he writes, through James of Barthen ⁵⁾), to the protector of his late father, calling him as *indiligentissimus* in his own *res* as in his boy's studies, and asks for help, promising to do him honour by his work ⁶⁾). On February 8, 1540, James a Barthen praised him as an intelligent student, who, by his erudition,

¹⁾ DantE, 351 : June 1, 1537.

²⁾ Cp. II, 395-97.

³⁾ The poem, counting 10 lines, is quoted by Paquot, x1, 227; Nève-Mém., 244; cp. *Cran.*, 96, e; and Clenardus' allusion to C.'s death in his letter to the Christians, 1540-41 : *ClénCorr.*, 1, 208, 54-58; cp. bef., p 188.

⁴⁾ In his letter to Polites, Clenardus vents his ill-pleasure at not being honoured with a message from Campensis : '*Valeat... cum suis purpuratis*' : April 22, December 27, 1536 and July 8, 1537 : *ClénCorr.*, 1, 86, 198, sq, 110, 461, 118, 90; cp. before, p 188.

⁵⁾ That friend of Dantiscus had come to Louvain, where he paid a visit to Gemma Phrysius, who also wrote to Dantiscus about the same time. Jerome Campensis relates that, as a boy of twelve, he had seen Dantiscus with the ambassador Henneman Rhode — no doubt in 1531 — and that he had recognized the latter on sight when he recently had passed through Louvain.

⁶⁾ DantE, 406 : the letter was probably written about December 12, when Gemma dated his : DantE, 407.

was going to make good the *defectus natalium* : he was then zealously working at a history of the world from 1501 to their days : a help to the son would be the best anniversary service to the father ¹⁾. From that letter, it appears that Campensis remained the whole of his life the modest and unassuming erudite whom Martin Lips sketched, in his letter to William of Louvain ²⁾, as one who preferred advancing science and knowledge by his unrelentless labour, rather than himself in popularity or worldly thrift by exposing or dispensing them. He would already have proved an admirable type of Humanist, if he had done nothing more than master the Sacred Language, which, up to his time, was jealously kept as a mystery, or was ostracized ; and his proficiency in it is amply testified to by his public lectures in Cracow and in Rome, as well as by the unequivocal appreciation, not only of a poet like Andrew de Resende ³⁾, but of the most remarkable Hebraists of his time, Sebastian Munster ⁴⁾ and Elias Levita, the master of the Christians in that matter ⁵⁾. That proficiency acquired as professor of the *Trilingue* is as a title of glory to the Institute which proposes, and incites the members of its staff to reach such a high standard of excellence, even for the least important of the three Languages. It is not the number of the students that always marks the worth of a professor and of his teaching, but the thoroughness of his knowledge and his being conscientious of all its potentialities towards the development of intellectual attainment and energy. Instead of contenting himself with the explanation of a prayer or a classic place, Campensis made Hebrew reading into a novel way of studying the originals of the Sacred Books, by a philologic scrutiny of the text, which, if circumstances had allowed, might have helped to reclaim some of the foremost Reformers. Still, if that aim was not reached, his example

¹⁾ Letter to Dantiscus dated from Amsterdam : DantE, 410.

²⁾ LipsE, 787.

³⁾ In his *Encomium Urbis et Academiae Lovaniensis*, 1529, quoted from VAnd., 401, on II, 396-97.

⁴⁾ He dedicated 'Joanni Campensi, sacrae Hebraeae Linguae eximio apud Lovanium professori' his (translation of) *Logica Sapientis Rabi Simeonis*, published at Basle (J. Froben), 1527, by a letter dated Basle, November 1, 1526 : *HebStud.*, 79-80, 135.

⁵⁾ *HebStud.*, 135 ; and before, II, 119-20.

has borne ample fruit ¹⁾, for he taught the rising generation of the theologians how to study the Bible, and, if not directly, he certainly contributed indirectly, through his pupil and successor Andrew van Gennep, of Baelen, to form the foremost exegetic author of his century, William Lindanus ²⁾, who, in his *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi Scripturas* ³⁾, merely wrote down the rules based on the tradition begun in the *Trilingue* by Campensis ⁴⁾.

3. ANDREW VAN GENNEP BALENUS

A. HIS APPOINTMENT

John Campensis' successor in the *Trilingue*, Andrew van Gennep, a native of Baelen, near Moll, probably had enjoyed

¹⁾ His example, without doubt, excited others to reclaim Reformers. Thus on April 12, 1545, Gerard Morinck, who himself had been studying the *Ecclesiastes*, and other books of the Bible, wrote to Nicolas van Winghe: Si quid Caluinj alicunde nancisci daretur, fortassis defunctj Campensis vices obire possem: *MonHL*, 572. — It has already been pointed out that, instead of being the intermediary, 'die Mittelsperson': *MelaVers.*, 19, Campensis was the prompter of Dantiscus and Goes, let alone Clenardus, in their efforts to bring about Melanchthon. Cp. *ZGE*, ix, 241-42; Hurter, iv, 1311, sq; Paquot, ix, 126; before, pp 54, 60.

²⁾ *VAnd.*, 115; *BibBelg.*, 323-27, and further, sect. 3 and Ch. XXV.

³⁾ 1553; Cologne, 1558.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Mol.*, 602; *Opmeer*, i, 461, a; *Miræus*, ii, 29; *Vern.*, 146, 313; *VAnd.*, 284; *VAndEx.*, 68, sq; *BibBelg.*, 475; *HEpD*, 116; *SchelAL*, xi, 73-77; *Paquot*, xi, 225-234; *PF*, ii, 505, sq; F. Nève, in *ULAnn.*, 1845, 185-205; *NèveMém.*, 235-244; *ULDoc.*, iv, 527; *LipsE*, 727, 783, 787; *Erasmiana*, iv, 789; *FG*, 194, 12, sq, 209, 21, sq, 317; *Ent.*, 124; *LatCont.*, 382-84; Hurter, iv, 1311-12; *MelaVers.*, 18-21, 79; Allen, v, 1257, 16, and vii, 1806a, 41-42, where Erasmus sketches his portrait; *Cran.*, lix, 281, b, 287, a; *MonHL*, 413, 420-21, 533, 572, 618, 620; *Hipler*, 541-42; *CatCzart.*, i, 42, ii, 182; *GlénCorr.*, ii, 86; *DantE*, 112-351; and before, i, 503, sq, ii, 120, sq, 396, sq, 549, 613, sq. — Others bore the name Campensis, viz., van de Velde, du Champ, e. g., a Joannes Gerardi a Campis, Utrecht priest, nominated by the Louvain 'Artes' in 1522: *LibNomI*, 172, r; a Joannes Campensis, matriculating March-May 1540: *LibIntIV*, 144, v. — A Gerbr. Joannis Campensis matriculated in Cologne, May 20, 1517: *Keussen*, 514, 40; John van Campen, of Courtrai, Lic. Theol., was host of Andrew Hyperius in Paris, 1528: *Paquot*, xvii, 186; Gerard Joannis Campensis, *familiaris* of Paul III, succeeded John Ingenwinckel on August 23, 1535, as canon of St. John's, Utrecht: *Brom*, i, 101.

one of the scholarships in the Castle, which Godfried van Gompel, the founder of that pedagogy, had created for his relatives and the young men born at Moll, Baelen or Desschel ¹⁾. He matriculated on May 27, 1516 ²⁾, evidently at a rather advanced age, since, judging from his years at his decease, he was born about 1484. No details seem to have survived of his studies ³⁾; still it appears that besides his *curriculum* of the Faculties of Arts, he attended in the *Trilingue* the lectures of Matthew Adrianus and of John van Campen ⁴⁾, whose branch he taught after them. He studied medicine after promoting Master of Arts, and his contemporaries praised his very extensive knowledge of that science, which he practised, as well as of botany and physics. He no doubt was earning his living as a physician when the executors and the authorities of the College requested him to take up the professorship illustrated by John van Campen; and they must have had full confidence in his qualifications since they appointed him, rather than the Nicolas Clenardus, who had tried to impose himself on their choice.

Though less known as teacher, Balenus must have done some tutoring after his promotion in the Arts: that he followed the general custom of the young *Magistri Artium* ⁵⁾ is corroborated by the fact that, about 1532, a young native of Turnhout, Lambert Coomans, came to him as amanuensis and pupil, no doubt on the recommendation of a common friend or acquaintance in their native Campine ⁶⁾. As Cardinal William van Enckenvoirt ⁷⁾ was then in want of a young servant, Lambert was sent to Rome: he only returned to Louvain after his death (July 19, 1534). As at that time Erasmus had requested Goclenius to provide him with a reliable young man, Lambert was despatched on August 10, 1535: he was

¹⁾ He died in 1457: cp. FUL, 838-40, 942; Mol., 633; Vern., 134; VAnd., 252; BaxH, VII, 36, sq; BaxF, III, 19, sq, 91; ULDoc., IV, 3, sq.

²⁾ *Excerpts*, 98: Andreas de ghenep de balen leodiensis dioc. (*Lib-IntIII*, 221, v).

³⁾ The records of the Faculty of Arts are missing for the period between 1511 and 1572: FUL, 712, 713.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 160-61.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 211, 318, 465, &c.

⁶⁾ Baelen is at five miles S.-E. of Turnhout.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 63-66.

accepted and served most devotedly the great Humanist, who during the stormy night between July 10 and 11, died in his arms. Thanks to his master's bequest, Coomans could start his studies in Louvain as boarder in the *familia* of Balenus, who, in 1537, attended him when he suffered from the *quartana*; he became dean of the Chapter of his native town in 1559, and died there, *septuagenarius major*, in 1583, gratefully praising Erasmus wherever he could ¹).

If in pedagogical practice Clenardus was superior, he certainly was not in the knowledge of the sacred language ²), for Balenus had specially directed all his attention to it under Campensis' guidance : he, for certain, was the sounder and more erudite Hebraist. His appointment did not come off immediately after his master's final leave, most probably on account of the circumstances to be considered ; for van Gennep was probably married, and did not want to leave his home life, nor his practice either. As, on the other hand, the lessons in Hebrew were not so well attended as the two others, and as there was hardly any need for him to be present at the students' meals, at which certainly no Hebrew would be spoken, there does not seem to have been any special reason not to make use of his services for the mere teaching and the guiding of those young men who wished to study the language of Judea. The terms on which he agreed with the authorities, were most favourable for the College : instead of being paid nine great pounds Flemish, or 54 Rhine florins, besides his board and lodging, as stipulated in the *Mutationes* of February 1522 ³), he was content to work for the stipend of only six pounds, without any right to the residence in the College ⁴) : in fact 36 Rhine florins were paid him from 1533 to 1538, the years of which the accounts are extant ⁵).

¹) Cp. H. de Vocht, *Le dernier 'Amanuensis' d'Érasme*, in *RHE*, xlv (1950), 174-86 ; and further, Ch. XVIII.

²) Clenardus' Hebrew grammar was not at all the result of his own research work, but merely a practical repetition of the rules which had appeared to him as most essential, when he learned the language under Campensis : cp. before, p 167. ³) *Mut.*, 2 ; *MotJuris*, 30, 35.

⁴) *AccHoevII*, 34, v : Mr van Baelen was aengenomen tsiaers om sesse pounden groot / 36 Rgl. — *ManHoev.*, 7, v.

⁵) For 1533-34 : *AccHoevII*, 34, v ; for 1537-38 : *AccGoel.*, 37, r.

It is evident that van Gennep had freely accepted the lower salary, for he was acquainted with the Founder's will and the changes made to it ¹⁾ : he even attended the checking of the account for the year September 10, 1537-September 10, 1538, rendered in the name of Goclenius' heirs by Matthew Coggen ²⁾. That he dropped more than one third of the earnings to which he was entitled, shows that he did not want to be a professor on the same line as Goclenius, for whom his teaching in the *Trilingue* was everything. He evidently did not want to forego his ordinary work, and even seems to have accepted Campensis' succession temporarily, — which explains why Erasmus considered the latter still as absent from his task in 1533 ³⁾, and how Goclenius could have said that he would have helped him if he ever wished to return ⁴⁾. At any rate his wages ran from August 25 of one year to another ; for the other professors that date always corresponds with the day on which they were definitively appointed : it suggests that he had been teaching exactly six months ⁵⁾ before he took officially rank in the economy of the *Trilingue*.

One of his contemporaries sketched van Gennep ⁶⁾ as an easy, simple and kind-hearted man, without deceit or pretence ; no doubt, he was willing to help to the best of his ability in the work of the Institute in which he had been formed : still he refused to let the position glorify him, as he wanted above all to remain a physician. Matthew Adrianus had also exercised, at least occasionally, the art of medicine whilst being a professor ⁷⁾ ; and his own successor, Peter Pierius a Smenga ⁸⁾,

¹⁾ *MoJuris*, 30, 35, 52.

²⁾ *AccGocl.*, 1, r, 39, r.

³⁾ On November 7, 1533, Erasmus wrote to Goclenius of the precarious state of the *Trilingue* : Campensis abest. Tu litigas... Rescius varias personas sustinet : Allen, x, 2876, 38-40. Cp. before, p 123.

⁴⁾ Letter to Dantiscus, July 24, 1534 : DantE, 290 ; cp. before, p 201.

⁵⁾ He started teaching on February 26, 1532, 'hora 4^{ta} post meridiem' : *AccHoevII*, 34, v.

⁶⁾ Homo fuit ingenio ut facili, ita simplici ac benigno, non fucato sed candido : Arnold Havensius (1540-1609), in his *De Ereptione Novorum Episcopatum in Belgio* : Cologne, 1609 : 97.

⁷⁾ Allen, III, 867, 207, 218-19.

⁸⁾ He was professor of Hebrew, succeeding Joannes Guilielmus, Willems, who after a few months entered the Jesuit order ; he taught from 1569 to 1601 : VAnd., 237, 285 ; NèveMém., 248-50 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 529-30.

as well as the professors of Greek William Boonaerts, Fabius ¹⁾, and Peter a Castello ²⁾, were practitioners, and also teachers. At any rate van Gennep was famous for his acquaintance with herbs and simples and for the art of Hippocrates ³⁾, and in his will of August 9, 1566, his friend Werner Aerdt, President of Arras College ⁴⁾, bequeathed to him a gold coin of the emperor Maximilian ⁵⁾, requesting him to be satisfied with it in return for the attendance given, considering the testator's poverty ⁶⁾. Cornelius van Auwater, his colleague for Latin, refers to his art in his epitaph :

DUM CONSULENS BENIGNUS ÆGROTANTIBUS
OPE MEDICA MULTIS SALUTEM CONTULIT ⁷⁾.

B. HIS PROFESSORATE

Andrew van Gennep started his lectures on February 26, 1532, a Monday, at four in the afternoon : during the evening that followed, he treated his colleagues, the bursars and the inmates of the College with two measures of Beaune ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ He taught between 1578 and 1590 : VAnd., 282; NèveMém., 212; ULDoc., iv, 517.

²⁾ He was professor of Greek from 1603 to 1632, and, at the same time, professor of Medicine from 1618 to 1632 : VAnd., 223, 238, 283; NèveMém., 214-17; ULDoc., iv, 518.

³⁾ Homo fuit... medicinæ studiis ac singulari herbarum rerumque simplicium cognitione cultissimus', wrote about him Arn. Havens in his *De Ereptione Novorum Episcopatum in Belgio* : Cologne, 1609 : 97.

⁴⁾ Cran., 258, a; FUL, 2403.

⁵⁾ That coin had been bequeathed to Aerdt by a former colleague, 'Dnus Joannes Beverensis', or Siriacops, or Scheeriacops, of Beveren, an able professor of Philosophy in the Porc, who died between 1561 and 1564 : FUL, 2099; Mol, 600; Vern., 140, 306, 307; VAnd., 244-45; BibBelg., 460; Paquot, xvi, 147-50, ii, 443, xviii, 265; ULDoc., iv, 118; ULPromRs., 86.

⁶⁾ FUL, 2403 : 'orans vt illè <viz., Mgr Andreas Balenus> pro cura mihi impensa contentus esse velit propter tenuitatem meam'. — Werner Aerdt outlived van Gennep for several years : he died on March 6, 1572 : Cran., 258, a.

⁷⁾ SweMon., 211.

⁸⁾ *ManHoev.*, 7, v : meester andries van balen... heeft sijn eerste lesse gedaen in Collegio die lunæ 26 februarij altera Matthiæ hora quarta post meridiem Ende hij gaeff tsauens in Collegio ten besten twee gelten beaen ...die jck verleyt hebben ende salmen hem die corten bedragende x st : *AccHoevII*, 34, v.

Success did not stay out : he soon proved so well acquainted with the sacred language and the mysteries of its grammar that he even excelled the rabbini ¹⁾, and that, according to his statement to John Molanus, John Isaac Levita edited in his Hebrew grammar only what he himself had dictated in his lessons ²⁾. Naturally the great protector of the *Trilingue* rejoiced in the acquisition of the excellent collaborator, and addressed to him one of his last letters and his ultimate greetings ³⁾.

Unfortunately, in the beginning of 1544, Andrew van Gennep had a nervous break-down ⁴⁾ : he thought that he saw spectres and dreadful things, and consequently was afraid of showing himself, and even seeing friends ; yet although feeling very miserable, he clung to life and hope. As he had stopped his lectures since Christmas 1543, the *provisores* of the College were anxious to see the teaching taken up again ; in so far that they thought of appointing Andrew Masius in his place ⁵⁾. By September 1544, he had resumed his lectures, although he was not quite himself again, as Nannius announced to Masius, adding that he had in vain asked his colleague to send a line to his old student, who probably had offered his best wishes to his well beloved master : 'noluit', Nannius wrote, 'non animi malignitate, nam multum te amat, sed solita sua pigritia qua nulli hominum scribit' ⁶⁾. That 'pigritia' may have been a characteristic diffidence, which, most probably, prevented him publishing any books himself ; yet he had written a treatise *de accentibus hebraicis*, and another *de consensu editionis Vulgatæ cum hebraica veritate*, both of which his renowned disciple William Damasi van der Linden, Lindanus, of Dordrecht ⁷⁾, mentions in his great work *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi Scripturas* ⁸⁾ ; another book,

¹⁾ VAndEx., 69.

²⁾ Mol., 606 ; MasE, 3 ; cp. further, Ch. XXIV.

³⁾ Allen, xi, 3130, 31, sq.

⁴⁾ Letter of Nannius to Masius, March 25, 1544 : MasE, 18.

⁵⁾ Letter of July 1, 1544 : MasE, 18-19 ; cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁶⁾ MasE, 19 ; on March 18, 1543, Nannius referred to Balenus' *lentitudinem* <in writing> : MasE, 17.

⁷⁾ William Lindanus (1525-1588), doctor of divinity, taught in Louvain and Dillingen ; he became Bishop of Roermond and died as Bishop of Ghent : cp. Ch. XXV.

⁸⁾ 1553 ; Cologne, 1558 : bk. i, ch. vii.

de investigatione thematis in hebraico sermone, was still in existence in manuscript in John-Noel Paquot's time, about 1760-70, as he refers to it in his notes and indicates its owner¹⁾. Most probably those works of Balenus are lost ²⁾; yet the excellence of his lectures and his great influence as professor on his audience, especially for exegetics, is testified to by his most famous disciple and collaborator Lindanus ³⁾; indeed, the venerable Bishop of Roermond and Ghent is considered as the foremost amongst the Catholic interpreters of the Bible of that century; he laid down the rules and the method of exegesis in a treatise, in which he expresses his indebtedness in that branch to his master and friend van Gennep, whom he calls *Lovaniensis Academiæ Decus* ⁴⁾.

Balenus also contributed in a large part to form men like Andreas Masius, who afterwards became his true friend and one of his rare correspondents ⁵⁾; or like the Franciscan theologian Adam Sasbout ⁶⁾; like Matthew van Galen, *Galenus*, of Westcappelle, in Walcheren (1528-September 15, 1573), who, in 1559, became professor of divinity in Dillingen and, in 1563, in Douai ⁷⁾; like Augustine Huens, Hunnæus, of Mechlin (1522-September 7, 1578), who was thoroughly acquainted with the three languages, and became famous as professor of theology in Louvain ⁸⁾; like Bucho a Montzima, Provost and

¹⁾ *PF*, I, 515 : the manuscript took up 12 pages in-4°; it belonged to John Franc.-Sal. Baelemans, Lord of Steenweghen.

²⁾ In the Royal Library, Brussels, is preserved, as MS. 8473, Balenus' *Annotationes ad Hebraicæ Linguæ Notitiam*. ³⁾ *Cp. Ch. XXV.*

⁴⁾ *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi Scripturas* : Cologne, 1558 : I, viii.

⁵⁾ *Cp. before*, p 208, and *Ch. XVII*; *MasE*, 3 (1538), 14 (1542), 158 (1554), 345 (1562), 503-05 (1572). ⁶⁾ *Cp. further, Ch. XIX.*

⁷⁾ That author, who did not always join critical sense to his great erudition, had studied theology under Ruard Tapper, who sent him to Dillingen as Lindanus' successor; in Douai, he became Doctor of Divinity in 1564, after having started teaching theology there in 1563, and also Hebrew, which he had learned from Balenus at the *Trilingue*. The great services he rendered caused Philip II to appoint him first as Provost of St. Peter's, then of St. Amatus' in Douai, which made him Chancellor of the University. He died on September 15, 1573, and Thomas Stapleton pronounced his funeral oration : *Mol.*, 524; *BibBelg.*, 655; *Paquot*, xv, 323-41; *Hurter*, I, i, 82; *UniDill.*, 54-55; *VulcE*, 144, 297.

⁸⁾ He became President of St. Anna College, August 1557, Doctor of Divinity on June 20, 1558; he was for several years both Royal and

Archdeacon of St. John's, Utrecht (1535-1594) ¹⁾. Although Balenus did not live in the College, yet he partook of the life of it ²⁾, and thus contributed his share with his colleagues Rescius and Nannius towards the adorning of the building by stained glass windows in 1540 ³⁾; he afterwards also helped the '*Procuratores*' to gain information in their suit against Rescius ⁴⁾.

Pontifical Censor of books, and from 1572 to 1577, president of the H. Ghost College; he wrote several works, and died on September 7, 1578: *Mol.*, 520, 639; *Vern.*, 205, 307; *VAnd.*, 43, 79, 116, 121, 245, 284, 311, 364, 370; *BibBelg.*, 94, sq; *Paquot*, xi, 271-83; *ULDoc.*, iii, 20, 248; *Nève-Mém.*, 211, 247, &c. Huens corresponded with J. Rhetius, Cologne Jesuit: *JesRheinA*, 636; his *Dialectica* was used in Dillingen: *UniDill.*, 206.

¹⁾ He was the son of Popko of Montzima and Rintzlia ab Aytta, Viglius' sister; he was promoted the 32^d on April 4, 1555 (*ULPromRs.*, 192) and his Doctorate in Divinity, August 29, 1564, was most solemnly attended. Bucho became canon and *scholarcha* at Ghent, dean of St. Pancras, Leyden, Provost and Archdeacon of St. John's, Utrecht, and canon of St. Saviour's there. He died after a life of study and charity on February 6, 1594: *VAnd.*, 117-18, 284; *Cran.*, 274, b; *HEpU*, 41; *PF*, i, 104; *Hoyneck*, i, i, 39, 182, 208, 228, ii, 112, 867, iii, i, 258-60; *ULAnn.*, 1845, 198 (legacy in Tapper's will); Gabbema, 700, sq; *VigIEB*, 3, 27: letter from Viglius, November 15, 1557; other letters from Viglius to him, October 25, 1561, and September 1, 1576, in *BrsRL*, MS. ii, 5071. — Another nephew of Viglius, 'Bucho Zuichemus, phrysius, in artibus studens', matriculated on November 2, 1557 (*LibIntIV*, 337, r), and was classed 22nd in the promotion of March 19, 1560 (*ULPromRs.*, 222); he became the first archdeacon of Ypres Cathedral, and died at Hertogenbosch on October 31, 1599: *FlandIll.*, ii, 327.

²⁾ Erasmus sent him his greetings in his letters to Goclenius of September 2, 1535 and June 28, 1536: *Allen*, xi, 3052, 37, 3130, 32.

³⁾ Item opden xxvij Julij gerekent met Geerden den gelaesmaker... Ter causen van drie nieu gelasen gesedt Jnder coeken <— no doubt the calefactorium —> van den nieuwen huysse ende gegeuen by mgro Reschio mgro Andrea baleno ende mgro Petro Nannio groot synde viij voeten ende jnne hebbende een rondeel met scryft / voer elck gelas xxij st... *ManBorchI*, 28.

⁴⁾ He had written to his old student and friend Jerome Sandelin, Zandelin, Receiver General of Bewester Schelde (cp. further, sect. 5), who, on September 18, 1546, replied to his 'Andrea charissime' about whether Rescius had a room and a place at the board in the College: *MotJuris*, 65.

C. DEATH AND AFTER LIFE

Enjoying an excellent health and high spirits ¹⁾, Andrew van Gennep fulfilled his duty till the last years of a long career, when age compelled him to accept the help of Bucho de Montzima, who replaced him for his lectures ²⁾, as well as that of Augustine Hunnæus. The latter taught Hebrew for him about 1562 for one year, as he afterwards helped Thierry Langius, in whose stead he lectured for four years in Greek : it explains how his picture adorned the *Trilingue* where Paquot saw it ³⁾. Van Gennep had married Roberta van Duerne, of Bueren, who died on December 17, 1567 ; he followed her already a few weeks later, on February 10, 1568. They were buried in the porch of St. Peter's, with an epitaph by his colleague Cornelius Valerius van Auwater :

MIGRAUIT OCTOGESIMO QUARTO SENEX
 ÆTATIS ANNO FUNCTUS INTEGERRIME.
 SEX ATQUE TRIGINTA PER ANNOS PUBLICÆ
 SACRAS HEBRÆORUM PROFESSUS LITTERAS,
 LINGUAMQUE CALLENS OPTIME SANCTISSIMAM.
 BUSLIDIANO GLORIAM COLLEGIO
 SIBIQUE FAUOREM COMPARAUIT OMNIUM :
 DUM CONSULENS BENIGNUS ÆGROTANTIBUS
 OPE MEDICA MULTIS SALUTEM CONTULIT.
 NUNC LIBERATUS OMNIBUS MOLESTIJS,
 FRUITUR BEATO CÆLITUM CONSORTIO,
 NOMINE RELICTO POSTERIS LAUDABILI ⁴⁾.

By his will he had wished to continue fostering intellectual work by means of scholarships : he therefore had instituted as heirs the poor students of Louvain of all that he possessed,

¹⁾ He reached the age of 84, and was up to the last 'vegetus et hilaris, qui gentis illius <of the Campine> genius est' : VAndEx., 70 ; VAnd., 284.

²⁾ VAnd., 284 ; cp. before, pp 214-5.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 214. Hunnæus' portrait had as painted inscription : 'Natus est anno 22, mane circa medium quintæ die 27. julii' ; also the date of his death, and that of the picture : Aetatis 55, 1577. mense maio <pictus> ; he was represented holding in his hand a book bearing on the edge the name ΠΑΥΛΟΣ : Paquot, xi, 282.

⁴⁾ 'CORNELIUS VALERIUS carmen hoc subito fustum amico consecr.' : SweMon., 210-11.

after a few legacies to poor relatives had been deducted. On account of the ruinous state of things at the time, and of the bankruptcy of some of the creditors ¹⁾, the means were not sufficient to realize all his wishes. He had entrusted the execution of his will to his friends Peter Peckius (1529-1589), professor of Canon law ²⁾, and Melchior Ryckenroy, President of the *Trilingue* ³⁾, as well as to Anna Sprengers, presumably a relative of his, or his wife's. They decided to sacrifice the scholarship, in order to help some indigent nephews and nieces ⁴⁾; a yearly rent of 56 florins, however, was founded in the newly erected *Mensa Sancti Spiritus* of the University ⁵⁾, to be distributed amongst the poor students ⁶⁾. On July 15, 1575, the executors submitted their accounts, and

¹⁾ Thus a rent of Rh. fl. 238.2.8, on the business of Cornelius van Bomberghen, of Antwerp, was entirely lost, as that man was insolvent and a fugitive: FUL, 1445; *AntwHist.*, iv, 343, 400, 432, 610-12, iii, 95, v, 281.

²⁾ Peckius was one of the greatest professors that ever taught in Louvain: cp. further, Ch. XXV.

³⁾ Melchior Ryckenroy, a native of Mechlin, promoted Master of Arts in 1544, being the 15th of his year (: Melchior Richeroyus... e Castro), and Licentiate in Theology; he became curate, and afterwards chaplain of St. Peter's, Louvain, and was provost of the Confraternity of Holy Trinity. In 1558, he was appointed president of the *Trilingue*, which function he resigned on August 27, 1571, after having been chosen Rector of the University on February 28, 1570. He had been nominated parish priest of Great Zundert, near Breda, about 1570. The act of transmission of the accounts and the various valuables of the College to his successor and townsman, John Verhaghen, is preserved in FUL, 1440. He died in the first half of December 1573, for on the 15th of that month was made up the inventory of his belongings at his Louvain house; he bequeathed to the *Trilingue* a rent of 20 *stivers* per year: Mol., 365; FUL, 1440; VAnd, 44, 278; *ULPromRs.*, 153; *ULDoc.*, iv, 499; *NèveMém.*, 391. Aug. Hunnæus was his relative, and requested to be buried in the same grave as he in St. Peter's.

⁴⁾ The amount of a rent of 160 Rh. flor. was divided amongst a nephew and a niece of Gennep's wife, Frederic van Duerne and the widow of Antony van Duerne, soldier in Friesland, and two of his own nephews; one of these, Aert van Gennep, received on August 29, 1575, the balance of the heritage, Rh. flor. 4. 8. 15, on account of his extreme indigence and his poor health, on the recommendation of the chaplain of Baelen: FUL, 1445.

⁵⁾ FUL, 181-82; Mol., 647.

⁶⁾ Mol., 647; FUL, 1445.

explained their management to the Rector, who approved of it, and liberated them from their charge ¹⁾).

If Andrew Balenus was not spoiled by high wages, he, however, must have been over-happy in appreciating the most eloquent proof of the excellence of his teaching which was given him ²⁾), when, on account of his declining health, he had to appeal to the help of the disciples he had formed. Indeed, in 1563, whilst Hunnæus replaced him, the students of divinity applied to the town authorities for the foundation of a daily lecture of Hebrew. The matter was communicated to the Faculty of Divinity, who declared that such a lesson had not only their permission, but even their approval, provided that, as professor, there should always be appointed a theologian or a wise and prudent man pointed out by the Faculty, and not a man who should be nominated by the town authorities according to their own judgment and choice. When the Dean communicated that advice of the Faculty to the Mayor, he received as reply that it was also his opinion and that of those who shared his authority; he judged, namely, that for that lecture nothing should be done without the counsel and consent of the theologians; he should never appoint, he said, a professor who should not have been recommended and approved of by the Faculty; moreover he and his colleagues were ready to make an authentic declaration to that effect to the University. That interview took place on April 26, 1563 ³⁾).

That the plan was never executed, may be due to the difficult circumstances prevailing in those days; still it does not detract from the signification of the request and its acceptance: by 1532, John Campensis left the *Trilingue* because the lectures of Hebrew were as good as unattended ⁴⁾); his successor brought them up to such a height that the students wished for another series of daily lessons. In 1530, at an academic function, the Dean of the Faculty of Theology made an onslaught at languages in the solemnity of a promotion to

¹⁾ FUL, 1445.

²⁾ Mol., 606; Vern., 146; VAndEx., 69-70; VAnd., 284, 285; *BibBelg.*, 49; *PF*, I, 514-15; *NèveMém.*, 245-47, 315, 335; *ULDoc.*, IV, 527; *ULAnn.*, 1845, 205-208.

³⁾ VAnd., 284.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 182, sq.

Doctor of Divinity¹⁾: thirty-two years later that same Faculty, not only bore with the teaching of the *Trilingue*, but declared, under one natural reserve, 'Prælectionem <quotidianam in linguam Hebraicam> fore & esse admittendam atque approbandam'! Through the excellence of his teaching Andrew van Gennep had brought the old opponent, the Faculty of Theology, to approve implicitly of the excellence and appropriateness of the aim for which the *Trilingue* had been founded.

4. FURTHER CHANGES

A. CHAPLAIN

After John Campensis' leave, the Masses were celebrated in the *Trilingue* by 'D. Joannes Regis', who is recorded to have been paid for the year December 1, 1533 to December 1, 1534²⁾, and for September 10, 1537-September 10, 1538³⁾; during the regency of James Edelheer (January 26 to June 12, 1539), he only officiated from February 11 to April 8, and his name is given as : frater, 'bruederer Janne Regis'⁴⁾. Judging by that title, John Regis apparently was a member of one of the religious orders, who just came to the College to celebrate the Masses, — which were paid at the same rate as those by Campensis. Still it is possible that he was a bursar; in fact, the name Konings, or even Leroy, is rather common⁵⁾: some student or other, promoted in the Faculty of Arts, might thus be pointed out. There was, indeed, a 'Joannes Regis', of

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 133, sq.

²⁾ *AccHoesII*, 38, r : the number of Masses was 94.

³⁾ *AccGocl.*, 37, r (for 90 Masses).


⁴⁾ *AccEdel.*, 16, r (for 14 Masses).

⁵⁾ A 'Joannes Regis' matriculated on December 12, 1523 : *LibIntIII*, 309, v. At the promotion of 1536, the 46th place was granted to : 'Joannes Regis, Bredanus' : *ULPromRs.*, 88 : he became licentiate in theology in 1539/40, and was chosen *Tentator Licentiandorum* in 1540 : *LibRecl*, 310 ; *ULPromRs.*, 102. — A 'Joh. Regis' is mentioned as a great musician in Charles V's reign : originary from Courtrai, John de Ceuninck, chaplain in Our Lady's there, 1529-1538, is probably identical with Joannes Regis, *cantor* in the Imperial chapel of Vienna, 1548-1549 : Caullet, 20-21 ; Henne, v, 104.

Harlebeke, who was placed 9th in 1532, ¹⁾, who may have performed the Holy Services in the *Trilingue* before he became professor of philosophy in the Lily, where a *Joannes Rex* is recorded from 1535 to 1539 ²⁾).

B. THE FOUNDER'S NEPHEWS

Under Josse van der Hoeven's management, the three last of the Founder's nephews, the youngest sons of his brother Giles, were studying in Louvain and attending the lectures of the *Trilingue*. On December 24, 1530, matriculated 'Giles' and 'John Buslidius, Bruxellenses' ³⁾, and on July 6, 1534, 'Gulielmus Buslidius, Bruxellensis' ⁴⁾. Giles, the fourth son of the family, was a most precocious young man : he practised not only poetry, but even painting and sculpture. Janus Secundus had taken a great affection to him, and by 1530, he made his portrait on a fine medal with the inscription

 ÆGID. BVSLIDIVS. AN. AETATIS. XVI. ⁵⁾

He also wrote an Ode : 'Ad Ægydium Buslydium, juniorem' ⁶⁾, and when, sometime later, the two friends were separated, and Secundus, sorry not to be in the same town with Giles, so as to hear him recite his poems, and watch his progress in Parrhasius' and Scopas' art, requests him to let him have the portrait which he had attempted of him when he was still a novice : — no doubt the die ; — after a time it would be returned ; he only wants to provide an 'effigies', he says ⁷⁾ :

Transfusa formis ut mihi pluribus

Perstet sodalis mnemosynon mei.

He thus evidently refers to the casts in metal, made from the die in Kelheim stone ⁸⁾, which had been given to Giles. Of

¹⁾ *ULPromLv.*, 12.

²⁾ It is added : *forsan jam antea* : *ULDoc.*, iv, 248.

³⁾ *LibIntIV*, 30, v.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 66, v.

⁵⁾ Reproduced on plate v, in Simonis, 59-61 — (who ascribes it to 1532, and wrongly supposes, on pp 62-63, that Giles is a natural son of his younger brother William : cp. *Busl.*, 28) — and also in *Busl.*, 27.

⁶⁾ *JSecOp.*, 149-51 : it is most interesting for the knowledge of the way in which carvers worked in the xvth century.

⁷⁾ Ode III : *JSecOp.*, 149, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, xxxiii.

his subsequent life, little is known : he certainly is not the 'Giles de Busleyden', who married Suzanne de Croy ¹⁾; it rather seems as if he had the same fate as his famous friend, and died long before his time, which would explain how his memory is only kept by the entry in the Louvain matriculation register and by the remarkably fine medal that perpetuates his features and his friendship with the great artist ²⁾.

His brother John started studying laws, promoting J. V. Licentiate ; he settled in Mechlin and married Margaret de Merode, daughter of Arnold, Lord of Royenberg, and of Catherine de Gottignies. He was probably connected with the Great Council of Mechlin ; he died on November 3, 1556, and was buried in St. Rombaut's ; his widow survived him until March 23, 1601 ; their son Giles married Ann de Plaine, Lady of Norderwyck, and died on January 17, 1596, leaving several children ³⁾.

The last of the six brothers, William, also studied law, and no doubt became licentiate, for he was active by 1555 as advocate in the Great Council of Mechlin. The family genealogy ⁴⁾ ascribes to him, by Isabeau van der Weyden ⁵⁾, two natural children, a John, who married, founding a bastard branch ⁶⁾, and an Agnes, who entered a *béguinage*.

¹⁾ Simonis, 62 : she is said there to be the wife of William de Busleyden's natural son : unfortunately the genealogy quoted is most inaccurate : cp. *Busl.*, 25-27.

²⁾ *Busl.*, 27-28.

³⁾ *MalInscr.*, 61, 63, 230 ; *Laenen*, II, 238 ; *ConPriT*, 221 ; *Busl.*, 25-26, and sources quoted.

⁴⁾ Cp. the pedigree, tested as far as is possible, in *Busl.*, 29. As usual with noble families, a most unreliable genealogy is made up, e. g., by Henry de Barnaba, 1761, quoted by Simonis, 62 ; cp. before, p 220, also above, n 1, and *BuslGen.*, 20-28.

⁵⁾ She is also called Elizabeth van Weede.

⁶⁾ That branch, headed by John, used the family crest, adding a border-silver and gules, until the extinction of the right branch ; on April 22, 1672, William's great-grandson, Andrew-Giles, obtained for himself and his five brothers, the use of the simple scutcheon, notwithstanding some contradiction : *BrabNobl.*, 282-95. Andrew-Giles was advocate in the Brabant Council, and, on October 8, 1676, he was appointed Procurator General of that body ; he is mentioned in a suit of October 1672, against the herald Maurissens and the family 'tSerhuyghs. He died in 1691, leaving posterity from his wife Anne-Marie de Coninck : *BrabCon.*, III, 859 ; *BrabNobl.*, 390-91 ; *BuslGén.*, 20-24 ; *Busl.*, 26-27 ; *BruxHist.*, II, 514^{bis}.

William de Busleyen, styled *maître*, and Lord of Guirsch and Eversberg, is frequently mentioned as alderman on the lists of Brussels authorities from 1563 until June 18, 1574, when he died 'whilst he was still in office ¹⁾. It is equally certain that he bore a great sympathy to his Uncle's institution : as a member of the protecting family, he recommended Peter Pierius a Smenga for the vacancy of the Hebrew lecture in 1569 ²⁾, and at his death, he left a bequest of a rent of 300 florins, designed to enlarge the patrimony of the Foundation that was the glory of his family ³⁾.

C. BURSARS

Of the bursars who resided in the College under van der Hoeven's presidency, only a few names are recorded in the accounts for having reimbursed the value of a bed, by dint of the prescriptions of the testament ⁴⁾. Thus, on September 20, 1530, Louis, the son of Charles Pori entered ; he had been chosen by the Chapter of his native town Aire ⁵⁾. On October 16, 1534, came Nicolas Serator, son of John, from Arlon ; he probably is identical with the 'Nicolaus Joannis, Arlunensis', student of the Porc, who was classed the 65th at the promotion of March 22, 1537 ⁶⁾. President van der Hoeven's account mentions that he took the place of Henry Cuukius, apparently

¹⁾ *BruxHist.*, II, 537-38 (1563-1574).

²⁾ *NèveMém.*, 248, sq, 373.

³⁾ The Inventory of the College documents has this item, marked kk : Eenentrentbrief van 300 gulden erfelijck gelegateerd der Collegien van wijlen heer Willem van Busleyden bezegelt met twe roode zeelen verschijnt in Augusto voor eenen termeyn ende in Februario voor den anderen termeyn : *Inv.*, 26, r.

⁴⁾ *Test.*, 50-52.

⁵⁾ *AccHoevI*, 3, r : ontfangen van ludouico porj filio karolj arieñ bursiere vanden caplē van arien gepresenteert die jnde collegie quam des dysdaighs xx^a Septembris anno xv C xxx^o voer een bedde dat hy juxta fundationem gaff vj Rh. fl. On March 29, 1542, 'Sebastian Pori, ex Area' promoted M. A. amongst the *gratiosi* (*ULPromRs.*, 117 : he passed by kind judgment of the Faculty, but not by strict merit) : he may have been a younger brother, or a relative at least, of Louis Pori, Pory, who afterwards became professor of laws : cp. Ch. XXV.

⁶⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 92.

another bursar from Arlon ¹⁾, — who may have been identical with the 'Henricus Franchoy's, Arlunensis', of the Falcon, classed the 79th at that same promotion ²⁾.

5. FIRST INMATES

A. SANDELIN AND SUYS

When Josse van der Hoeven entered upon his duties as President, there were several boarders in the *Trilingue* who had started their studies and their stay under Nicolas Wary. One of them, Cornelius Suys ³⁾ remained until September 13, 1531, when he left, to return on October 28, 1531; he went to France on April 29, 1532 ⁴⁾. Baltasar Künring, of Vienna ⁵⁾, who had gone away on March 4, 1530, came back on October 26, 1530, and stayed in the College until April 24, 1531 ⁶⁾. Cornelius of Zegerscapelle ⁷⁾ resided there until October 9, 1534 ⁸⁾, whereas Charles de Locquenghien ⁹⁾ left already on May 28, 1530 ¹⁰⁾.

On January 15, 1530, the *Trilingue* received as new boarder Jerome Sandelin, — Sandelyn or Zandelin, — Sandelicus, a native of Antwerp, who had already been a student of the University for a few years ¹¹⁾. As he had lost his parents some time before ¹²⁾, the terms for his boarding in the College were

¹⁾ *AccHoevII*, 2, r : Item a nicolao seratoris filio Johannis de arluno bursier dewelcke jnder Collegie comen es den xvjen octobris anno xxxiiij jn de plaetse henricj Cuucij voor een bedde vj Rg.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 93.

³⁾ *Cp. II*, 376-78.

⁴⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, r ; *AccHoevI*, 2, v, 5, r.

⁵⁾ *Cp. II*, 383-85.

⁶⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, v ; *AccHoevI*, 2, v, 5, r.

⁷⁾ *Cp. II*, 385-86.

⁸⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, v ; *AccHoevI*, 2, v, 5, r ; *AccHoevII*, 5, v.

⁹⁾ *Cp. II*, 382.

¹⁰⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, r — the 'mgr nicolas huberti', who, on August 3, 1530, paid the fees that were still owing, may have become his tutor and host ; — *AccHoevI*, 2, v, 5, r.

¹¹⁾ On June 8, 1525, matriculated 'Ieronimus Sandelien, traiectensis dioc. minorennis, iuravit pro eo Io. gastel subpactor librorum' — most probably his host : *Excerpt's*, 105 ; *LibIntIII*, 324, v.

¹²⁾ His father, Adrian Sandelyn, son of Peter, died in June 1515, and his fourth wife, Jerome's mother, Catherine de Brimen, daughter of Peter, Knight, and Madeleine de Vrisele, lady of Poederlee, had preceded him on October 5, 1512 : both were buried in St. Mary's, Antwerp :

arranged by his uncles, mgr Arnold Sandelyn ¹⁾ and mgr Guibert, Ghysbrecht, Sandelin ²⁾, of Antwerp, where another relative, Adrian Sandelin, Jerome de Busleyden's intimate friend ³⁾, had been dean of Our Lady's from October 7, 1507 to his death, November 18, 1512 ⁴⁾; Peter Gillis, the secretary of Antwerp, had composed this epitaph for him :

HOC TVMVLO MVSAE, CHARITES, ASTRÆA QVIESCVNT,
QVO SVA SANDELICVS MEMBRA ADRIANVS HABET ⁵⁾.

Part of the boy's fees were paid on July 14, 1530 by John van den Eynde, his brother-in-law ⁶⁾, and having been entrusted to the special care of Goclenius, it was the Latin professor who afterwards paid to the President the money due by the young man, until his final leave on February 1, 1532 ⁷⁾. In 1535, he was elected alderman at Antwerp ⁸⁾, and he married Catherine van de Werve, daughter of Henry, and Hedwige van Cuyck ⁹⁾; he was appointed Imperial councillor and Receiver General for Zeeland and Bewester Schelde ¹⁰⁾, and

NobPB, i, ii, 1733; *Cran.*, 139, h, and sources. An elder son 'Karolus Sandelicus, filius quondam Adriani', matriculated in Louvain on November 8, 1516 : *LibIntIII*, 230, r. The family Sandelin may have been originary from, or connected with, Dordrecht : a 'Cornelius Zandelijn de Dordracō traiect. dioc.' matriculated in Louvain on August 28, 1521, as rich student of the Castle : *LibIntIII*, 278, v. As fugitives for debt are mentioned (Antwerp, July 20, 1517) P. and G. Sandelin, who possibly were relatives : *Goris*, 360. Cp. further, pp 240-41.

¹⁾ Arnold Sandelin was councillor and secretary of the Council of The Hague : his son Adrian soon rejoined his cousin in the *Trilingue* : cp. further, p 225.

²⁾ *AntwHist.*, vii, 614.

³⁾ *Busl.*, 362, 39, &c.

⁴⁾ He was succeeded by Adrian of Utrecht : *AntvDiercx.*, iii, 266; *AntvEpisc.*, 105; *AntwHist.*, i, 559, iv, 8. He was probably the boy's great-uncle or cousin.

⁵⁾ *SweMon.*, 59.

⁶⁾ He is probably the John van den Eynde, or Heysssele, Eyssele, Ersele, one of the *elemosynarii* elected in Antwerp on 1523, who was several times chosen as alderman between 1538 and 1550 : *AntwAnn.*, ii, 31, 187, 217, 281, 306, 362. His wife may have been a step-sister of Jerome Sandelin, who had a sister Adriana, married to Philip de Beuckelaer (*NobPB*, i, ii, 1733), probably a son or nephew to the friend of Busleyden of the same name : *Busl.*, 322-23.

⁷⁾ *AccHoevI*, 5, r; *ManHoev.*, 1, v, 4, r.

⁸⁾ *AntvAnn.*, ii, 180.

⁹⁾ *NobPB*, i, ii, 1733-35.

¹⁰⁾ *MotJuris*, 50, 65; *Fruin*, 492 (1540), 510, 511, 519, 524, 527, 531.

proceeded in that quality, early in 1540, against the 'Marans', the converted Portuguese Jews, who had settled at Flushing ¹). He was knighted on September 12, 1549, by Philip, Charles V's son, on his visit to Antwerp when arriving from Spain; being lord of Herenthout and Herlaer, he retired, on resigning his office in May 1564 ²), to the former of those places, which became the seat of his family ³).

Some time after Jerome, his cousin **Adrian Sandelin**, Sandelyn, **Sandelicus**, rejoined him. He was the son of Arnold, Councillor and Secretary to the Holland Council in The Hague ⁴). His father and his uncle Ghysbrecht introduced him and Peter Suys into the College on May 4, 1530, and arranged the conditions for both of them; Adrian matriculated on May 20 following ⁵), and remained in the *Trilingue* until April 8, 1538 ⁶). Soon after leaving the Institute, he became Councillor of Holland and, like his cousin Jerome, he gave

¹) *Ét&Aud.*, 1177², documents 5, 6, 13, 15, 19, 20; Goris, 572-73; Henne, III, 237.

²) Fruin, 511, 527, 531 (September 6, 1565).

³) Jerome left two daughters, and a son: *NobPB*, I, ii, 1733-35; that son, John James, married Livina van Bronckhorst: he became Lord of Wieckevorst, and gave his daughter Catherine in marriage to Adolphe van den Heetvelde, son of Adrian, and of Anna van der Dilt: *Cran.*, 139, h; *NobPB*, I, 321; *MalInscr.*, 428. Jerome's daughter Catherine married Philip van Tuyl, who succeeded his father-in-law in Zeeland, became governor of Bergen-op-Zoom for Philip II, and died at Antwerp in 1579; she afterwards married William van Cats, and died in 1616: *NobPB*, I, 406-7, 1733-35. Jerome's second daughter, Helen, Helwich or Helwige, married Edward van der Dilt, Francis's son: *Cran.*, 139, h; *NobPB*, I, 365, 655, 1733-35, 539, 554, 558, 566, 1481; *MalInscr.*, 101, 172.

⁴) Arnold, Adrian's father, and his brother Ghysbrecht Sandelin (cp. before, p 224), signed some of the deeds drawn up by the Holland Council against heretics in April 1527: *CorpInq.*, v, 197, 198, 201, 203, 289; *HoopSch.*, 384, 386, 511, 525; he is mentioned in *Rek.*, 5, v, about the payment of the Five Dutch Towns Loan.

⁵) 'Hadrianus Zandelin filius Arnoldi ex Hagis, clericus Traiect.': *LibIntIV*, 24, r.

⁶) *ManHoev.*, 4, v; *AccHoevI*, 5, v; *AccHoevII*, 5, v; *AccGocl.*, 3^{bis}, r: he may have interrupted his stay, for, in his attestation in the lawsuit against Rescius, in 1547, he stated that he came to the College in 1530: *ibi* continue quinque fere annis habitavi: *StudAtt.*, 35; he must have returned, for the second account of Goclenius mentions specially that he paid for the time between July 8, 1537 and April 8, 1538, when he left the College.

his attestation in 1547 in the lawsuit of the College against Rescius ¹⁾).

On May 4, 1530, Arnold and Ghysbrecht Sandelin also introduced into the College Peter Suys, who is indicated as the son of their friend Cornelius, of The Hague ²⁾). Cornelius, Lord of Ter Burch, was 'meester knaap', chief usher, of Holland, and 'hoogheemraad', high provincial councillor of Delfland; he had married Mary de Jongh, and died before his time on December 10, 1521 ³⁾): it explains why the brothers Sandelin took his son to Louvain and arranged the terms for him. There was already in the *Trilingue*, since February 13, 1527, the Cornelius Suys, son of Vincent, of The Hague ⁴⁾), who, at the most, was Peter's distant relative; they seem to have lived as strangers under the same College roof: their name was not rare in Holland ⁵⁾), nor in the *Trilingue* either, where a third, James, resided from 1537 to 1540 ⁶⁾). Peter Suys matriculated on May 20, 1530 ⁷⁾), and he remained under Goclenius' special care until 1535; in the beginning of 1538,

¹⁾ *StudAtt.*, 5, 11, 16, 35; *MotJuris*, 50; *BataoMart.*, 164.

²⁾ *ManHoev.*, 4, v; *AccHoevI*, 5, v.

³⁾ *NobPB*, 1, ii, 1859: Cornelius Suys was the eldest of the children of Peter Suys, Lord of Grysoort, Zeeland, who died in 1501, and was buried at Ryswyck (Fruin, 129, 379, 436), and of Jane van der Burch; he had as brothers and sisters, Alard, James, Daniel, John (Fruin, 510), William, Catherine and Agatha. Catherine married Andrew van Hargen, Lord of Oosterwyck, and had several children: amongst them Splinter, and Jane, who married Damian a Goes: cp. *MonHL*, 689, and before, p 61; on both places, however, Catherine Suys is made, by mistake, the aunt of the Cornelius Suys, of The Hague, who was an inmate of the *Trilingue* from 1527 to 1532 (cp. II, 376-78); she was the aunt of Peter Suys, and her brother Cornelius, Peter's father, had died in 1521; the 'student Cornelius Suys' appears to have resided in the *Trilingue* from 1527 to 1532 as if he had no connection with Peter Suys. Cp. for James Suys, poet and antiquarian, further, Ch. XVIII.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 376-78.

⁵⁾ Fruin, 129, 379, 436, 510. — Other students, called Suys, *Susius*, had preceded Cornelius and Peter in Louvain: 'Allardus Suys, de traecto', rich student of the Porc, matriculated on February 28, 1492; Henry Suys, 'dives Liliensis', on February 23, 1498: *LibIntIII*, 34, r, 66, v.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVIII.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV*, 24, r: 'Petrus Suys filius Cornelii de hagus clericus traiect.'.

he returned and stayed until well in the summer of 1539 ¹). By 1547 he had become Holland councillor and he joined his colleagues Cornelius Suys, Arnold Sasbout and Adrian Sandelin in giving evidence in the contest against Rescius ²).

B. ERASMIUS FROBEN

About the same time as Peter Suys and Adrian Sandelin, **John Erasmus Froben**, the younger son of the Basle printer, arrived at the *Trilingue*. He was born in the winter of 1515 to 1516, and Erasmus, his godfather with Beatus Rhenanus, already expressed on August 25, 1517, his wish to have him well trained ³). On February 28, 1522, he dedicated to him the *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ* (Basle, March 1522), of which a copy on vellum was made for him ⁴), as well as the new and amplified edition of August-September 1524 ⁵). About June 1522, the boy had been entrusted to the care of a former corrector of the firm, then professor at Freiburg, Conrad von Heresbach ⁶); by March 1527, he was studying

¹) *AccHoevII*, 5, v; *AccGocl.*, 3^{bis}, r; *MotJuris*, 64; *AccEdel.*, 4 : he was still in the College on June 22, 1539, when Edelheer died, but had left when Nicolas van der Borch succeeded him as president, December 21, 1539.

²) *MotJuris*, 50, 64; *StudAtt.*, 32-34.

³) Letter to John Froben : Allen, III, 635, 20-22.

⁴) Allen, v, 1262 : in that dedicatory letter the name is written Ἐράσμιος, as it was used afterwards, whereas before 1522 he was called 'Erasmus'.

⁵) Letter of August 1, 1524 : Allen, v, 1476.

⁶) Conrad von Hertzbach, Heresbach, born at Mettman, August 1/2, 1496, studied at Münster under Murmellius; he matriculated in Cologne, October 20, 1512, promoting M. A. in 1515. From 1517, he was in Orleans and in Paris, where he learned Greek from Lupset. He returned as B. L. to Cologne in 1519, where his elder brother Peter, in the Duke of Cleves' service, married Drutgin von Weinsberg, sister of Christian, and aunt of the chronicler Hermann (*Weinsberg*, I, 26, 84, 226, II, 115, v, 502-9); in December 1520, he was corrector for John Froben, Basle, and in June 1521, he was appointed professor of Greek in Freiburg (*MatriFreib.*, 252). He was entrusted with the tuition of a young nobleman, as well as with that of John Erasmus Froben, and Erasmus even promised to visit him after the coming winter (letter of October 18, 1522 : Allen, v, 1316, 20-38); letters of the end of June and July 6, 1522, from Froben to Boniface Amerbach (*BbBasle*, G. II, 29) make it impossible that he

under Ludwig Kiel, Carinus ¹⁾, at Coblenz ²⁾, and a dispute about the way of educating the boy was one of the causes of the enmity between Erasmus and the Lucerne canon ³⁾. At John Froben's death ⁴⁾, the great Humanist took himself in hand the bringing up of his godson; he kept him in Freiburg

should have visited Italy that year. Having been refused a rise in his salary, he left Freiburg in May 1523, and after some time devoted to Strabo and to Gaza's grammar, he became tutor to the young Duke William of Cleves, and, from then on, his life was spent partly on official duty at the Court or on his books; he managed, in 1532, to visit Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, and to become LL. D. in Ferrara on October 22, 1532 (*Heresbach*, 68-9, 248-51). On that journey he made the acquaintance of Viglius at Padua, and was introduced by him to the search for the sources of Roman Jurisprudence, which was a sequel of his training in Louvain (cp. II, 145-50, 157) : in that spirit he was working most assiduously at Theophilus' *Institutiones Juris Civilis*, with the *Commentaria* for his lectures and for an edition by J. Froben (Basle 1534). The example was not lost on Heresbach, although he hardly had the necessary leisure to indulge then in the study of the sources (*Heresbach*, 127; Hoyneck, II, i, 121, 126, 47); it results from his large contribution to the regulating of the reform of juridical proceedings in the Duchy Berg-Jülich from 1555, as well as from his master's wise opposition to the ruthless measures against witches, which were then desolating a large part of Europe : Stintzing, I, 228-30. Having been freed from tutoring the young Duke, he was appointed councillor, and he divided his time between the Court and his studies in his property Lörward; he had married Mechtilde von Duynen, daughter of Arnold, in 1538. After a life of restless work in a spirit of conciliation, which for a time was characteristic of the Court of Cleves, he died on October 14, 1576; he left his books to the church of Wesel : they included a diary, of which part is edited. Cp. *Heresbach*; Keussen, 496, 5; Bianco, I, 727-31; *Weinsberg*, II, 332, IV, 138; Krafft, 61, 97-98, 192; Allen, V, 1316, *pr*, XI, 3031, 3031a; Redlich, I, *120, 255, 278-79, 287, 293, &c. His writings on the education of princes have also made him famous : Krafft, 98; *HarvMarg.*, 149, 183, 211, 269; cp. further, Ch. XVII, also Ch. XXI, where, to please a colleague, he requests Boniface Amerbach, on Nov. 6, 1539, to favour Goclenius' poor relations rather than the Louvain divines, whom he still represents as Erasmus had done twenty years earlier.

¹⁾ Cp. II, 392-93, &c.

²⁾ Letters of Erasmus to Louis Carinus and Valentine Furster, Erasmus' companion, March 24, 1527 : Allen, VI, 1798, 12, 1799.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1890, 24, 2063, 1-32, &c.

⁴⁾ In October 1527 : cp. Allen, VII, 1900, 6, II, 419, *pr*; Opmeer, I, 461, *b*; Lomeier, 250.

for some time even in the autumn of 1529 ¹⁾; in October of that year, his guardians wished to send him to France, either to Paris or to Lyons, but on Erasmus' demand, he was directed to Louvain, and placed under Goclenius' care ²⁾. 'Locus est elegans', he explained to Boniface Amerbach, justifying his advice, which did not meet with an over-eager acceptance from the nearest relations ³⁾, 'Academia frequens, multæ lectiones publicæ, et quidem gratis. Adest illic Carolus Harstus ⁴⁾, domi alens aliquot honestos adolescentes; habet vxorem aptissimam his curis quibus interdum opus habent pueri. Ipse conuictus nobilium, atque adeo principum, puerorum nonnihil contulissent ad componendos Erasmi mores; tum omnes professores in ere meo sunt, nihil non facturi mea. His rationibus', he continued, he had tried to arrange it to help effectively the boy, who had conceived a hatred for learning on account of the *carnifices* ⁵⁾, the whipping teachers, as was his step-father Herwagen. Erasmus had written a kind letter asking his godson to let him know when he was leaving ⁶⁾;

¹⁾ Unfortunately he had as good as to dismiss him on account of the difficulties which Nicolaus Cannius caused him: Nicolaus est prefracti ingenii, et, ni illius sensiculis obsecundarem, intolerabilis: letter to Bon. Amerbach, November 18, 1529: Allen, VIII, 2236, 12-14.

²⁾ Erasmus pitied the boy, who was very slow, and proved a sad burden on his step-father John Herwagen, whom Erasmus called *carnifex*, and suspected of continuing to the son what he had done to the father through his connection with Gertrude Lachner, his second wife. Jerome Froben, too, seems to have been unkind to his brother, possibly since he had married his step-mother's sister Anna Lachner; Nicolas Episcopus had taken to wife their step-sister. Erasmus was afraid that the boy should be sent to a bully in Lyons, or kept in Basle, and made a heretic; he wrote for help and information to Boniface Amerbach on November 4 and 18, 1529: Allen, VIII, 2231, 2235, 2236, III, 903, 2.

³⁾ On November 4, 1529, Erasmus wrote to Bon. Amerbach that the family were then in close connection with Ecolampadius, who advised to keep the boy in Basle, and let him be taught by Simon Grynæus, then professor of Greek, who may have started already tutoring him: he was addicted to the sects; Erasmus, who calls him *Cyrenæus*, did not ignore at all that the family wanted to make a protestant of the boy: me suspectum habent, quod soleam amicos ab huiusmodi additionibus [viz., of the Reformed] auertere sædulo: Allen, VIII, 2231, 31-37.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 142-45.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, VIII, 2231, 17, 62-64, 2236, 3, 26-27.

⁶⁾ Freiburg, Nov. 2, 1529: Allen, VIII, 2229: cp. 2231, 57, sq, 2235, 10, sq.

not receiving any reply, he inquired about his departure from Amerbach ¹⁾ : 'Animi gratia', he wrote, 'lubet scire num ante profectionem vapulauerit ab Heruagio ; qui demirabor si potuit abstinere manus' ! ²⁾

Erasmus left probably by the middle of November with a most hearty recommendation of Erasmus to Goclenius ³⁾ : he was a boarder in the house of Charles Harst and his young wife, Catherine van der Clusen, and the object of Goclenius' fatherly care. When Harst left Louvain to enter the service of John III, Duke of Cleves and Jülich ⁴⁾, Goclenius had the boy accepted as a boarder in the College, where he was inscribed on May 2, 1530 as 'Johannes Erasmi Verbenus' ⁵⁾ ; he had matriculated already on February 10 of the same year ⁶⁾. Meanwhile Goclenius learned from those who returned from the Frankfurt Spring Fair, that Erasmus seemed to disapprove of having the boy in the *Trilingue*, so that, on July 14, he regretted not to have introduced instead, into the College, one of the other young men who should have readily paid him forty florins a year and more, — no doubt, for private training. He declares, however, that pleasing Erasmus is more to him than any gain. He further mentions that the boy ignores all grammatical knowledge, and is, with all that, so dense, that whatever he is taught, seems like water poured into a bottomless tub. He had started making more efforts, feeling ashamed for his fellow-students. The only thing one could promise about him, was the loss of part of his *agrestis animus* by frequenting most cultured young men, from whom he might imitate talking Latin. As to the French, which Erasmus had wished him to learn, Goclenius had to inform him that there were no French schools in the town, and that even the Louvain idiom, which he had picked up in Harst's house, was spoiled by a stammering, apparently past all cure.

¹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2231, s, sq : letter to Bon. Amerbach, November 4, 1529.

²⁾ Freiburg, November 18, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2236, 26-27.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2235, 7, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 144-45.

⁵⁾ *AccHoevI*, 5, v ; *ManHoev.*, 4, r (the name *Verbenus* is corrected into *Frobenus*) : *Johannes Erasmus frobenus germanus per dñm Erasmus Roterodamum missus.*

⁶⁾ 'Joannes Erasmus Frobenius Basiliensis' : *LibIntIV*, 20, r.

Still as the youth had been accepted in his trust, nothing that he could do for him, would be omitted ¹⁾. He looked after him, paid his schooling ²⁾, and took such an interest in him that Erasmus could, on December 15, 1530, give the lie to the rumour which Jerome Froben had heard, that the Louvain professor was sorry to have accepted the burden : the fact that he had taken up most generously the *puerum destitutum*, showed that he was a real friend. He ignored, he wrote, what erudition could be gained : yet it was far better for the youth than serving one of the merchants in whose office young men get corrupted in body and soul. Supposing even that Goclenius should complain, it would be easy to have the boy trained in Louvain for a trade, like that of a joiner, which keeps the apprentice occupied indoors, and which is appreciated everywhere ³⁾. It was only on July 28, 1531, that the boy left the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾, and went to Lille to learn French, as Goclenius announced to Erasmus on November 23, 1531, on which date he also sent a letter of thanks to Jerome Froben and to Nicholas Episcopius for the present they had sent to him in return for all the care bestowed on their brother ⁵⁾. The latter returned to Basle in the autumn of 1534, and, having married Katherine Weckhardt ⁶⁾, became a partner to his step-father John Herwagen in the printing business, until the man, who had been the *carnifex* of his youth, caused the wreck of his married life, possibly of his entire existence ⁷⁾. Yet that Louvain had had on him a salutary effect, results from the gratitude shown both by Jerome Froben ⁸⁾ and by Nicolas

¹⁾ Letter of July 14, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2352, 270-297.

²⁾ *ManHoev.*, 4, r ; on August 28, 1530, Goclenius writes to Erasmus that he had learned about his better health from a letter of Episcopius to Erasmus : Allen, IX, 2369, 12-14.

³⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Jerome Froben, December 15, 1530 : Allen, IX, 2412, 24-40 : he offered even to take Erasmus as *famulus* in the place of Quirinus, at least for the summer.

⁴⁾ *ManHoev.*, 4, r.

⁵⁾ Allen, IX, 2573, 78-83.

⁶⁾ RhenE, 421, 430 : the marriage took place on August 23, 1536.

⁷⁾ Erasmus divorced his wife in January 1542 for adultery with Herwagen, who was banished from Basle ; he had married again by February 1545 : RhenE, 486, 546 : P. Heitz & Bernoulli, *Basler Büchermarken* : Basle, 1895 : xx, xxvii, xxx ; Allen, III, 635, 20, VII, 2033, 58 ; ViglEB, 17.

⁸⁾ Allen, III, 903, 2 ; Gabbema, 23-4.

Episcopus ¹⁾, which outlasted the time of polite acknowledgment, for they afterwards sent their children to Louvain : on December 2, 1548, Nicolas Episcopus and Joannes Hervagius matriculated in the old Brabant University ²⁾, where Erasmus had worked at so many books printed by their famous grandfather.

C. HORION AND SASBOUT

On August 3, 1530, Michael of Horion, Horrion, son of William, of Maastricht, entered the *Trilingue* ³⁾, and became the *discipulus domesticus* of John Campensis, to whom he had been directed by 'Magister Josephus Musch' ⁴⁾. At the end of the year, Michael's father sent six capons to the *Trilingue* by a messenger, who took the boy back home for a few days, and invited Campensis to accompany him ⁵⁾. His father William of Horion was greatly interested in studies and in humanism : for when, at Campensis' leave, Conrad Goclenius had taken the place of special tutor of his son ⁶⁾, he managed to be encouraged by him to write to Erasmus, probably mentioning that he had seen the Great Man in Louvain when he was at studies there, and that, after some trouble in the disturbed world in which they lived, he had finally secured an 'ocium cum dignitate'. On April 21, 1533, Erasmus wrote a vague reply, which was brought to the point by a postscript, evidently added in result of a reminder by Goclenius, as the letter of Horion himself had been mislaid : he actually recalls a student of his name in Louvain, and complains himself of the irregular way in which the Emperor's Court pays him his pension. With the promise of his services

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1714, *pr* ; Gabbema, 23-4 ; ViglEB, 17.

²⁾ *LibIntIV*, 246, *r*.

³⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, *r*.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 155. — Campensis paid the fees for the boy until August 2, 1531 : *AccHoev.*, 3, *r*, and for his special care and tuition of one year, he himself received one pound : *MotJuris*, 64 ; *StudAtt.*, 34.

⁵⁾ The servant reached Louvain on December 28, 1530, and on Dec. 30, he returned with Michael and Campensis : *ManHoev.*, 5, *r* : *xxix^a decembris dedj mutuo M. Jo. Campensj qui altera die fuit cum me horion ad traiectum...*

⁶⁾ He paid the fees on February 2, 1532 : *ManHoev.*, 3, *r*.

and of his affection, the letter closes ¹⁾; it may have been followed up by others ²⁾, which do not seem to have survived to give more information about William of Horion, who was Lord of Ordange, 'Oerdinghen' ³⁾, and belonged to one of the old aristocratic families of Limburg ⁴⁾. He certainly had brought from Louvain the spirit of study; his interest was especially directed on history, in so far that he had been collecting from the reading of the Latin historians, commentaries on the most memorable events, so as to form an enchiridion, and with his chaplain he worked day by day to enrich it ⁵⁾. On that account Gerard Morinck, the literary adviser of the Abbot of St. Trond, George Sarens ⁶⁾, dedicated to him an edition of Rudolph Langius of Westphalia's *Historia Urbis Hierosolymæ*, in a letter, dated March 13, 1539 ⁷⁾, as well as the postscript to that book, introducing Adrian VI's judgment on the question whether monks were allowed to own private property with the permission of their superiors ⁸⁾. Although the book, which had been offered for

¹⁾ Allen, x, 2795, 19, sq, 24, sq; *Cran.*, 95, e; *MonHL*, 487, 489, 584.

²⁾ It was followed by a presentation copy of Erasmus' *Explanatio Symboli*, 1533, now in Trinity College, Cambridge: Allen, x, 2795, pr.

³⁾ Ordange came to William de Horion, Lord of Oley, in the xvth century, as the dowry of Marie d'Ordange, heiress. Another William de Horion married Barbara de Ghoer, Lady of Gheel; their daughter Barbara married Gauthier de Berlaymont de Floyon, Lord of Bomal († 1553). Ordange afterwards became the property of a Huyn d'Amstenraedt († 1584), as dowry of Digna de Horion, heiress; their daughter Herberte, wife of John de Wyenhorst, sold it to Count Edmond Huyn d'Amstenraedt, Commander of Oudebiezen (Vieux-Joncs), who erected it into a Commandery of the Teutonic Knights: *Daris*, xii, 22, sq; *NobPB*, i, 543; *FUL*, 4140-46; *ULDoc.*, iii, 487; *MonHL*, 487.

⁴⁾ A Herman de Horion, great bailiff of the county of Looz, was the executor of Cardinal de la Marck's testament: *MarckHalk.*, 248. — On the Louvain matriculation register of that period occur the names of 'Johannes filius Seruati de horion', rich student of the Castle, August 30, 1528, and of 'Gulielmus de Horion, filius Arnoldi, de Lumen', June 27, 1536: *LibIntIV*, 4, r, 86, v.

⁵⁾ *MorMS*, 364, v.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 476, sq, 482, sq; also 257-81, 461-584; *NijKron.*, i, 1541-46; and before, p 147.

⁷⁾ *MorMS*, 364, r, sq; *MonHL*, 486-87.

⁸⁾ *MorMS*, 365, r-367, r, 348, v; *MonHL*, 487; *AdriReus.*, xxxv, xlvii, 235-39 (*Consultatio pro Domino Abbate Averbodiensi*).

printing to Rescius ¹⁾, does not seem to have been published, the letters to Horion still exist in manuscript, and so does another memoir by Gerard Morinck on the right of ordinary people to catch or kill the game feeding on their harvest : it had been dedicated, on March 15, 1539, to Richard de la Rivière, Lord of Heer, but at his death, on October 25, 1540, it was inscribed 'D. Guillelmo ab Orion, D. ab Oordinghen &c' ²⁾. No wonder that a wealthy nobleman, who felt such an interest in erudites and learning should send his son to be educated in the famous *Trilingue* ³⁾, — at least for a time, for after the first days of April 1532, there are no traces of his stay in the incomplete accounts of the College ⁴⁾. By 1534, he had entered Cardinal Erard de la Marck's service as cup-bearer, *Pincerna*, as results from the letter of October 13, 1534, Antwerp, by which Joannes Placentius, 'Trudonensis, Poeta', dedicated to him his dialogue *Clericvs Eqves* ⁵⁾.

Herman Falco, of 'bubeca' ⁶⁾, who had been sent to Goclenius, and entered the *Trilingue* on October 25, 1531, did not stay very long ; for leaving on the eve of Epiphany 1532, he announced to his protector that he would not return ⁷⁾.

A few days later on October 31, 1531, the College got, as new boarder, Arnold Sasbout ⁸⁾, of Delft, son of Josse Sasbout, Lord of Spaland, member of Holland Council, Doctor Vtriusque

¹⁾ Letter of Morinck to Robert II de la Marck, Lord of Arenberg, March 12, 1538 : *MorMS*, 357, v ; *MonHL*, 487-88.

²⁾ *MorMS*, 349, r-356, v ; *MonHL*, 488-89.

³⁾ He possibly may have tried to make a second son enter the *Trilingue* as boarder ; maybe for want of room, he entered the Lily and matriculated, amongst the 'divites' of that pedagogy, on February 28, 1540 : Johannes Horion fil. guillielmj de leodio : *LibIntIV*, 131, r. — Other students of the same name, about that time in the same register, are : Johannes horion de remmen, leod. dioc. : September 16, 1537 ; Nicolaus horion de leodio — dives liliensis : February 28, 1538 ; Franciscus Horion, leodiens. : October 22, 1539 : *LibIntIV*, 103, v, 107, r, 128, r.

⁴⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, r, 5, r ; *MotJuris*, 64.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, S. Cocus, Nov. 1, 1535 : a 2, r, v : Placentius, a Dominican, wants to make him laugh amidst his serious occupations, and requests him to remind him to their 'Princeps' : *NijKron.*, II, 3732 ; *TypMus.*, 13.

⁶⁾ Probably identical with the place Busbeek, Busbecq, on the Lys, made famous by one of its Lords, Ghislain de Busbeek : cp. Ch. XIX.

⁷⁾ *ManHoev.*, 4, v.

⁸⁾ *ManHoev.*, 4, r.

Juris and poet, one of Erasmus' devoted friends, and a staunch protector of all erudites and literators, Dorp and Cranevelt amongst them ¹⁾. He matriculated on January 15, 1532 ²⁾ and soon became one of Goclenius' most responsive pupils, and what through visits, what by regular messages, he became the channel through which his father corresponded with Erasmus : on one occasion the latter even sent a letter for Sasbout leaving it open that Conrad might read it and judge whether it should be sent or not ³⁾. The father's spirit of active and protective humanism, for certain, passed to his son, for during his stay in Louvain, he had deserved the esteem and gratitude of Alard of Amsterdam ⁴⁾, who, publishing just then his *Epitome Primi Libri de Inventione Dialecticæ Rod. Agricolaë* ⁵⁾, dedicated it to him by a letter dated *e Collegio Trilingue* ⁶⁾. When that book appeared, Arnold Sasbout had returned to The Hague, having left the *Trilingue* on August 14, 1538 ⁷⁾ ; in the after years he proved worthy of the care which had been bestowed on him : he was soon appointed Councillor of Holland, in which office he gave a testimony about Rescius and his connections with the College, especially about the room which he had occupied for six months with Cornelius of Zegerscapelle, although Rescius declared that it had been reserved to himself all the time ⁸⁾. He married Mary van Heermale, and at his father's death, November 14, 1546 ⁹⁾, he succeeded him as Lord of Spalant.

¹⁾ *Gran.*, 113, a, 8, 111, 64, 123, 68 ; *Opmeer*, 1, 460 (with portrait) ; *BataoMart.*, 69 ; *MonHL*, 399, 96, 319, 326-29, 352, 392, 394, 400, 402.

²⁾ *LibIntIV*, 41, v.

³⁾ Letter of September 2, 1535, to Goclenius, in which he twice made the request : *Mitto epistolam ad Sasboutum apertam vt, si videtur, illi transmittas* : *Allen*, xi, 3052, 2-3, 17-18.

⁴⁾ *Gran.*, 96, *pr.*

⁵⁾ *Paris*, *Christ. Wechel*, 1539.

⁶⁾ *Epitome* &c, A 2, r : Alard may have stayed as a friend of Nannius in the College, for, whilst at work as teacher in Amsterdam, he was publishing Rudolph Agricola's writings at Cologne : *Gran.*, 96, e. Cp. *Gabbema*, 96-97.

⁷⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3*bis*, r ; *AccHoevII*, 5, v.

⁸⁾ *MotJuris*, 50, 63, *sq* ; *StudAtt.*, 27-31.

⁹⁾ He was buried at Arnhem : *Guicc.*, 185, quoting the epitaph in verse which he had composed himself ; he had also made some lines in praise of Martin van Dorp's works : *MonHL*, 319, 326-29, 399-400, 402. His son Arnold succeeded him as Gelderland Chancellor until he was appointed Privy Councillor : *Hoyneck*, 11, i, 310.

In 1567 he was appointed Chancellor of Gelderland, an office which his father had filled from 1543 to his decease ¹⁾. He became Chief and President of the Privy Council on June 1, 1572, but resigned that function in 1576, and spent a few years in retirement at The Hague, where he died in 1583 ²⁾. His daughter Cornelia had married Judocus de Cranevelt, Lord of Linden, grandson of Francis, the Mechlin Councillor ³⁾.

6. LATER ENTRIES

A. BOISSET AND ASSENDELFT

On May 24, 1532, a new boarder came to the College, **Marcurinus de Boisset**, a native of Dôle ⁴⁾, who had been studying in Louvain for several years, having matriculated on August 30, 1524, as rich student of the Castle, together with his countryman, and perhaps relative, 'Claudius boilet — or Boisset — of Polignac' ⁵⁾. They, or, at least, Marcurinus was related to the archdeacon of Arras and Imperial Councillor, Claude de Boisset ⁶⁾, Doctor of both Laws, native of Burgundy, who was Dean of Our Lady's, at Dôle, and of St. Hippolyte's, Poligny, commendatory Abbot of Faverney, provost of the Cathedral of Utrecht, from 1522 to 1530, and of St. Rombaut's, at Mechlin, from September 1538 to his death, on August 19, 1546 ⁷⁾. Evidently Marcurinus wished to acquire a graceful and classic Latin, which had to serve him in his juridical career : already in Louvain he made himself appreciated, for

¹⁾ Hoyneck, I, II, 413, II, I, 310 ; *Cran.*, *lxiv*.

²⁾ *Cran.*, *lxxxii*, 113, a ; Guicc., 186, 199 ; Opmeer, I, 460, with portrait ; *BataoMart.*, 75 ; *ConPri.*, I, 56, II, 20 ; *ConPriT*, 30-31 ; Hoyneck, I, II, 413, 855, II, I, 310 ; *NBW* ; Allen, IV, 1092, 15 ; *BrabNobl.*, 492.

³⁾ *Cran.*, *lxiii-lxiv*, *lxxxii*.

⁴⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, v.

⁵⁾ Marcurinus boijssetus de dola / Claudius boiletus de poliniaco { <both> Bisuntinen. dioc. Castr. divites : August 30, 1524 : *LibIntIV*, 317, r ; *Excerpts*, 105.

⁶⁾ His name is also written Boiset, Bousset, and, probably wrongly, Boisot, or Boissot.

⁷⁾ Hoyneck, I, I, 113, 115, III, I, 160, II, 311 ; Gestel, I, 41 ; Henne, II, 323, III, 244, IV, 348 ; *ConPri.*, II, 3 ; *ConPriT*, 66 ; Bruchet, 60, 66, 100, 183, 249, 429, &c ; *MargAutE*, 120, 154.

he is recorded amongst the deans of the gathering of students of Law called *Collegium Baccalaureorum Juris Utriusque* ¹⁾. He remained in the *Trilingue* during sixteen months : he left on October 15, 1533, and was replaced by his brother William de Boisset, who, in his turn, took his leave on May 29, 1534 ²⁾.

On June 6, 1532, the *Trilingue* welcomed as new boarder Nicolas of Assendelft, of The Hague. His father was Gerard, Lord of Assendelft, Heemskerk, Cralingen and Honingen, Knight ³⁾, Councillor of Holland ⁴⁾ who, at Nicolas Everaerts' promotion to President of the Great Council of Mechlin, on September 20, 1528 ⁵⁾, succeeded him as President of Holland ; he consequently took a prominent part in all the events that happened in those days ⁶⁾, until his death at The Hague, on December 5, 1558, ⁷⁾. Gerard van Assendelft was a generous favourer of all erudites ; he was Martin van Dorp's friend and protector ⁸⁾, especially in the difficulties of the closing months of 1519, as the Louvain professor announced on November 28, 1519, to Erasmus, whose ardent admirer Assendelft proved ⁹⁾. Most naturally, when, a year afterwards,

¹⁾ 'Mercurinus de Boisset, Dolensis' : VAnd., 211 : as no dates are indicated, it is hardly possible to gauge the exact time of his election.

²⁾ *ManHoev.*, 3, v ; *AccHoevII*, 6, r.

³⁾ He was born about 1488, the son of Nicolas, Lord of Assendelft, recorded for a lease in 1487 (Fruin, 388), against whose appointment as councillor of Holland John of Egmont protested in vain on May 13, 1514, on account of his living separated from his wife, and especially of being of the 'Hoeksche' faction : Bergh, II, 95-98. His grandfather was Gerard, Lord of Assendelft, Heemskerk and Cralingen, receiver general for Holland, who had studied in Cologne, 1430 (Keussen, 166, 50) and had married Beatrice van Daelhem or Dongen, Lady of Besoyen and Heinenoord : Fruin, 120, 343, 372-73 ; *MonHL*, 96.

⁴⁾ He is mentioned for the part he took in several proceedings against heretics from 1526 : *CorpInq.*, v, 112, 226, 290, &c ; *HoopSch.*, 386, 393, 480.

⁵⁾ *Gran.*, 123, c.

⁶⁾ E. g., in the transferring of the civil authority of the Utrecht diocese to Charles V in 1529 : Hoyneck, II, i, 34, III, i, 82, 93.

⁷⁾ *MonHL*, 95-97 ; Henne, VII, 335 ; *VigIEL*, 34, 36 ; *VigIEA*, 15 ; *SonnE*, 12-14 ; *BatawMart.*, 104 ; *BibReNe*, I, 616.

⁸⁾ Dorp praised Assendelft in his Apology to Meinard Man : *MonHL*, 78, 95-99, 218, &c.

⁹⁾ Allen, IV, 1044, 20 : the letter only mentions *doctus dominus de Assendelft*, which, for certain, applies to the Lord of Assendelft, namely

thunderclouds thickened about the *Trilingue* and about himself, the great Humanist applied to his powerful countryman, and wrote about December 1520, the letter explaining the way in which he himself looked at things, and which he evidently addressed to a man who could and would stretch out to him a helping hand if it should be needed ¹). That, once the immediate danger was passed, Gerard still wished for some token of Erasmus' friendship and favour, is quite natural; and that his old love for the Scholar had not cooled down, is amply proved by his insistence with Quirinus Talesius for a token of friendship, which was rewarded by some hearty greetings ²) and the glorious letter of October 29, 1532 ³): the happiness it brought led to the princely gift offered to the 'Ornament of Holland' by his devoted admirers ⁴).

Nicolas van Assendelft matriculated on August 18, 1532 ⁵)

Gerard, at the time, and certainly not the Hugo of 'Assendelft', of Haarlem, canon and consul at The Hague, as suggested by Allen, iv, 1044, 26 : for surely, he was not the *Lord* of Assendelft, and he is never mentioned in Dorp's writings : he does not even seem to have been a proper relation, for amongst the most circumstantial annotations of that canon in his missal (cp. *MemAss.*; *Busl.*, 406), there is not the least mention of Gerard, whose promotion to President of Holland Council, should for certain have been recorded, if he had actually been of the family.

¹) Allen, iv, 1166 : that letter can hardly have been addressed to the canon Hugo of Assendelft, who had no real authority; and certainly not to Cornelius Hoen, who himself was under heavy suspicion; of the other possible addressees suggested by Allen, one, Abbot Meinard Man, does not seem to have been in correspondence with Erasmus, who only wrote a most business-like letter to the second, Bucho, in reply to an inquiry : Allen, iv, 1166, *pr.*, 1237, x, 2800, 92, *n.*

²) Letter to Jodocus Sasbout, May 3, 1532 : Allen, x, 2800, 92.

³) Allen, x, 2734.

⁴) Allen, x, 2819, 2-10.

⁵) *LibIntIV*, 47, *r* : Nicolaus ab Assendelft filius d. gerardi Hagen. — The Albert of A., canon of St. Mary's, Middelburg : Fruin, 88, 497, was probably his brother; the 'Paulus & Cornelius de assendelft'; who matriculated in Louvain on August 9, 1555 : *LibIntIV*, 312, *r*, may have been his relatives, possibly his sons. The 'Johannes wilhelmi de Assendelft' was probably a native of that place : *LibNomI*, 79, *r*, 113, *v*, 139, *v*, 143, *r*, 163, *v*, 177, *r*. — 'Nicolas de Assendelft', exchanged on February 18, 1520, with Cornelius de Assendelft, the 'vicariatus' of St. Catherine, Alkmaar : *BrArEc.*, 17307 : *f* xxii, *r* : both of them were apparently also priests born there. Adrian of Assendelft, pensionary of Haarlem, was ignominiously killed at Delft on Jan. 9, 1573 : *BatawMart.*, 84, 109.

and staid several years in the *Trilingue* ¹⁾ : he evidently was still there when Van der Hoeven rendered his second account up to December 1534 ²⁾ ; yet he is not mentioned any more in Goclenius' second account, beginning September 10, 1537 ³⁾. Probably he had started by that time the study of Law, in which he was so prominent that he was chosen dean of the *Collegium Baccalaureorum Utriusque Juris* ⁴⁾ : the list wrongfully adds that he became 'Præses Consilii supremi Comitatus Hollandiæ', mixing him up with his father. Indeed Nicholas does not seem to have filled any office, and Guicciardini could only praise him for his virtues and his erudition by which he made himself worthy of his great parent ⁵⁾.

B. THE SAUVAGE BROTHERS

On January 26, 1533, the little family of the *Trilingue* was enlarged by one more student, John le Sauvage, Sylvagius, or Sylvanus ⁶⁾, son of John, a member of the Privy Council ⁷⁾, who, in his family had learned the glorious traditions of humanism and literary patronage. His grandfather John le Sauvage, 'Eques auratus', Lord of Schoubeke, Itterbeek, Ligny and Sterrebeek, Great Chancellor of Castile and Burgundy ⁸⁾,

¹⁾ *ManHoev.*, 4, v ; *AccHoevII*, 5, r. — showing payment of the fees up to June 5, 1534. ²⁾ *AccHoevII*, 44, r. ³⁾ *AccGocl.*, 1, r.

⁴⁾ *VAnd.*, 211 : the list has no dates : *Nicolas Assendelfus* precedes by six turns *Mercurinus de Boisset*.

⁵⁾ *Guicc.*, 200 : Nicolaum Assendelfium, Gerardi jamdicti filium, virtute & litteris inclytum, ac dignam tanto parente prolem.

⁶⁾ *ManHoev.*, 2, v.

⁷⁾ John le Sauvage was appointed member of Charles of Austria's Privy Council at its foundation, July 23, 1517, with the title of Master of the Requests, and with higher wages than any of the other members, except Gerard de Plaine. He inherited his father's title of Lord of Schoubeke and Sterrebeek : *Henne*, II, 201, 323 ; *ConPri.*, I, 19 ; *ConPriT*, 61.

⁸⁾ *Busl.*, 93, sq. After having been for a time President of the Council of Flanders, John le Sauvage was appointed President of Margaret of Austria's Privy Council, June 24, 1508 ; he became Chancellor of Brabant in 1509, notwithstanding Margaret's opposition, and Great Chancellor on January 17, 1515, at the coming of age of Charles of Austria, whose full confidence he shared with William de Chièvres and Adrian of Utrecht : *Walther*, 34, 92, 101, 150, 212 ; *Henne*, I, 64, 87, 194, 201, 219, II, 88, 150-76 ; *BruxBas.*, I, 80-81 ; *Hoyneck*, III, II, 379 ; *FlandCon.*, 61-62 ; *Allen*, II, 410, pr ; *Cran.*, 66, 10, 89, b-d, 114, a, 142, a, 46, 31.

was, according to the English ambassador Spinelli, 'a man of great prudence and experience, plain and true, that had no fellow like him in all the King's country beyond sea' ¹⁾. He showed kind generosity towards Erasmus, and provided him with the prebend of Courtrai ²⁾. His death at Saragossa on June 7, 1518, shows his staunch fidelity in the service of his princely master, as well as his intimate friendship with Jerome de Busleyden, who, from Paris, was his fellow-traveller on that journey which proved fatal to both ³⁾: he collected the last words and wishes of his friend dying at Bordeaux, and, fully realizing the greatness of the plan of founding a *Trilingue*, he gave the closest attention and the help of his great experience and authority to its execution, even before crossing the Pyrenees ⁴⁾. His widow, Antoinette d'Oignies, bought the splendid mansion of Busleyden at Mechlin ⁵⁾, and her grandson had, no doubt, been familiarized with the lofty spirit of the great patron of arts and literature, before entering the College that he had founded in Louvain.

John le Sauvage, who matriculated in August 1533 ⁶⁾, was soon joined by his brother Francis ⁷⁾, who was *intitulatus* on February 25, 1535 ⁸⁾; and for several years, they occupied together the large room which once had been that of Rescius ⁹⁾. On his entry John was accompanied by a 'minister', Peter Sandelicus, of The Hague, who may have acted as

¹⁾ Brewer, II, ii, p 1309.

²⁾ Allen, II, 370, 18, 393, 410, 436, 5, &c; *MonHL*, 162. In his letter of February 27, 1532, Erasmus testifies to Sauvage's kindness, which made him break off all hope on settling in England. He further declares that the Chancellor liked his writings and his conversation, and wanted his company every day at dinner or supper, being displeased when he did not come; but it happened that Erasmus often had waited for him in vain as late as twelve o'clock, and had to return to his lodgings, hungry and cold, in bitter winter nights, at times when the streets were unsafe on account of Spaniards: Allen, IX, 2613, 7-13; *OlaE*, 201.

³⁾ Cp. I, 17, sq. 50, 55.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 10, 30.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 2, v, 28, v; *Busl.*, 112-13.

⁶⁾ Joannes Sylvagius, Bruxellensis: *LibIntIV*, 56, v.

⁷⁾ *AccHoevII*, 6, r: the fees for the boarding of John 'Silvani' are reckoned there from July 25, 1533 to July 25, 1534: those for Francis, from October 3, 1533 to October 3, 1534; the dates for John start 6 months after his entry, January 26, 1533.

⁸⁾ *LibIntIV*, 73, r: 'Franciscus Silvagius'.

⁹⁾ *MotJuris*, 63; *AccHoevII*, 39, v; *StudAtt.*, 28.

tutor, secretary, and possibly, as servant : he boarded in the *Trilingue* at the '*ij^a mensa*' ¹⁾; still he studied himself, for he matriculated a few months even before his master, whom he, no doubt, helped with his lessons ²⁾ : most probably he was not related very nearly, — if at all, — to Adrian Sandelin, although being his townsman ³⁾. He did not stay long, for from the 25th of July, 1533, he had been replaced by John de Burick ⁴⁾. The accounts mention that Francis le Sauvage left the College on August 19, 1538, with his servant Stephen Faukurius ; his brother had evidently taken his leave before September 1537, since he is no longer amongst the boarders in the second account of Goclenius, beginning on the 10th of that month ⁵⁾. He is probably identical with the 'Jehan le Saulvage, Seigneur d'Escaubecque', who was one of the deputies of the confederated noblemen who signed an agreement with government on August 25, 1566 ⁶⁾.

C. TRANSITORY INMATES

Returning from Paris on September 11, 1534, Cornelius Suys ⁷⁾ came with a new inmate to the College, Jerome of Vienna ⁸⁾ : *Hieronimus de vyenna*, as his name is recorded in

¹⁾ Van der Hoeven notes in his *Manuale* that he entered the College on January 26, 1533, and that John Sylvagius paid xxxvj Rh. fl. for him, instead of l as for himself : he shared the table of the bursars : *ManHoev.*, 2, v.

²⁾ Peter Sandelicus de Hags : March 1533 : *LibIntIV*, 55, v.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 225, sq : it would have been most uncomfortable to live in an institute as a servant at the bursars' table whilst his relative boarded with the professors.

⁴⁾ Item voer den montcost Johannis de burick dienere der voirs. gebrueders Siluanorum van den xxv^{ten} July annj xxxiij toet den xxv July annj xxxiiij : *AccHoevII*, 6, r.

⁵⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3^{bis}, r : Item voer den montcost Stephanj faûkuriy dienaer van francisci Syluagij voer een gheheel jaer terminerende xxix Julij Anno xv C xxxviiij Ende noch xxi daghen totten neghentiensten Augusti.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, II, ii, 102. — The Francisca Silvagia, widow of Engelbert van Daele, Brabant Chancellor († December 21, 1556), who died on January 28, 1572 : *BruxBas.*, I, 47, may have been a sister ; so may have been Marie Sauvage, widow of the Brabant Councillor Josse van der Dussen († December 20, 1532), who deceased October 20, 1551 : *BruxBas.*, I, 129-30.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 376-78 ; and p 223.

⁸⁾ He may have been a relation to the 'Joannes Hadrianus, filius

van der Hoeven's manual ¹⁾, but not in his last account, from December 1, 1533 to December 1, 1534. He probably did not remain very long ; his family remains as much a guess as the length of his stay ²⁾).

When, on October 9, 1534, Cornelius of Zegerscapelle left the *Trilingue* ³⁾, the room which he had occupied and which had been that of Rescius, was inhabited for a time by Charles Souastre ⁴⁾ before it was taken by the two brothers John and Francis le Sauvage ⁵⁾. His name is not mentioned in the accounts of van der Hoeven (1 Dec. '33-1 Dec. '34) or Goclenius (10 Sept. '37-10 Sept. '38) that have survived, which, with the fact that his room was granted to the two brothers, does not suggest a very long sojourn. He may have been a relation, if not a son, of Philip de Souvastre or de Bonnières, Lord of Bousseval, who was Margaret of Austria's 'Maistre d'hotel' in the last years of her life ⁶⁾).

Charles Souastre's name closes the list of the paying inmates of the *Trilingue* during van der Hoeven's presidency for as far as they are known, no documents having survived for 1535 and 1536 ; still the number of the residents during those years cannot have been very large, as there was still a group of *commensales* who had entered before December 1534, and the College could not keep an indefinite number of boarders. It results from the fact that William de Boisset could only enter when his elder brother Marcurinus left ⁷⁾. On that

Joannis de Vienna, austria, patavienis dioc.', inscribed in Louvain on February 7, 1530 : *LibIntIV*, 20, v. ¹⁾ *ManHoev.*, 2, v.

²⁾ It is hardly possible that he should be identical with the 'Jheronimus liefeling Weenensis ex Austria', who matriculated in Louvain on August 2, 1536, for he was one of a group of four, intitulating together, namely, 'Ludouicus Carinus de lucerna helueticus (viz., Louis Kiel : cp. I, 392-93, II, 26-28, &c), Erasmus hadenreich ænipontanus ex ciuitate berolis <Berolzhaim ?> & Matheus herman augustanus', — no doubt the master on a tour throughout Western Europe with three of his disciples : *LibIntIV*, 87, v.

³⁾ Cp. II, 385-86 ; and p 223.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 63 ; *StudAtt.*, 28.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 239-41.

⁶⁾ Henne, IV, 16, 188 : Sonastre : Account of John de Berghes : Sept. 18, 1528 : *BelgArch.*, Comptes, 15203 : 26. — On October 18, 1524, Margaret sent Souvastre to put order in the economy of the household of King Christiern II and Isabella, Queen of Denmark : Cartwright, 44, 46, 85, 91 ; LantzCor., I, 145 ; AltRel., 106, 112-21. ⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 237.

account Goclenius had to write, on July 12, 1536, to his friend Damian a Goes ¹⁾, who wished his nephew to be accepted as inmate, that he could not follow out what affection and gratitude prompted him to do; since the College authorities could not take in more *commensales* than the number agreed upon with the University in the first days of the foundation. Busleyden's will limited to eight the young men that could be admitted to share the *prima mensa* with their professors, and avail themselves of the practice of their conversation ²⁾; the University had decided to incorporate the Institute on the strength of those regulations, which had thus become statutes: trespassing on them would lay the privilege conceded open to question ³⁾. Goclenius, regretting that the granting did not lie in his 'forum', promised to take an active interest in the boy's studies, and he praised Barlandus as a most reliable tutor, for it seems that Francis de Houwer, Hoverius ⁴⁾, whom Goes had entrusted with the matter, preferred him to Rutger Rescius ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ GoesOp, d 1, r; cp. before, p 53. The 'nepos' may have been the son of one of the officials of the Portuguese Factory, or of an Antwerp merchant of his nation: Goris, 623; still it is possible that he was sent over from Portugal for his education.

²⁾ *Test.*, 44.

³⁾ It is a well known fact that the Faculty of Arts did not like the idea of the *Trilingue* becoming a fifth pedagogy, and no doubt difficulties might have been raised if the number of boarders should ever be increased.

⁴⁾ Francis Houwers, or de Houwer, *Hoverius*, of Mechlin, studied in Louvain at the same time as Nicolas Beken, and in the same pedagogy of the Porc; he promoted Master of Arts in 1515, and was classed the 9th. He continued his studies and accepted nominations in Louvain until he became teacher of Latin at Mechlin, and was, by 1522, rector of the Great-School on Wool-Market. He resigned by 1531, and spent some time in Paris; in 1536, he was in Rome. He then returned to Mechlin, and started teaching once more, whilst enjoying some prebend in St. Rombaut's: E. Steenackers, *La Grande-École à Malines* (1450-1630): Mechlin, 1921: 31-33; Henne, v, 61, sq; *MonHL*, 413, 614; *ClénCorr.*, II, 17, 24. — De Houwer's name appears on two short poems by Janus Secundus; and the letters of Clenardus to him were as the beginning of the *Epistolæ* of the great son of Diest, of which the (3) first editions, 1550-1561, were dedicated to him: *JSecOp.*, 123; *ClénCorr.*, I, letters 4, 5, 7, 34, 45, 46, II, 161. Cp. *ULPromLv.*, 6.

⁵⁾ Letter of Goclenius: Louvain, July 12, 1536, to Goes: GoesOp, c 4, v-d 1, v.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
<i>Trilingue</i> : architectural detail	<i>pp 103</i>
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	178
Entrance to the <i>Wendelsteen</i> (cp. II, pp 48, 52)	382
Doorway leading to Lecture Room.	457
Corridor leading to the <i>Wendelsteen</i>	529
Goclenius' receipt of an Annuity, June 26, 1538	584
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	594

CORRIGENDA

On p 61, n 2, l 3,	<i>please read</i>	Peter	<i>instead of</i>	Cornelius
»		1530 to 1539		1527 to 1532
» 240, l 1		Spinelly		Spinelli
» 280, n 3, l 4,		Brimeu de Meghen		Brimere de Meghem
» 327, l 2		strengthened		strenghtened
» 457, l 12		March 28		March 27
» 605, n 21-22		Agricolæ		Agricola

CHAPTER XVII

PRESIDENCY OF VAN DER HOEVEN

IV. STUDENTS AND RULERS

1. PEDAGOGUES AND POETS

A. FIRST ARRIVALS

If it is impossible to reconstruct the series of the regular bursars, whose names were rarely entered into the College records, it is just as hard to give a list of those students who attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*. As they were free ¹⁾, and as everybody was welcome to take advantage of them, it is only through the information casually provided by the recipients of that benefit in later life, that a very incomplete idea can be made of the groups that crowded daily the lecture hall, which, in 1530, had to be widened ²⁾.

Amongst those groups was at that very time a native of Aarhus, in Denmark, **James Jespersen**, **Jaspari**, who had matriculated on May 18, 1529 ³⁾, and who studied zealously under the guidance of Rescius and his colleagues. He started teaching Greek under Livinus Crucius, head of the school of Bailleul ⁴⁾; then entered the service of James Canta, chamberlain of Cardinal Campeggio, the Legate ⁵⁾, and, at his return

¹⁾ Cp. Erasmus' letter praising the *Trilingue* to Boniface Amerbach for Froben's son, Nov. 4, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2231, 8.9 : Locus est elegans, Academia frequens, multæ lectiones publicæ, et quidem gratis.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 12-15.

³⁾ *LibIntIV*, 13, v ; Jørgensen, 389.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 288, a.

⁵⁾ Letter of Campensis to Dantiscus, July 25, 1531 (*DantE*, 147 ; cp. before, p 173) : Rescius, wishing for a printing privilege of Campensis' books, was helped by their late hearer Jespersen.

to Italy, in November 1531, that of Nicolas Olah. He was that great man's Greek tutor and, from the very beginning, served as ready intermediary between him and his former professors Rescius and Goclenius ¹). He became known to several important personages, like Erasmus and Dantiscus, both of whom he disappointed, at least in the beginning ²), through a lack of discretion in his serviability. He also taught Greek to Francis of Burgundy of Fallais and to Rutger Pathius, his master's friends ³), and studied languages himself. When Olah returned to his native country in 1539, he accompanied him, but left his service in 1540 to settle at Antwerp ⁴). It was about then that he lost his sight, which, by 1543, he at least had partly recovered ⁵). He had then been married for some time ⁶), and made a living by teaching the three languages, whilst composing verses in honour of all those who might become his Mæcenas : thus, in 1541 (July 10), an *Epithalamium*

¹) Allen, ix, 2570, 52-58 ; OlaE, 168 (November 20, 1531), 178 (Christmas, 1531), &c.

²) Referring to Jespersen's epigrams on Scaliger and his sudden outburst of displeasure, Erasmus wrote to Olah, on April 19, 1533, that he wished him to be a bishop in Denmark : plus nocet intempestiva benevolentia, quam faceret inimicus : OlaE, 352, 278 ; Allen, x, 2792, 52-56 ; one year later, April 22, he sends him friendly greetings excusing his not writing by his illness : OlaE, 492 ; Allen, x, 2923, 33-34. — Dantiscus had resented his indiscretion : OlaE, 212 ; Allen, x, 2644, 24-25, 2646, 12-13.

³) OlaE, 168, 178, 188.

⁴) He probably belonged to the *familia* of Roger de Taxis, son of John Baptist, the Imperial Post-Master ; born at Mechlin, he was Provost of St. Peter's, Louvain and as such University Chancellor from 1532 ; canon and, from 1545, dean of Our Lady's, Antwerp : he died an octogenarian on March 14, 1593 : VAnd., 59 ; Vern., 42 ; AntvDiercx., vi, 283-85 ; Cran., 108, 22 ; MélMoell., II, 115. Crucius wanted to be remembered to him when, in 1543, he sent the *Parænesis* to be edited by Jespersen, and Nicolas Grudius suggests Taxis, as hospes, to bury Jaspar's poems at his death : cp. further, p 246 ; BB, c, 267, 5-6.

⁵) He complains of his blindness in the *Epithalamium D. Fr. a Lotharingia* (Antwerp, 1541), in a poem he added : *De Authore cæco. Votum* (4 lines : B 4, v) : BB, J, 25, 34 ; — in the summer of 1534, when Jespersen suffered from dropsy, Olah had seen to his being well attended : OlaE, 500, 507, 1512.

⁶) There is amongst Olah's poems, one entitled *Ad Iacobum Danum meditabundum* : OlaCar., 9 ; judging from the text, the last word of the title is a misreading of *maritabundum*, as it evidently refers to the marriage which Jespersen wished, and yet was afraid, to contract.

for Princess Christina of Denmark and Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Bar ¹⁾; in 1544, *Anactobiblion, Et Heroepe* to the Princes Ferdinand and Maximilian of Austria ²⁾; in 1546, *Encomium Angliæ*, dedicated to Henry VIII ³⁾; in 1544, *Genethliacon* on Mary, daughter of René, Prince of Orange ⁴⁾, besides epitaphs on the wives of Francis de Cranevelt, Elizabeth de Baussele, 1545, of Cornelius de Schepper, Isabella d'Onche, August 20, 1548 ⁵⁾, and of Erasmus Schets, Ida van Rechtungen, Lady of Bernsbeek, 1548 ⁶⁾. He wrote a *Genealogia Filiorum Nicolai Everardi*, 1549 ⁷⁾, dedicated to Nicolas Grudius, — and yet the latter wrote a most unkind quatrain : *De Iac. Gasparo Dano, Versificatore inepto*, suggesting that his verses should be buried with him ⁸⁾. All the same, many friends praised Jespersen's poems in their epigrams ⁹⁾, not for

¹⁾ Antwerp, John Grapheus : *BB*, J, 25 ; cp. *CollTorr.*, 76. — His sight improved by 1543 when he corrected the *Parænesis*, as he announces in a short reply to a letter of the author, both being inserted in Crucius' book : *BB*, c, 267, 5-6.

²⁾ Antwerp, John van der Loe : that bundle contains poems in honour of Charles V and Empress Isabella, of Godschalk Ericksen and other great political personages, with laudatory verses on the author by F. de Cranevelt : *BB*, J, 29.

³⁾ Antwerp, Giles Coppens : it contains epigrams and poems celebrating the Royal Children, as well as many political and ecclesiastical personages in England : amongst them, the Imperial ambassadors Francis van der Dift and Cornelius de Schepper ; it has poems in praise of the author by F. de Cranevelt, the town graphiarius Joachim Polites, and others : *BB*, J, 30 ; F. Donnet, *Dames d'Honneur de Marie Stuart* : Antwerp, 1902 : 9.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, John Loeus, 1544 : *BB*, J, 27 ; Opmeer, I, 471, a.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Giles Coppens, 1548 : *BB*, J, 34.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, Giles Coppens, 1548 : *BB*, J, 33.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, Giles Coppens, 1549 : *BB*, J, 49.

⁸⁾ *DelPoBel.*, II, 589-90; Nic. Grudii *Epigrammatum Libri II* : Leyden, 1612 : 67; the quatrain, which runs as follows, was, probably, caused by the confusion that two graves were prepared for him, one by the sexton, another by his appreciating host, Roger de Taxis :

Vate scrobem Dano geminam moriente pararunt,
Tassius hinc hospes, hinc pius ædituus.

Erroremne putas ? an factum numine diuum ?

Condat vt hæc artus ? altera versiculos ?

⁹⁾ Such were Francis de Cranevelt, Gaspar Schets, Cornelius Grapheus ; *Cran.*, 281, c. John Placentius, in his dedication to Olah of *Lucianus Aulicus*, October 12, 1534, also praises 'Jacobus Arrhusius', a friend of

their depth or spontaneity, but for their grace and humour, as well as for his unmistakable gift of pleasing the great; it came in good stead to the author, whose prospects were never brilliant; he thus, most fortunately, propagated a taste for literature and study in families which, up to then, had been inaccessible to poets and erudites ¹).

Another of the students who witnessed the beginning of van der Hoeven's presidency, was **Paul Liebaert**, who became famous under the name of **Leopardus** ²). He was born about 1510 at Isenberghe, near Furnes, and went to study in Louvain, where he came, possibly through Clenardus, under the influence of the professors of the *Trilingue*, especially Goclenius and Rescius. He soon started teaching and had even rented a house, where he both provided tuition and boarding to his pupils ³). By 1535 he returned to his native country ⁴); he taught for a time at Nieuport ⁵), and then opened a school at Hondschoote, where he was still at work in 1552, since, on November 11, he dedicated there to the town council his *Vita, & Chriæ, sive Apophthegmata Aristippi, Diogenis, Demonactis, Stratonis, Demosthenis & Aspasiæ* ⁶). He afterwards took the lead of the school of Bergues-St. Winoc, where

five year's standing : *Clericus Eques* : Antwerp, Simon Cocus, Nov. 1, 1535 : e 1, v ; NijKron, II, 3732.

¹) OlaE, *passim* ; OlaCar., 3, 8, 9, 17-19, 21, 23-24 ; FG, 192, 226, 376 ; BB, I, 25-36, 49 ; Cran., 281, a-c ; Allen, IX, 2570. — One of his poems, on Antwerp and her fortifications constructed by Charles V, is quoted in *SweMon.*, 39-40. He wrote an epitaph on Erasmus : cp. Ch. XVIII, 4.

²) The Charles Leopardus, ex Meessene (Messines), who was placed the 9th at the promotion of the *Artes* in 1538, may have been a relative : *ULPromRs.*, 94.

³) On January 22, 1550, Nannius wishes Leopardus to return to Louvain and teach ; he reminds him of his former tutoring : *Audiui te iam pridem domum Louanij conductam habuisse* : *Em&Misc.*, *4, v.

⁴) On October 30, 1550, Nannius expresses his regret to Leopardus not to have known him earlier : his first letter to him being dated May 30, 1549 (*Em&Misc.*, *4, v, sq), he cannot have met him when, in the autumn of 1535, he resorted to Louvain after the break-down of the Alkmaar school (Polet, 9, 306).

⁵) When, in the second half of 1536, James de Meyere bewails Erasmus' death, he mentions, amongst the afflicted erudites throughout Flanders, '*Et portu Leopardus in nouello*' (*EraCat.*, M, 5, v), evidently Nieuport : cp. further Ch. XVIII.

⁶) Antwerp, Joannes Withagius, 1556.

he toiled at his chief work, the twenty books of emendations and explanations of Latin and Greek authors. By 1545 he had sent a first choice to be printed by Rescius, who died before they were taken in hand; he had them returned, and by unceasingly enriching and improving them, he made them ready for printing in November 1565 in a fine collection, which he dedicated to the town authorities of Bèrgues. Part of them appeared in 1568 at Antwerp, at Christopher Plantin's office as *Emendationum Et Miscellaneorum Libri XX. In quibus plurima tam in Græcis quam Latinis auctoribus a nemine hactenus animadversa aut intellecta, explicantur & emendantur. Tomus Prior, libros X continens* ¹⁾. Unfortunately Leopardus did not see the book published: he died on June 3, 1567 at Bergues-St. Winoc in the arms of his dear disciple John Lheureux, *Macarius*, afterwards canon of Aire, and was buried in St. Martin's church. The latter ten books were edited first in 1604, in the third volume of Janus Gruterus' *Fax Artium, seu Thesaurus Criticus*. It is on that work that Leopardus' fame is principally based: his criticism is of a very high value through its erudition, its common sense and its judicial taste.

He was greatly appreciated for his excellent work, and made friends with the famous physician William Pantin ²⁾, with the erudite Francis Nanseus ³⁾ and with Peter Nannius.

¹⁾ *Goltzius*, 29-30.

²⁾ Cp. further in this chapter, 4, B.

³⁾ Francis Nans, Nanseus, a nobleman, born in 1525 at Isenberghe, like Leopardus, was fully trained by the latter, so that he devoted all his time to studies and taught himself his relative Francis van der Mauden, Modius (cp. further, § 3 of this sect.). He thus became a collaborator at Bruges of the Laurins, of Adolf of Meetkerke, Bruges treasurer, the jurisprudent James Rævardus, and the antiquarian Hubert Goltz, (cp. Chs. XXIII, XXV), as Mark Laurin mentioned to their friend Stephen Pigge in his letter of March 30, 1563 (PigE, 181). His attention was directed, not only to de Spouter's grammar, but to several Greek authors: he thus became the friend and correspondent of Justus Lipsius (JLipsEM, II, 36), of Janus Dousa (Th. Crenius, *Animadversiones Philologicæ et Historicæ*: Leyden, 1699: v, 149-52), of Andrew Schott (SchottE, 101) and Bonaventura Vulcanius (VulcE, 496), as well as of Abraham Ortelius (Hessels, I, 108, 121, 255, 518), and Christopher Plantin (PlantE, v, 9, 11, VIII, 568-9, 589). He had become councillor of the Franc de Bruges, 1575-1580, and was, even for a time, mayor (PlantE, v, 9; *FlandIII.*, II, 187); as, however, he chose the party of William of Orange, he had to

The latter probably made his acquaintance through the *libelli* of the *Emendationes*, which had been sent to Louvain, and which he mentions in several of the letters which were published as preliminaries in the edition of 1568 ¹). The two erudites corrected each other's manuscripts, and encouraged each other to have their works printed; Nannius insisted that his highly valued friend, whose acquaintance he had made only recently, should settle in Louvain and take up teaching there, for which he promised his ready help ²). Still Liebaert preferred working in a forlorn corner of his native country, as was also his wife's wish, rather than reaping well-deserved honours in a large centre. He thus spent his energies, for as far as his weak health allowed ³), in teaching and in writing masterly criticism and comments: men like Justus Lipsius, Scaliger and Casaubon did not know whether his erudition was the more conspicuous or the modesty with which he hid his great deserts ⁴).

emigrate to the new Republic: he took the lead of a School at Leyden, and then taught Greek at Dordrecht, where he had as pupil Gerard Vossius, and died a septuagenarian in 1595. He had edited a commented translation of Nonnus' *Paraphrasis S. Evangelii secundum Joannem* (Leyden, Raphelengius, 1589), as well as Plato's *Menos*, edited in Paris; he also left manuscript comments on Theocritus, Hesiod, Callimachus, Theognis, Phocylides, Pythagoras and Plutarch, kept in Leyden Library. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 236; *BelPU*, 114; *CollTorr.*, 128; *SaxOnom.*, 392, 355; *FlandScript.*, 52, 94, 130; *FlandOHR*, II, 5, sq; Gabbema, 706, sq; Hessels, I, 743 (mentioning that in 1598 his books were with his son Francis, Middelburg physician: *MB*, XII, 80); *Brug&Fr.*, II, 240, IV, 301 (his daughter Mary Nans). Louis Carrion (cp. Ch. XIX) dedicated to Nans, mayor of the Franc, his *Antiquæ Lectiones* (Antwerp, 1576).

¹) Cp. *Em&Misc.*, *4, r-*6, v; Polet, 306, 309, 311-15, 318, 320 (also 17, 31, 116, 163, 189). — In his letters Nannius mentioned the interest which his friend Thierry de Langhe, Langius, of Enkhuizen, who taught Greek in the *Trilingue* from 1560 to 1578, took in Leopardus' writings (*ibid.*, 311, 314).

²) Letter of January 22, 1550: *Em&Misc.*, *4, v. His biographers all repeat the mention that the situation of Greek professor in the Royal College of Paris was offered to him, but they do not quote any authority, and do not agree about the time when that offer was made.

³) Cp. Nannius' letters of October 30, and December 20, 1550: *Em&Misc.*, *4, v-5, r.

⁴) *SweABelg.*, 593; *BibBelg.*, 714-15; *FlandScript.*, 129, sq, 85, 101; *SaxOnom.*, 355, 646; Scaliger, *Scaligerana Secunda*, s. v. Leopardus; Paquot, IV, 1-3; *FlandOHR*, I, 285-7; Polet, 306; SchottE, 101.

Modesty and erudition were also the characteristics of the favourite pupil in whose arms he died ¹⁾, John Lheureux, Macarius. Born at Gravelines in 1551, he had been trained at Bergues, and studied in Louvain and at the *Trilingue*; in consequence of which he went to Italy. There he applied himself to research work during more than twenty years: he consigned the result of his restless activity in manuscript treatises on the Greek *verbum medium*, on old Greek inscriptions, on the way of writing in Antiquity, on the Roman edition of the Bible, on gems, on sacred images and pictures, the *Hagioglypta*. He also wrote comments on the homilies and letters of Busilius, Bishop of Seleucia. Meanwhile he rendered precious services to some countrymen, such as Abraham Ortelius, whose correspondence attests to the frequent assistance received from the eager Hellenist ²⁾. On his return he was appointed canon of St. Peter's, at Aire ³⁾, where he died on June 11, 1614 ⁴⁾. By a most generous feeling of gratitude he offered to the *Trilingue*, to whom his master and himself owed their formation, all his books and the precious writings, in which the result of his researches was consigned: they were kept most carefully, and excited the wish to have them published ⁵⁾. Thus his *Abraxas seu Apistopistus; quæ est antiquaria de Gemmis Basilidianis*

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 248. Other pupils are wrongly ascribed to the famous master; thus the Melchior van Niepe, Neipius, of Breedene (*BibBelg.*, 670), merely received a rectification for the *xlith* of his *Adagia aliquot* (Paris, 1571: cp. Paquot, ix, 149, sq; *FlandScript.*, 125); and the Peter Corneliszoon van Bockenberg can hardly have had him as master in Louvain, as he was sent straight there from Gouda where he was born in 1548 (Paquot, iii, 132).

²⁾ Hessels, i, 586-7 (1594), 607, 631-3, 686, 715, 727, 730-2 (1597); the 'Joannes Macarius' mentioned amongst the Elders of the Flemish Church, London, in May 1560 (Hessels, ii, 133), is evidently quite different.

³⁾ Cp. *AireSP*, 108, 266.

⁴⁾ *AireSP*, 267-68, quoting his epitaph in St. Peter's church, Aire, mentioning his studies and his stay in Italy, besides his age, 75: *Bissenæ vixi lustra plus trieride*, as well as the date of his decease, *VnDeCJMa vitam IVnII lux abstulit*, with the year date, 1611, indicated by the capitals.

⁵⁾ Cp. *BibBelg.*, 529-30, with a list of the writings; *FlandScript.*, 101-2, 130; *NèveMém.*, 336-37; Simonis, 126; and 3 A of this chapter.

disquisitio was edited at Antwerp, (in 1657 ¹⁾), and his *Hagioglypta*, as late as 1856 ²⁾), in Paris : of the rest all trace seems lost.

Amongst the students who frequented the *Trilingue* in the beginning of President Van der Hoeven's management, was a friend of Nicolas Beken ³⁾), **Laurent van de Velde, Campester**, who probably attended the lectures about 1530. He applied himself eagerly to the study of Latin and Greek before he returned to his native town Diest, where he started a school and married. At his wife's death, he came back to Louvain : and, for a time, taught languages in St. Gertrude's Abbey, until he entered the service of John van 't Sestich, Sexagius, Doctor Vtriusque Juris, whose children he instructed ⁴⁾). He also was active in the School which Sexagius' son John founded near St. Quentin's Church ⁵⁾). It was for his pupils

¹⁾ *AireSP*, 267.

²⁾ *Hagioglypta* sive picturæ et sculpturæ sacræ antiquiores præsertim quæ Romæ reperiuntur, explicatæ a Joanne lHeureux : edited by 'le père Garrucci', in Paris 1856 : *AireSP*, 268 ; M. le Glay, in *Nouveaux Analectes* : Lille, 1852 : 79-83.

³⁾ *ClénCorr.*, II, 15.

⁴⁾ John Sexagius, lawyer, member of the Brabant Council, was the son of Golin van 't Sestich, and Catherine van Vlaenderen ; as his father died very young, and his mother married, in 1507, Robert Mennekens, Viruli, son of Charles, the founder of the Lily, and Gertrude van den Dorne, John, with his brother Peter, physician, allowed, on June 17, 1518, their stepfather to reside for his lifetime in the family mansion, which he had rebuilt about 1516 and adorned with the beautiful front and 'LX' gable. On Sept. 6, 1535, the sons and their mother sold the house to Laurent du Blioul, Lord of Sart (*LanzPap.*, 253-5 ; *LuChav.*, v, 411) ; that transaction does not seem to have been ratified, for, some time after, the mansion was again the property of John Sexagius. He had married Elizabeth de Boisot, daughter of Didier, who died at Mechlin, Jan. 24, 1545, and of Jane Salome († Oct. 31, 1532 : cp. II, 159) ; John died in 1558, his wife in 1585 ; they had several children : amongst them Désiré, born in 1531, Licentiate of Laws, who married Mary, the younger daughter of Guy Morillon, and became Brabant Chancellor ; John, receiver of confiscations ; David, Licentiate in Theology, Canon of St. Peter's and Archpriest of the district ; also John Antony, Lord of Ophem and Damme, who died at Mechlin on September 10, 1585 : see further, Ch. XXV. — Cp. VAnd., 263, 329 ; FUL, 1244-50, 4248, 4264-66, 4551 ; *LouvEven*, 232-33 ; *BrabNobl.*, 411-14 ; *MalInscr.*, 451, 490 ; *ULDoc.*, v, 158, III, 144, IV, 249 ; *ULPromRs.*, 89.

⁵⁾ John Sexagius, Licentiate of Laws, son of Councillor John, and Elizabeth de Boisot, had married Mary van Beringen : he died March 6,

that he composed his *Dialogi Ethici sive Morales*, which he dedicated to his patron on March 1, 1550 ¹⁾. In 1555, he published *Syntaxeos Propædeumata, exemplis ethicis instructa* ²⁾, as well as *Sophronismus, quo seductus ab errore revocatur, & vitæ temperantioris dantur monita* ³⁾. He had also composed an *Oratio Laudatoria pro Francisco Valesio, Francorum Rege* ⁴⁾. In 1571, he edited a third and revised issue of the *Dialogi* ⁵⁾, which seems the last evidence of his activity : those dialogues preach only a very vague morality in most indifferent style and Latin, although the aim of the author is very praiseworthy ⁶⁾.

In the last years of Wary's presidency the *Trilingue* had amongst the students a young monk of the Abbey of Liessies, **Louis de Blois, Blossius**. That son of Adrian de Blois, Lord of Jumigny, was born in October 1506 at the castle of Donstiennes, near Beaumont, and spent some years at the Court, being educated with Charles of Austria as his page ⁷⁾, until, by 1520, he entered the Abbey. In 1523, he was sent to Louvain, where he studied, and, amongst other branches, applied himself to the three languages in the *Trilingue*, in so far that, by 1527, he translated Chrysostom's *de Rege et Monacho* from the Greek. By 1528 he was chosen as coadjutor to Abbot Ægidius Gippus, and at his death, in 1530, he was definitely recalled from Louvain to become his successor on July 12, 1530. By his exemplary life and by his deep and earnest piety, he exercised a most salutary influence on his

1586, and his wife in 1596; he was receiver of confiscations in the quarter Diest, Sichein, Meerhout and Vorst. By 1550 he started a school near St. Quentin's church, which was organized by 1567 as the 'St. Quintinus' School', in a property which he had inherited from his maternal grandfather, opposite the church : *LouvEven*, 617; *Paquot*, iv, 223.

¹⁾ Louvain, Rutger <Velpius> (*LouvEven*, 195), 1550; a second edition by the same printer is dated 1564.

²⁾ Louvain, Rutger Velpius, 1555.

³⁾ Louvain, Rutger Velpius, 1555, reprinted in 1577.

⁴⁾ Lyons, 1538.

⁵⁾ Louvain, 'Reynerus Velpius, expensis Rutgeri Velpii', 1571.

⁶⁾ *SweABelg.*, 511; *BibBelg.*, 620; *Paquot*, iv, 222-224.

⁷⁾ During his whole life Charles V showed the result of the influence of his pious friend on his thoughts and acts; he, as well as his son, took great delight in reading his writings : *BibBelg.*, 632; *Henne*, x, 241, sq.

brethren ¹⁾, and even, expressed in his writings ²⁾, on his fellow-creatures at large : he lived as a saint and died in his Abbey on January 7, 1566 ³⁾.

That most venerable renovator of his Abbey may have been helped during his stay in Louvain by Clenardus, who, in the summer of 1530, paid a visit to him when journeying to Paris ⁴⁾; still there is hardly any authority to justify his claim to the intellectual development of that saintly man ⁵⁾ : for certain, it is as wrong as attributing to him the instructing in Louvain of two other disciples, named in one breath with Blossius, James Latomus, nephew of the professor ⁶⁾, whom he took to Paris ⁷⁾, and especially Andrew Hyperius ⁸⁾, whom

¹⁾ Paquot, v, 322, ix, 360, xii, 401, xiii, 268, xiv, 349; *BerghAutr.*, 143, 306.

²⁾ His writings are enumerated in *BibBelg.*, 632-33; they were repeatedly reprinted, singly and in collected sets; the most complete edition was issued by his successor, Abbot Antony de Winghe, at the Plantin press, Antwerp, 1632-33. Cp. Paquot v, 46; PlantE, vi, 165, sq; VulcE, 500.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 631-33; *ClénCorr.*, ii, 70; Paquot, v, 42, xi, 211; Foppens, 828-29, with epitaph; *Philic.*, 13, 15, sq, 30, sq.

⁴⁾ *ClénCorr.*, i, 215, 319-23, 329, ii, 149; cp. before, p 185.

⁵⁾ It is asserted in *ClénCorr.*, ii, 15; — maybe Nic. Clenardus helped the young monk with his studies, and even with his translation of St. John Chrysostom's *De Comparatione Regis et Monachi*, 1527 (printed Louvain, 1549) : yet on March 26, 1535, he complains to Latomus that, although he has written several times to the Abbot, he has not received a word of reply : *ClénCorr.*, i, 60, 362-64 : nor is there any trace after 1535 of a letter from that most pious and, no doubt, grateful man.

⁶⁾ He was born at Cambron about 1510; he studied theology in Louvain, and became canon of St. Peter's, on April 30, 1562; he died in that dignity on July 29, 1596. He edited the works of his uncle in 1550 (Louvain, Barth. Gravius) and helped to publish Clenardus' *Epistolæ*. He himself was the author of a metrical version of the Psalms (Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1587), which testifies rather to patience than to poetry : *BibBelg.*, 416; *SweABelg.*, 365; Paquot, xiii, 58-62; Miræus, 202; Polet, 86, sq; *ClénCorr.*, ii, 61.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 185.

⁸⁾ Andrew Gheeraerds, Gerardi, born at Ypres, May 16, 1511, Hyperius, studied at Warneton under James de Paep, Papius; at Lille, under John Lacteus, and at Tournai, under Nicolas van Broeckhoven; in 1528 he went to Paris, and heard there Clenardus, Sturm and Bartholomew Latomus : he went back to his native country in 1535; after visiting the Netherlands and Germany, he crossed to England and was for a

his father decidedly wanted to keep away from the Brabant University ¹).

Another student of the latter twenties was **Renier**, of Winsum, a village near Groningen, where he was born in 1509, which had suggested the name **Prædinius**, '*natus in prædiis*'. He received his instruction at Groningen under Goswin of Halen, who had been Wessel Gansfoort's favourite amanuensis ²), and still kept the memory of that great man in never waning vivacity ³). From Groningen Prædinius went to Louvain and studied philosophy, possibly theology or laws, but before all languages and literature in Busleyden Institute. Throughout his life he devoted all his time and interest to those branches on the example of Erasmus, for whom he felt a most grateful admiration ⁴), as results from the eagerness with which he wished to buy the books that had belonged to the Humanist ⁵), and which John a Laski was making into money, probably as he was in straits at Emden ⁶).

By 1530, Renier Prædinius returned to Groningen, and

time in Charles Mountjoy's service; on his return to the Continent, he accepted, in 1541, the position of professor of theology in Marburg, first as supply, and, from January 1542, successor, to Gerard Geldenhouwer; he died there on February 1, 1564 : Cp. *Clénard*, 71; Paquot, xvii, 185-201; *Geldenh.*, 132-33; Rommel i, 203, ii, 188-89; *PhilHessen*, 487, sq.

¹) Cp. before, pp 158, 208; *EpSel.*, 45; Schrevel, i, 387.

²) Cp. *HEpG*, 20; and before, i, 141, 152-3; also *Agricola*, 10.

³) From his master and elder people, Prædinius collected the elements for his biographies of Wessel and Agricola, which now are lost : *Agricola*, 16, 38, sq, 145.

⁴) Lindeb., 35, 163.

⁵) Cp. Prædinius' letter to Gerard Campius : Gabbema, 173-77, — unfortunately without year date — about Gerard Mortang's books offered for sale, amongst which there were several which had Erasmus' name, and consequently highly pleased Prædinius. Whether he acquired them, cannot be ascertained : yet it is certain that he utilized a Greek New Testament, of 1527, which had been in Erasmus' and in Luther's possession and has the notes in Luther's and in Prædinius' hand : it now belongs to the Groningen University Library : Lindeb., 172.

⁶) John a Laski, who had acquired Erasmus' collection of books (*Allen*, vi, 1593, 133, 1622, 4, *App.* 19, 38, sq), resided, from about 1539, at Emden, and bought there the estate of Abbingwehr in 1546, which he had some difficulty in paying for : he may then, or later on, have made some books into money : *Lasco*, 275, sq.

started teaching in the St. Martin's School, which had given him his first formation. He applied himself with zeal and devotedness to his work, characterized from the very beginning by an excellence which, if possible, grew as time went on. He thus developed into an ideal *ludimagister* during a period of years, necessarily obscure through the sameness of the activity. Probably on that account, legends were created as if he had journeyed part of the time throughout Germany ¹⁾, and had even been active as chief master of the Erfurt *ludus* ²⁾, although there seems to be hardly anything to materialize that absence from Groningen. By 1545, he was the head-master there of the school which, under his lead, became so prosperous and famous that, from far and near, young men crowded to his lessons on account of the teaching ³⁾ which he had brought up to such a high degree of efficiency that his pupils distinguished themselves in later life, even already in the various universities to which they resorted, as Suffridus Petri attested from experience ⁴⁾. Unfortunately his restless zeal and his happy competence were not blessed with longevity : he died on April 18, 1559, and was buried in the precincts of St. Walburgis' church ⁵⁾.

Prædinius had always shrunk from publishing his writings or notes, and is even said to have burnt his comments on Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Galen, Cicero and Quintilian some time before his decease ⁶⁾; the only writings which have been kept are those edited, in 1563, four years after his death, by his former disciple John Acronius, professor of medicine and mathematics in Basle ⁷⁾. Some passages in those *Opera* are devoted to the traditions of the famous duumvirate Wessel-Agricola, gathered by Prædinius from Goswin of Halen

¹⁾ *HEpG*, 46 ; Lindeb., 167.

²⁾ *HEpG*, 46 ; Rupprich, 35, sq.

³⁾ Delprat, 57, 103 ; Prædinius' predecessor was Nicolas Lesdorp ; John a Laski intended sending his sons to be trained at Groningen when Prædinius died : Lindeb., 172.

⁴⁾ Paquot, vii, 273, ix, 161, xviii, 398 ; Gabbema, 175-77 ; *Agricola*, 48.

⁵⁾ *HEpG*, 46-47 ; Paquot, ix, 421-25 ; Suffridus Petri, *De Scriptoribus Frisiae* : 164-170 ; *BibBelg.*, 788 ; Foppens, ii, 1058, sq ; Lindeb., 167-72 ; Ullmann, ii, 317, 333, 529-31 ; Delprat, 57, 103.

⁶⁾ Lindeb., 169.

⁷⁾ Paquot, ix, 423, 425-26 ; Acronius hardly survived his edition, as he died in 1563.

and his brother John ¹⁾ : they are so few that they seem to serve merely as the vehicle for the repulsive basis of heterodox commentaries on Bible places and matters of faith ²⁾, which constitute by far the larger part of the *Opera*. They look most suspicious : for they are written in a hard and abominable language, short of being barbarous, such as certainly could not be expected from the celebrated *ludimagister* of the first school in the Northern Provinces ³⁾. They at most suggest a series of jottings written down on the spur of the moment and never intended to be published. In fact, from a famous head-master like Prædinius, — who, into the bargain, seems to have been married happily ⁴⁾, — one would never expect petty, cantankerous exegetic or dogmatic commentaries. Although, in the wake of his great model Erasmus, he may have criticized some abusive or excessive practices that had slipped into Church service ⁵⁾, there can hardly be a doubt about the conviction of a man who steadily affirms to be a Catholic and a member of the Roman Church ⁶⁾, outside of which he does not believe to be any salvation ; he particularly insists on never having made a conscious use of the opinion of 'German' divines ⁷⁾; and apodictically shows his diametrical opposition to Luther by his manuscript notes added in a copy of Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*, 1527, to those which Luther had inserted before him ⁸⁾. It is evident that the *Opera* were never intended to be published as such, and that, here as in the posthumous edition of Wessel's works ⁹⁾, the Calvinist editor, irrespective of contradictions, added most misleading interpolations in that issue, brought out by the Calvinist printer John Oporinus in the Calvinist atmos-

¹⁾ Ullmann, II, 261, 317, 333, 524, 529-31, 545, 553-4 ; Goswin of Halen is the chief authority for the Adwert Academy and its importance : Delprat, 114-15 ; *HEpG*, 20, 28.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 788 ; Paquot, IX, 423-25.

³⁾ Lindeb., 169.

⁴⁾ Lindeb., 168-69.

⁵⁾ Lindeb., 170-72.

⁶⁾ In his *Opera* the passages abound in which he affirms his staunch belief in the Church of Rome, declaring even in one place to an adversary : if you like to dispute again with me and make the Church yours, please account me, too, as one of Her members : *Opera*, pp 244, 376, 632 ; Lindeb., 168, 172 ; Hessels, II, 53, 82.

⁷⁾ Cp. *Opera*, 244, 376 ; Lindeb., 170, 172.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 254, and Lindeb., 171-72.

⁹⁾ Cp. I, 147-48.

phere of Basle. Here again the judgment of Hugo Grotius prevails that many a Swiss edition of those days was *plane corrupta ac depravata*, and that the fact of being mentioned in his *Opera* cannot possibly be considered as an apodictic proof of Prædinius' settled belief ¹⁾).

B. THE MASIUS CONSTELLATION

During van der Hoeven's presidency the students who frequented the *Trilingue* were growing in number and enthusiasm, and the lecture room had consequently been enlarged ²⁾. Amongst those who regularly attended the lessons was **Nicolas van der Borch**, Verburg, or Verburch, a Castro, of Louvain, who, after promoting Master of Arts, applied himself to Theology. He belonged to the Falcon, where he taught philosophy, and yet found the time to interest himself in the study of languages and literature in the Institute, of which the management was entrusted to his care in 1539 ³⁾).

Amongst his fellow-students there was a group of earnest workers led by Andrew Masius, who developed into a celebrated linguist ⁴⁾ : as a student and later on, as a professor of philosophy in the Lily, he was the centre of a knot of friends, who shared his predilection for languages and literature, and regularly attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*. They afterwards kept up with him a lively correspondence, which is a precious source of information for the history of the University and its influence through the *Trilingue* on the development of science and erudition in the most important thirties of that pregnant period. One of them was the famous jurisprudent Vulmar Bernaert ⁵⁾ ; another the economist Christian Cellarius ⁶⁾ ; a third was **John de Bruuckere, de Bruyckere**, of Ghent, an inmate of the Lily, who, after his promotion to Master of Arts in 1526, when he was classed the 9th on 133 ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ Paquot, ix, 424.

²⁾ Cp. before, 12-15.

³⁾ Cp. II, 73, 364, 636 ; and further, Chs. XXII, XXIII ; *ULDoc.*, iv, 394.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, section 2, A, of this chapter.

⁵⁾ He promoted from the Lily in 1528, and taught there probably until 1538 or 1539 : *ULDoc.*, iv, 247. Cp. II, 425-27 ; *MasE*, 12-3, 15, 96, 98, sq, 104-5, 107, 111, sq, 345.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, section 2, B.

⁷⁾ Joes bruyckere de Gandavo : *ULPromLo.*, 10.

remained in that institute, and applied himself to Divinity. He is recorded as professor of philosophy in his Pedagogy in 1535, and, as a member of the Faculty of Arts, he officiated as procurator of his *natio Flandrica* for the terms beginning on February 1, 1536, 1537, and June 1, 1541; on September 30, 1536, he was chosen as dean ¹⁾; and he acted as *examinator*, or *tentator licentiandorum*, from February 1535 to April 2, 1541 ²⁾. Whilst thus occupying a stable position in Louvain, he served as intermediary between the various friends whom a common love to languages and literature had united, and for several years Andrew Masius and Louis Gensius sent to him their letters to each other and to their dear professors Goclenius, Balenus and Nannius ³⁾.

On October 7, 1541, Bruyckere intended leaving Louvain by Christmas, and wished Gensius to take his place in the Lily ⁴⁾, as he had been appointed by his Faculty to a prebend at St. Omer. So, on March 23, 1542, Masius was told that he was doing well in that office, and that Hermes Pyn, Faber, of Renaix, had succeeded to him in the Lily ⁵⁾. Still it seems that studies attracted Bruyckere, for, on December 31, 1551, Vulmar Bernaert, then at Trent for the Council ⁶⁾, had heard that he had returned to Louvain ⁷⁾.

Besides those two older colleagues of Masius in the Lily, there was a fellow-student Louis Gensius, Gens, or Gennes ⁸⁾,

¹⁾ *LibNomI*, *passim*; *ULDoc.*, iv, 248.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 82, 86, 90, 94, 98, 102, 108.

³⁾ *MasE*, 1, 3, 4, 5, 12; cp. further p. 266.

⁴⁾ *MasE*, 12.

⁵⁾ *MasE*, 15; *ULPromLo.*, 12; *ULDoc.*, iv, 248; cp. further, p. 260.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 425-27, &c.

⁷⁾ *MasE*, 96, also 4-6, 12-13, 15, 96.

⁸⁾ He was a native from Bergues-St. Winoc: *Mol.*, 646 (where he is called *Guesius*): the name is given as *Gensius* in *MasE*, 1-3, &c, which is most certainly an incorrect reading or copying for Gens or Gennes: an 'Antonius Gens' is recorded as *bedellus* of the Louvain Faculty of Medicine in 1554: *Bianco*, i, 795; and the 'Ludovicus van Germe' appointed as the Procurator for the Flemish Nation on September 30, 1541 (*LibNomI*) may have been identical with Louis Gensius, once more differentiated only by the spelling of the name. — *MasE* has several similar misreadings: pp 6, *Svombardiis* for *Lombardiis*; 13: *Paxy* for *Faber*; 15, *Rhetornacenses* for *Rothnacensis*; &c. Cp. the name *Gens* in *LouvArch.*, II, 308; *LouvAssist.*, index, p 27.

who had promoted in Arts with him in 1533; he had accepted, by 1537, the office of *submonitor* or *hypodidascaulus* in St. Donatian's School, Bruges: in the autumn of 1538 he wrote to his friend that he had taken that *servilis conditio* for a *biennium*, and hoped to be free in another year. His letter, partly in verse, shows his despondency ¹⁾, although he was working under the erudite scholaster John de Fevyn, canon of St. Donatian's, the close friend of Vives, of Peter de Corte, of Francis de Cranevelt and of other humanists ²⁾, and although he had as head-master the John Schynck, or Schyncx, who, replacing Adrian Chilius since October 20, 1533, was still longing to go for jurisprudence to Louvain ³⁾. Gensius regretted that, since Masius' leave, he had completely neglected Greek ⁴⁾, apparently his favourite branch. After two years' work at Bruges ⁵⁾, the danger of war kept him back from France ⁶⁾, and an accident prevented him succeeding his master Peter Curius ⁷⁾ at Bergues-St. Winoc ⁸⁾; so he returned

¹⁾ MasE, 2, 7, 12: he called the Bruges situation an *infelix et ærum-nosum ergastulum*.

²⁾ *Cran.*, xci-xcix.

³⁾ Schrevel, 1, 225: Schyncx was dismissed by the Chapter for negligence about the end of 1545; yet they voted him a subsidy on his promotion to Licentiate of Laws, January 23, 1549. In 1567, he was *scriba* and *audientiarus* of the ecclesiastic Court of Bruges.

⁴⁾ MasE, 2, 5.

⁵⁾ He was still there in 1540, when, on March 30, his pupils handed him a letter from Masius, which the 'Lombardi' had brought: MasE, 6-7; he lived there with 'D. Daniel': MasE, 6, 9.

⁶⁾ Letter of October 7, 1541: MasE, 12.

⁷⁾ Peter Curius, van den Hove, was himself a very zealous humanist: he published a '*Rerum maxime vulgarium congesta per locos in puerorum gratiam vocabula, Græce & Teutonice interpretata*'. In fine adiunctæ sunt ex Pappa Murellii oratiunculæ græce traductæ'. That kind of dictionary was dedicated to John Berquin in 1535, and printed by Michael Hillen in 1538: *Nijkron.*, 1, 666. In 1533, he wrote some commendatory verses to Adrian Chilius' *Plutus*, (Antw. M. Hillen), and Guilielmus van den Steene, Lapidanus' *De non timenda Morte* (Louvain, R. Rescius): *Nijkron.*, 1, 136, 1320; cp. before, p 114; *BibBelg.*, 734; *FlandScript.*, 132.

⁸⁾ It happened that a fellow-student, Cellarius (cp. further in this chapter, 2, b), was at Bergues at the funeral: he requested and obtained the situation: MasE, 12-13.

to Louvain ¹⁾, no doubt to the Lily, and most enthusiastically studied Greek under Rescius' lead ²⁾, with so much success that, on March 23, 1542, he could announce that he was translating Plutarch's Biographies, and that he often taught that language the first hour in the morning, apparently in the Lily ³⁾. He was then expecting the arrival in Louvain of the sons of the late Matthias Laurin, Lord of Watervliet and Waterland ⁴⁾, Mark and Guido, the future numismatists ⁵⁾, whom he had had as pupils at Bruges, and who were likely to pay generously for their tutoring. He soon left Louvain, though; for, nine years later, on December 31, 1551, Vulmar Bernaert announced to Masius that Gensius, from whom he had not heard in several years, was then the head-master of Bergues-St. Winoc, where he had been educated, and was fulfilling his office with success ⁶⁾. He had not forgotten Louvain, for, in 1577, he founded a scholarship, which was often granted for studies in Louvain, where he had devoted much time and care to the education of youth ⁷⁾.

In Gensius' letters of the first six months after his return to Louvain, October 7, 1541 to March 23, 1542 ⁸⁾, mention is made of several of the common friends of the Lily, who evidently partook of the enthusiasm of Masius in the studies of the *Trilingue*: in the place of John de Bruyckere had been definitively appointed Hermes Pyn, Faber, of Renaix ⁹⁾, who

¹⁾ He was replaced at Bruges by 'Arnoldus Blandimontensis', who, having been for a time at the Court, and *motorius*, had much trouble to get accustomed to being *sedentarius*: MasE, 13.

²⁾ He mentions that he does not like getting into closer contact with Nannius, as Masius had advised: MasE, 14.

³⁾ He also reads on the vigils of feasts '*artium syncerum...*', a class book, which he said he had shown to Masius when he came to visit him at Bruges: MasE, 14-15. The Greek lessons in the Lily had been instituted by Peter Curtius, and started by John van den Cruyce, Crucius, on January 1, 1528: *Cran.*, 257, a-b, 8-14.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, xlviii, lviii, 6, pr, 140, c, e, 41, b, 82, 21.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁶⁾ MasE, 96.

⁷⁾ Mol., 646.

⁸⁾ MasE, 12-17.

⁹⁾ Hermes Pyn, Payneus, or Poën, promoted M. A. in 1533, obtaining the 12th place: *ULPromLv.*, 12; he continued studying, taking up theology and teaching philosophy at the Lily. He succeeded mediately to Cornelius Sculteti, of Weert, whose place was granted, in 1539, to John Scarley, of Hertogenbosch, S. Theol. Lic., who died on September 23,

also succeeded Cornelius Brouwers, Sculteti, of Weert ¹⁾, as public professor of Ethics; he was now professor, or *legens primarius*, with Nicolas de Leuze, of Frasnes ²⁾; another friend, John Planson, of Douai, had become *co-regens* ³⁾ with John Heems of Armentières ⁴⁾, and as *sub-regens* had been taken the late parish priest of Enghien, an elderly man ⁵⁾. Masius' former pupil Nicolas de Lengaigne, of St. Omer, had become what they called *minus principalis*, — probably '*legens secundarius*' ⁶⁾: like the others, he sends his greetings, and so does their late fellow-student Louis Voghele, of Ghent, who offers the hospitality of his house if Masius should ever like to return ⁷⁾.

1540. In 1544, he left the University, and entered the Jesuit Society: VAnd., 246; ULDoc., iv, 248; MasE, 13, 15; LibNomI, 344, v; ULPromRs., 112-130 (amongst the *Tentatores Licentiaandorum*). He died at Valladolid in 1546: JësNécr., 2; DébEnCo., 194.

¹⁾ Cornelius Brouwers, *Braxatoris*, Schoutens, *Sculteti*, of Weert, S. Theol. Lic., regent of the Castle, canon of St. Donatian's, Bruges; professor of Ethics, from June 23, 1520, to his death, March 30, 1539: VAnd., 41, 246, 252, 254; ULDoc., iv, 10-11; BrugSDon., 154; MasE, 13.

²⁾ Nicolas de Leuze, of Frasnes, de Fraxinis, promoted M. A. in 1534, obtaining the 7th place; he became professor in the Lily whilst studying divinity, in which he promoted licentiate. He was appointed canon of St. Peter's and censor of books. He was twice Rector of the University, in 1589 and 1590. He edited a French translation of the Scriptures, known as the 'Bible of Louvain', in 1550, and died on August 8, 1598: VAnd., 45, 263; ULDoc., iv, 248; ULAnn., 1861: 257; 1862: 249; MasE, 15.

³⁾ John Planson, of Douai, professor, became co-regens of the Lily, on October 11, 1540; but resigned that office to the Faculty on January 17, 1555: ULDoc., iv, 210-11, 248; MasE, 15.

⁴⁾ John Heems, of Armentières, priest, M. A. and Doctor of Medicine, became regent of the Lily in 1522, professor of medicine on November 23, 1525; he died on July 1, 1560: ULDoc., iv, 178, sq.

⁵⁾ MasE, 15.

⁶⁾ Nicolas de Lengaigne, of St. Omer, became Master of Arts in 1537, being classed the 12th; he became professor of philosophy in 1540, canon of St. Peter's on May 21, 1553, and afterwards canon of Tournai: ULDoc., iv, 249; MasE., 15; ULPromRs., 91.

⁷⁾ He promoted Master of Arts in 1533, being classed the 11th: ULPromLv., 12; MasE, 15; of the three other students of the Lily mentioned by Gensius in that same letter, Balduinus van Hout, of Bergen, promoted the 22nd in 1535, and Franciscus de Hondt, Canis, of Bruges, was the 3rd in that of 1534: ULPromRs., 83, 81. The '*Ludovicus of Aire*': MasE, 16, may have been one of the bursars of the *Trilingue*.

If those *Magistri Artium* were chiefly friends on account of the common life in the hospitable Lily, the ardent interest in Latin 'litteræ' had forged the links that bound Masius to his fellow-student **Adrian Chilius**. He was born at Maldegheem, near Bruges ; trained probably at the School of St. Donatian's, he went to Louvain ; after his promotion to Master of Arts, he returned to Bruges and became *submonitor* under Gerard Bachusius ¹⁾. On September 19, 1530, he succeeded him as *Donatiane iuuentutis moderator* or *Magister Scholarum*. On June 11, 1531 ²⁾, when the Basle Professor of Greek, Symon Grynæus, returning from England, was entertained by the Dean, Mark Laurin, Chilius was invited to their supper, and thus was requested to write a letter to the great Erasmus ³⁾. Possibly egged on by the remark of James de Meyer, of Bailleul, in his *Rerum Flandricarum Tomus IX* (Bruges, 1531), that he had not published anything yet, he issued at Antwerp, in 1533, *Aristophanis comici facetissimi Plutus. Adriano Chilio interprete... Podagra Luciani posterior, eodem Adriano Chilio interprete*. The book was adorned by a few lines in Greek by John Theodore Nervius, and by some verses by Peter Curius ⁴⁾ ; it was dedicated to Mark Laurin, Dean of St. Donatian's, on March 18, 1533 ⁵⁾. Those plays in Latin verse had been used in his lectures, and been acted by the boys : *Plutus* was produced in the first days of September 1533, together with Lucian's *Vitarum Auctio*, in Nicolas Bérault's translation ⁶⁾.

Soon after that production on September 7 and 8, 1533 ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ Schrevel, I, 223 ; *Cran.*, 99, d. — It results from a note quoted in Schrevel, I, 56, 3, that, from 1529, Chilius boarded students in his house.

²⁾ The letter is dated 'nocte media feriarum sacræ synaxi dicatarum', namely the night which is just the middle between the feast, June 8, and the octave of Corpus Christi, June 15 : Allen, IX, 2499, 41 ; *Cran.*, 99, d.

³⁾ Allen, IX, 2499.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 259.

⁵⁾ The book is printed by Michael Hillen van Hoogstraeten, Antwerp, 1533 : *NijKron.*, I, 136 ; it seems as if the two plays were sold separately : Schrevel, I, 223-24.

⁶⁾ *Luciani Icaromenippus... Erasmo interprete. Eiusdem Menippus... uersa a Thoma Moro. Eiusdem Vitarum auctio. interprete Nic. Beraldo* (Louvain, Th. Martens, c 1519) : *NijKron.*, I, 1405 ; Iseghem, 305.

⁷⁾ *Ludimagistro conceditur posse agere Plutum Aristophanis... et Auctionem Luciani diebus dominico et lune : Acta Capituli*, September 4, 1533 : consequently on September 7 and 8 : Schrevel, I, 134-35.

Chilius resigned his office : on October 20, John Schynx, or Schynck, had taken his place ¹⁾. He removed to Louvain, and became so close a friend of Masius, that, on April 6, 1540, he declared : non alium se Lovan[ii] amicum habuisse quam Andream ²⁾. He most probably applied himself to study languages with Masius, attending the lectures of the *Trilingue*, whilst gaining a living by tutoring students and making use of the experience acquired at Bruges. As he was ordained before 1531 ³⁾, he probably obtained, through the Faculty of Arts, the right of succession as officiating priest in part of his native village Maldeghem, which was dependent on the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Harlebeke. By April 1540, he had returned there, as his mother was ill ⁴⁾, and in the summer of that same year he took the place of the parish priest, whose death had occurred ⁵⁾. On June 19, 1568, he was allowed to manage also for one year the other half of the village, as the rector had been dismissed : unfortunately he did not see the end of that term, for by June 15, 1569, John Goethals, a priest of Ghent diocese, is recorded to have replaced him ⁶⁾. Most likely he had followed from afar his friend Masius in his studies, for he is said to have left a Latin paraphrase of the Psalms according to the Chaldaic text ⁷⁾.

One more of Masius' and Chilius' contemporaries in Louvain ended by being a parish priest, though in far more difficult circumstances : **Martin Donk**, **Duncanus**, from Kempen, near Grefeld, *Quempenas*. He was born on November 10, 1505, from destitute parents ⁸⁾, and, in his bent for learning, staid

¹⁾ Schrevel, I, 225.

²⁾ Letter of Gensius to Masius, April 7, 1540 : MasE, 7.

³⁾ An item quoted from the *Acta* of the Bruges Chapter for January 11, 1531, prescribes the receiver to pay the *magister Scholarum* for masses said at the order of the Canons : Schrevel, I, 225.

⁴⁾ Letter of Gensius to Masius, Bruges, April 7, 1540 : MasE, 7.

⁵⁾ Letter of Gensius to Masius, Louvain, October 7, 1541 : Chilius tuus curæ suæ Maldeghensi præest, defuncto æstate superiori pastore, cui successor designatus erat : MasE, 13.

⁶⁾ The extracts of *Acta Capituli* are quoted by Schrevel, I, 225.

⁷⁾ *BibBelg.*, 9 — mentioning that the paraphrase was preserved in the Abbey of the Downs : *BrugErVir.*, 11 ; Schrevel, I, 223-25 ; *Cran.*, 99, d, 5, xcix, 6, a, 55, b ; Allen, ix, 2499, pr.

⁸⁾ Henry Donk and Sophia Bosch cultivated the estate called Donkhof.

several years as a poor student at Nijmegen. When, by the end of 1529, he finally reached Louvain, he had to enter the *Domus Pauperum* of John Standonck, where he studied with such success that he was placed the second at the promotion to Master of Arts in 1531 ¹⁾. He attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, whilst applying himself to Theology, in which he promoted Bachelor, being also active, meanwhile, as 'subregens' in his College. By 1534, he was appointed as head of the Standonck School at Mechlin ²⁾, where he put to excellent use the training in classic languages and literature, which he had enjoyed at Busleyden College. He was ordained in Brussels in 1536, and was active as *Pater Domus Standonicæ* of Louvain, from the first months of 1538 to 1541, when he was succeeded by Michael de Bay ³⁾; in that year, he was appointed by Mary of Hungary, on the recommendation of his professor Ruard Tapper, as parish priest of Wormer, a village in which the anabaptist theories had estranged nearly all the inhabitants from the Catholic Church.

Donk's situation was most precarious; on the strength, however, of Erasmus' principle, that teaching is the straight way to improve mind and heart, he started a school, which brought him a living, as well as a moral authority on the parish, in so far that he obtained the help of a curate, Peter Zurk, and employed an amanuensis, Crispinus Arendoncanus ⁴⁾, to assist him. He composed a Latin handbook for his pupils: *Prætextatæ Latine Loquendi Rationis per Colloquiorum Formulas... Pars Prima* ⁵⁾, which applies the method of Erasmus *latinissimus*, although it was meant to prevent the dangerous influence of his *Colloquia* ⁶⁾: the author's

¹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 80; the first was Peter Titelmans of Hasselt, who later on became inquisitor: *BN*.

²⁾ Godet, 123.

³⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 460.

⁴⁾ *Donk*, 21, 23.

⁵⁾ The first edition was printed by John Latius, in Antwerp, about 1552, the second by the same printer, before 1558: *Donk*, 22-25.

⁶⁾ He represents them as swords anointed with honey: still he does not name Erasmus in the preface. — It is evident that if the first series of Erasmus' *Colloquia* — those existing before 1522, — were intended to be used in the classes *ad linguam puerilem expoliendam*, the second was not any longer destined to be used in schools, but to make any developed reader feel in the injustice and unrighteousness of some errors and misconceptions.

gratitude to the *Trilingue* is as expressed by the choice of Nicolas a Castro, late President of that Institute, then canon of St. Mary's, Utrecht ¹⁾, for the honour of the dedication. Donk also started publishing controversial pamphlets against anabaptists; the first one was in Latin; still he wrote the others in Dutch, as soon as he had got a sufficient mastery of that language. His admirable efficiency in those difficult circumstances caused him to be appointed as parish priest of Delft, in 1558, and, at the fall of that town, to Dean of The Hague, and parish priest of the 'New' Church at Amsterdam, in 1572. There he had a miserable controversy with the rector of the 'Old' Church, James Buyck ²⁾, about the oath exacted in 1578 by William of Orange, who, soon after the fall of the town, banished Donk in utter destitution to Amersfoort, where he died on April 16/26, 1590 ³⁾.

Amongst Masius' fellow-students at the *Trilingue* there were several who, not only, like Louis Gens, showed a predilection for versifying ⁴⁾, but who composed poems that were edited, or dramas that they read and explained in their classes. One of them is James Zovitius, born, in 1512, at Dreischor, near Zierikzee, *Driescharius* ⁵⁾. He got his first instruction under the famous William de Zaghere ⁶⁾ who, for

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 257; Donk, 23.

²⁾ This younger and inexperienced colleague had started the disagreement, it seems, by editing a manuscript criticism of Donk on Marnix of St. Aldegonde's *Byencorff der H. Roomsche Kercken*, which the author did not want to publish as yet, as it was not finished. It was printed without place or name in 1578, soon after *Een deuoot Bede-boeckxken* by Donk, inscribed to Buyck, and printed at Amsterdam, 1578: Donk, 66-82, 100.

³⁾ F. Rütten, *Martin Donk, 1505-1590*: Münster i. Westph., 1906; Opmeer, I, 475, b, II, 182, b; *BatavMart.*, 172, sq; *BibBelg.*, 649-50; *HEpH*, 66, 100, 19, sq (letter to him of his friend Cornelius Musius); *Paquot*, v, 196; *OpMBoek*, 160, 222, 228, 303, 311.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 259.

⁵⁾ The name *Zovitius*, written probably *Zuuitius*, was changed occasionally into *Lumtius* (cp. M. E. Kronenberg, *Het Boek*, XIII (1935): 344-46); it constitutes a puzzle (ζώπιος? or ζώπυτος?).

⁶⁾ William de Zaghere, of Goes, who had promoted M. A. in Louvain in 1510, under Adrian Barlandus, had studied laws for a time before he accepted the place of *ludimagister* at Zierikzee. He proved an eager worker, who was helped in his endeavours by Louvain friends, like

the love of his work, cultivated the acquaintance of the Louvain professors, and caused Adrian Barlandus to write for him, between 1518 and 1520, a kind of programme of studies, the *De Ratione Studii* ¹⁾. Under his guidance, the clever James developed into an eager scholar, who found a most welcome formation afterwards at the hands of his master's great friends, Goclenius and Rescius in the *Trilingue*.

After his training, Zovitius seems to have been at work first at Hoogstraeten, where, by 1531, he acted as *hypodidas-calus* in the school, and wrote for his pupils the play *Ruth* ²⁾, which he dedicated, in deep gratitude, to his master William de Zaghere, who meanwhile had become pensionary of Zierikzee ³⁾. Being appointed *Ludimagister* at Breda, Driescharius composed there his *Didascalus* ⁴⁾, dedicated to his friend and countryman, Jason van der Meersch, a Pratis ⁵⁾,

Franciscus de Cranevelt, Gerard Geldenhouwer and Barlandus, showing the lively interest he took in learning and studies. Cp. *Cran.*, 147, a, b ; Daxhelet, 300 ; and before, I, 234, &c.

¹⁾ That programme of Latin studies and teaching was first published in Barlandus' *Historica* (Cologne, John Gualtherus, 1603) : 276-82. That letter is not dated : still as it refers to Aldus Manutius' decease, 1515, to de Spouter who is still alive († 1520), and to Hillen's *De Constructione VIII Orationis Partium* (NijKron., II, 2896), of about 1518, which is just out (II 45, 46, 53 in the reprint in Daxhelet, 300-307), it follows that it was written, indisputably, between 1518 and 1520.

²⁾ Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1533 : the book contains a letter of Martinus Nigellus, — most probably the Hoogstraeten *ludimagister*, for it is dated : 'Hoochstrati e Musæo nostro', addressed to the Lord 'a Beaufermez, Archipræsidi Yperensi' : there is further a complaint by Zovitius about the great enemy of his native country, the sea, alluding to the recent catastrophe of 1530 : Paquot, xiv, 197 ; NijKron., II, 4106 ; *Cran.*, 270 ; *ChronMét.*, 119-20.

³⁾ By 1530, William de Zaghere had become Pensionary of Zierikzee ; before September 1533, he was appointed Councillor for Friesland on account of his title and of his acquaintance with jurisprudence ; in that office he died prematurely in Dec. 1538 : *Cran.*, 147, a, b ; Daxhelet, 300.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, Giles Coppens for Ant. Dumæus, October 1540 : NijKron., II, 4105 ; Paquot, xiv, 198, refers to an edition by John Steels, Antwerp, 1534 ; the dedicatory epistle is dated from Breda, September 29 only.

⁵⁾ Jason van der Meersch, *de Prato*, or *Pratis*, of Zierikzee, physician, was in Adolph de Veere's service ; he wrote, besides a *Sylva Carminum adolescentiæ*, 1530, and other poems, several treatises on medical matters ; he died on May 22, 1558. His book on obstetrics, 1524, was at once made use of by Thomas van der Noot for the 2nd and later editions

physician to Prince Adolph of Veere ; a third play, the *Ovis Perdita* ¹⁾, was inscribed on February 26, 1539 to the Dean and Canons of Breda, protectors of his School. Some *Adagia* and *Colloquiorum Puerilium Formulæ* ²⁾ are also attributed to this zealous worker, of whom all trace is lost after 1540 ³⁾.

Zovitius' short existence was abundantly filled with the most brilliant promises as dramatist. He was hardly twenty when he composed and produced the five-act play *Ruth*, in which he introduced into the Bible Story an accessory vitality and interest by two lively vagabonds ⁴⁾. In a second play, the *Ovis Perdita*, he added more life to the Parable by allegoric personages, providing so welcome an enrichment, that it was represented far beyond the country's borders ⁵⁾. As in those days the public disliked the too evident exposure of Our Lord on the stage ⁶⁾, the educational dramatist James Schoepper, who had produced Zovitius' play at Dortmund, imitated it, but introduced, instead of Christ, a herdsman Phylacter who, having lost one sheep by his credulous self-love, first sends a servant to find it, and finally goes out himself ⁷⁾. The third play, the *comoedia ut doctissima et lepidissima Didascalus*, conceived and written at Breda during the night, the only free time left to the author by his office, depicts most drastically the tormented teacher, as well as his heartless torturers and their short-sighted mothers. The play shows a

of the translation of a work by Eucharius Röslin : *BibBelg.*, 441 ; *Cran.*, 71, a, 240, b ; *BB*, v, 288 ; *NijKron.*, i, 1753-55, 1832-35, ii, 3762, 3821, 4105 ; *Mol.*, 573. He made summaries in verse for Geldenhouwer's *Satyræ Octo*, 1515 : *GeldColl.*, 154-73.

¹⁾ Antwerp, Martin de Keyser's widow for John Coccius, 1539 ; reprinted at Antwerp, Ant. Goinus, February 1540, John Hillen, 1541 : Paquot, xiv, 198 ; *NijKron.*, i, 2220, 2221.

²⁾ *Adagia Latino-Belgica* : Antwerp ; Sebaldi Heyden & Jacobi Zovitii *Colloquiorum puerilium formulæ, Latine & Gallice* : Paris, 1633 : Paquot, xiv, 198.

³⁾ Paquot, xiv, 197-98 ; *BibBelg.*, 436 ; *HEpM*, 47, a ; Baumgartner, 613.

⁴⁾ Bahlmann, 50 ; Creizenach, ii, 118.

⁵⁾ Bahlmann, 50 ; Creizenach, ii, 127-28.

⁶⁾ Creizenach, ii, 132-33.

⁷⁾ Bahlmann, 97-98 ; Baumgartner, 613 : James Schöpfer, 1514-1554, was priest, and probably *ludimagister*, in his native town Dortmund.

Demus ¹⁾, who, like in Aristophanes' *Equites*, voices the general complaints against the *Ludimagister*, in so far that Jupiter sends Mercury to convey a court at Breda, where *Colacog'lottus* is entrusted with the plea for *Demus*, and *Alethia* defends the *didascalus*. After a lengthy debate, the judge declares the complaint to be a calumny ²⁾. That comedy, which highly pleased by its originality, and no doubt showed the way to Frachæus for his *Archilochus*, 1550, and inspired Christ. Stymmelius' *Studentes*, 1549 ³⁾, makes the premature disappearance of the author of those three most meritorious plays ⁴⁾ an actual loss for literature, since his heavy work, by which he may have forfeited his health, hardly allowed his genius to reach its natural development.

The advantage offered by the acting of well-adapted plays as an effective help in the teaching of Latin, also appealed to a *ludimagister*, — who enjoyed a longer life than Zovitius, — **Peter Campson**, or, as he is generally called, **Philicinus**. He was a native of the neighbourhood of Arras, — perhaps Feuchies, which would explain his name — from *Filix*, fern, bracken ; — born about 1515, he is recorded to have acquired at the *Trilingue*, a good knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew before accepting to act as assistant schoolmaster at Binche. In 1543, he published a *Dialogus de Isaaci Immolatione, ad puerilem captum accommodatus* ⁵⁾, which was dedicated to William Caulier, Abbot of Lobbes and of St. Gerard de Brogne ; the little volume contained an appeal of Christ on the Cross to the Sinner, a poem by Livinus of

¹⁾ Act III, sc. 2 : Ego sum ille Demus quem Latini homines vocant / Populum : capita quando habeo multa, multus et / Vocabulo et sententia sum. Sum bonus / Malus, sacer, profanus, &c.

²⁾ Bahlmann, 50 ; Creizenach, II, 168-69.

³⁾ Creizenach, II, 169, sq.

⁴⁾ Although Zovitius calls his plays humbly, after humanist fashion, the work of his *tenuis Thaliola*, of his *viricula* (Creizenach, II, 105), yet his dramas were often re-issued ; his *Didascalus* was reprinted in Cologne (J. Gymnicus), 1541, and the two Bible plays were inserted in the collection *Comædiæ ac Tragædiæ aliquot ex Novo et Vetere Testamento desumptæ*, edited at Basle, September 1540, by Nicol. Brylinger : pp 176-227 (*Ovis Perdita*), 452-512 (*Ruth*).

⁵⁾ Antwerp, John Steels, 1544 ; Paquot, IX, 244 ; Bahlmann, 92, dates it 1546. That Dialogue was the model for *Abrahamus Tentatus*, 1551, by James Schoepper : Bahlmann, 96 ; Baumgartner, 613.

Brecht, a Franciscan, whom he must have known in Louvain ¹⁾. He himself made a poem on St. Magdalen, in iambic dimeters, which Brechtanus arranged into a drama, at least that is what Philicinus declared in the dedicatory letter, dated from Binche, January 10, 1544, to *Comoedia Tragica quæ inscribitur Tragoedia Magdalena Evangelica* ²⁾. When in 1563 he published his third drama *Tragoedia Esther* ³⁾, he had so far advanced in life that he was a canon of Binche; in 1565, he represented his Chapter at the Provincial Council of Cambrai, and, soon after, he was elected dean, in which office he died in 1568. He left a manuscript report of the devastation caused to Binche by Henry II, King of France, in 1554 ⁴⁾.

Compared with the work of the much younger Zovitius, the compositions of that Philicinus appear lacking in dramatic vivacity; he uses hard and unpleasing verse forms, such as those of *Magdalena* ⁵⁾, and tediously distended monologues, in so far that in *Isaac* there are only God, Abraham and Isaac who talk, besides two servant boys, each with just one line for their parts ⁶⁾; it makes the plays into endless digressions, of which the language is not always pure, and the matter tiringly rhetorical and mystic ⁷⁾. It explains how the only play of which a reprint is recorded, *Esther*, was composed in 1544, and was left by the author amongst his papers, until 1563, when he wanted a text to be dedicated to the newly appointed Bishop of St. Omer, the Abbot of St. Bertin Gerard of Haméricourt ⁸⁾. Still those plays have done their work: they made the *ludimagister* more attentive to his teaching, and, at any rate, were intended to lighten the hearers' task.

Even when not crowned with brilliant success for that method, the attempt at least highly contributed to make the most of the master's ability. It was that tendency to realize to the highest degree all the potentialities of the teacher that became as a characteristic of the *Trilingue* students, thanks

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXII.

²⁾ Antwerp, J. Steels, 1544.

³⁾ Antwerp, J. Steels, 1563.

⁴⁾ *BibBelg.*, 756-57; Paquot, ix, 243-44; Bahlmann, 91-92; Baumgartner, 613; G. Lebeau, *Pierre Philicinus*, in *Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Binche*, ix, 1950, 9-41.

⁵⁾ Cp. Creizenach, II, 97, 138.

⁶⁾ Bahlmann, 92.

⁷⁾ Creizenach, II, 99.

⁸⁾ Creizenach, II, 120; *BelgChron.*, 447; Laplane, II, 116, sq.

to the example of the professors and of those who had preceded them in the 'auditorium'. It explains how *ludi-magistri* thus formed in Louvain were eagerly looked out for, when men of energy and ability were wanted. No wonder that in 1533, when John de Tartas, in Paris, wished to start the *Collège de Guyenne* at Bordeaux, he was glad to secure as collaborators, besides the veteran Joachim Polites ¹⁾, three more recent pupils of the *Trilingue*, Gerard Courselius, or Corselius, Matthew Itterius of Kinroy, both of Liège diocese, and Gysbert Kolen, of Louvain ²⁾.

Although it would be useless to attempt describing or nominating the hundreds of able linguists formed at the *Trilingue* in Masius' time, one name may be added here, that of the Latin poet, Garbrand Schoenmaecker, Sutor, son of Nicolas; he had attended Peter Nannius' lectures in his native town Alkmaar, and had entered the Johannite Order at Haarlem ³⁾; from there he was sent to study in Louvain. He regularly attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, and he already published a bundle of poems, *Edyllia*, in September 1534 ⁴⁾. Some celebrate the Blessed Virgin; others express his veneration for his 'confratres', the Haarlem Johannites van Zanen, Cornelius Scotus, and Joannes Paulus; as well as his gratitude to his late master and friend 'Petrus Nannius Gymnasiarcha'. In 1537 he was appointed parish priest at Hazerswoude, near Leyden, a place belonging to the *Commandery*, where he fulfilled the duties of his office for thirty-six years, until he retired in 1563 to Haarlem; he died in the autumn of 1567 ⁵⁾.

C. CORNELIUS VALERIUS VAN AUWATER

One of the most famous of the students who then attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, was the future successor of

¹⁾ Cp. II, 475-77.

²⁾ Ern. Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*: Paris, 1874, ch. ii-iv; P. Courteault, *Le premier Principal du Collège de Guyenne* (in *Mélanges A. Lefranc*): Paris, 1936: 234-35; *ClénCorr.*, II, 28.

³⁾ *HEpH*, 31.

⁴⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius: *NijKron.*, II, 3913; Gelder, 75.

⁵⁾ Gelder, 75; *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom Haarlem*, IX: art. Hazerswoude; he left a considerable heritage, divided in 1568.

Peter Nannius as professor of Latin, Cornelius van Auwater, Aquaveteris, son of Wouter, Valerius, of Utrecht ¹⁾). He was born in that town in 1512, and as his father neglected his family affairs, and died before his time, the boy, who soon lost also his mother, was placed by his tutors as chorister in Utrecht Cathedral. In 1529, he was allowed to enter the School which was then entrusted to the great dramatic author George Macropedius ²⁾). The boy developed into a most zealous student, in so far that he was sent to Louvain, where, for six years, from 1532 to 1538, he sedulously followed the lectures of the *Trilingue*, those especially of Goclenius and Rescius, and acquired a surprisingly extensive mastery on grammar, and precepts of language and literature, as well as a thorough insight in the pedagogical value and the methodical teaching of those matters. Already whilst a student he gained his living by teaching and tutoring, and, in 1561, he recalls to William van Heeteren, bailiff of the Johannite Order at Utrecht ³⁾), how twenty-four years before, he had dictated to him and to some of his intimate friends the first elements of astronomy in the happy time, when the same roof sheltered them ⁴⁾). He was probably helped financially by the *scholarcha* of the Utrecht Chapter, Adrian de Renesse of Wulven ⁵⁾), and when, in 1538, he returned, he most probably owed it to him that he got an appointment in the Latin School under Macropedius' direction.

He lived at the house of an aunt, and there had a liaison with Elizabeth van Honthorst, a cousin's sister, which

¹⁾ His name and birth place are indicated in his letters so as to preclude all possible doubt : ValE, 3, 15, 103, 151.

²⁾ Cp. II, 565-66.

³⁾ Kuiper, 41, 74, 80.

⁴⁾ *De Sphæra et primis Astronomiæ Rudimentis Libellus Vtilissimus* : Antwerp, Chr. Plantin (& G. Sylvius), 1561 : Kuiper, 41, 80.

⁵⁾ ValE, 1 ; Adrian de Renesse de Wulven, son of John, born about 1481, became *canonicus scholasticus* of St. Martin's (Oudemunster), Utrecht ; he succeeded after some months to John van der Vorst († November 8, 1546) as Dean, April 18, 1549, and replaced the Bishop George of Egmont at the visit of Philip, son of Charles V, in 1549, taking his oath of fidelity for Utrecht, and pronouncing himself the oath of obedience. He died at the age of 78, on December 7, 1559 : Hoyneck, III, i, 180-81.

burdened him with two daughters ¹⁾. When his friends realized his remarkable erudition and competence, they made him understand in how far the rash and ill-fitted connection would spoil all his prospects in life ; at any rate it was broken off, and although he never shrank from the duty of providing for the girls and their mother, he entered orders, and became a priest. Wishing to avoid even all possibility of evil suspicion, he left his native town ; still he had worked there with great success, and he had even started his publications : not only the *Brevis Descriptio Eorum, Quæ in Aduentum... D. N. Caroli V... Traiecti apparata sunt*, with the text of the inscriptions and the poems composed — several by himself — on the occasion of the Imperial visit of August 1540 ²⁾, but also his famous *Tabulæ Totivs Dialectices*, of 1545, inaugurating the brilliant series of his classical works ³⁾. He came to Louvain in 1546, and soon gathered a knot of students, mostly of the higher class of society, to whom he explained those *Tabulæ*. They were an admirable innovation, as they lifted out of the tediously long treatises or series of lectures, just that which is substantial and material, shortening considerably the labour, whilst improving the quality of the knowledge acquired.

He continued the same work on the *Ratio Bene Dicendi* ⁴⁾ and especially on Latin Grammar ⁵⁾, imitating, in a way, Nicolas Beken's primers both for Greek and Hebrew ⁶⁾ ; he thus perfected what had been done in that matter by John de Coster and John de Spouter ⁷⁾ ; they had removed from

¹⁾ ValE, 33, 43, 72, 93, 108, 114, &c.

²⁾ Utrecht, Herman Borculous, August 15, 1540 ; reprinted in *Adriani Scorellii Poemata*, with poems celebrating the Session of the Golden Fleece at Utrecht in 1546, by Christ. Plantin, Antwerp, 1566 : Paquot, xii, 149, xv, 67-68 ; Kuiper, 44, 47, 52, sq, 350.

³⁾ Utrecht, Herman Borculous : Paquot, xii, 150-51 ; Kuiper, 47, sq, 351. — Some other works, or their *Anacephaleosis*, had also been printed before he came to Louvain : ValE, 134, &c.

⁴⁾ About 1540, he composed *In universam bene dicendi rationem tabula*, which he joined in 1545 to the *Tabula Dialectices*, and enlarged considerably into the *Summa Rhetorices* of 1556 : cp. Paquot, xii, 149-150 ; Kuiper, 42, 63, sq, 354-56.

⁵⁾ Paquot, xii, 151-52 ; Kuiper, 58, sq, 353-54.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 167, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. I, 200-205, 206-14 ; *UniDill.*, 248.

Alexander de Villa-Dei's *Doctrinale* all regulations and precepts which could not be substantiated by the practice of the authors of antiquity ¹⁾). Still they constituted a shapeless mass of rules, into which Auwater introduced unity and order by a judicious distinction between the general *regulæ*, and the comparatively rare exceptions. He had learned that discerning between the material and the accidental, from Goclenius : for in it lay the efficiency of the teaching of that Great Master, whose chief merit was the effective communicating of that distinction to the ever growing number of students of the language of Rome. The importance of the service that he and his disciple rendered can hardly be gauged : for certain, Auwater thus caused the interest in antiquity to move considerably ahead. The great number of issues of his two handbooks, for as far as still recorded ²⁾), testifies to that importance of his contribution to Humanistic studies : and the editions as they are known at present probably fail in giving an exact idea : for no books have less chance of survival than those small handbooks, which, printed for the use in classes, are thumbed and torn into rags after a few months, or considered as having too little importance for all those who passed the tirocinium stage.

Auwater did not remain in Louvain : in 1547, he accepted the offer of the parents of some of his pupils, Philibert and James de 't Serooskercke ³⁾ and John van Duvenvoerde ⁴⁾, to accompany them as tutor to France : he resided for some time with them in Orleans and Paris, where he was even requested to lecture in public on his handbooks, which had become

¹⁾ Delprat, 154-55.

²⁾ A recently edited bibliographical list, which circumstances have necessarily hampered (Kuiper, 351-55), points out 27 reprints for the *Tabulæ Dialectices*, 35 for the *Grammaticæ Institutiones* and 28 for the *Bene Dicendi Ratio* in the second half of the xvth century.

³⁾ Cp. ValE, 8, *pr* ; they were the sons of Jerome of 't Serooskercke, Lord of that place and others, on Walcheren, 'eques auratus', and of Eleanor Micault. Philibert, born in Brussels in 1537, succeeded his father in the title ; he became alderman of Middelburg in 1562, and governor of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1572 : Fruin, 503 ; Kuiper, 57, *sq*, 63, 66, 70, 74 ; to him and his brother, Auwater dedicated his *Grammaticæ Institutiones* : Paris, 1550.

⁴⁾ Cp. ValE, 107, *pr*.

known and highly appreciated ; unfortunately, the danger of war drove them out of the country. He resided with his young men, from February to August 1548, at Tournai in the house of the Dean Peter le Barbier ¹⁾, Erasmus' old friend, hoping that circumstances would allow them to go back to Paris.

As that hope proved delusive, he returned to Louvain in the first days of September, and, taking up again his old quarters with his pupils in the house of his townsman, the physician Lambert van der Haer ²⁾, he resumed his studies and his teaching. He lived on intimate footing with Peter Nannius, and followed most eagerly the development of the intellectual activity at the *Trilingue* ; as, however, the number of his pupils from the highest ranks of the nation ³⁾, was steadily increasing, he was prevented to devote himself exclusively to research. He was particularly requested to instruct them in the various branches of philosophy, so that they could secure, if not the title, at least the competence, of the Masters of Arts ; he therefore studied thoroughly the various *Artes* : leaving out all the controversial matter, as well as all subtle trifling and useless sophistry, he built, for each branch, an admirable and sound structure, in a concise, and yet most lucid, style : they were so suggestive, helpful and efficient that they drew continually new students to him. Even after he had taken up Latin teaching, the insistent request

¹⁾ Cp. ValE, 28, *pr.* Peter le Barbier was a chaplain of Philip of Austria by 1501, and by 1515, of Charles of Austria's Council ; he followed John le Sauvage to Spain in 1517 ; at his death, he entered Adrian of Utrecht's service, and went with him to Italy. He there tried to obtain the Tournai deanery, in which he succeeded : by 1528, he had settled at Tournai, and is mentioned in several deeds as Dean. From 1545, his health was very precarious : in 1551, he obtained the nomination of a coadjutor, Peter de la Trouillière, of the Imperial Chapel, and died on December 7, 1551 : Allen, II, 443, *pr.* ; Vos, I, 106-9 ; and I, II, *passim.*

²⁾ Cp. ValE, 23, *pr.* : Lambert van der Haer came of a distinguished Utrecht family : his son Florentius became a remarkable historian : cp. before, p 140, and further, p 278.

³⁾ Amongst them was Count John Francis of Rennenberch : ValE, 32, *pr.* ; John van Zudoert : ValE, 75, *pr.*, and even the famous Sebastian Fox Morcillo (1527-c 1560), of Sevilla, who was appointed as Don Juan's preceptor, and wrote several most interesting books on humanism : cp. further, Ch. XXV.

for enlightenment was so general and so urgent that he saw himself compelled to edit the various matters in handbooks to replace his personal tutoring. It brought into being his *De Sphæra & Astronomia*, 1561 ¹⁾, his *Physicæ Institutio*, 1567 ²⁾, both printed at Antwerp, by Plantin, and his *Ethicæ Descriptio*, published from a student's copy by J. Oporinus, Basle, in 1566 ³⁾: with the *Dialectices*, the *Grammatica* and the *Ratio Dicendi*, they form an *Orbis Artium*, an *Orbis Disciplinarum*, which, with their respective *Anacephalæosis* and *Tabula* ⁴⁾, proved most useful, not only to students, but even to teachers, and to instruction in general. They provided a more rational and objective insight in the various matters, than had been known up to then; indeed, they are based on solid facts and irrefutable logic according to the fundamental principles of the *Trilingue*. They, moreover, represent, for modern research, a complete encyclopædia of the sixteenth century knowledge, especially as it was then taught in Louvain, exposed by a man whose nice appreciation of the real value of things, and a felicitous discrimination between the essential and the accessory, was esteemed to such extent that his handbooks were not only reprinted, but translated in various languages in many countries ⁵⁾, and served even as sources for several works of erudition and literature ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Paquot, xii, 152-53; Kuiper, 80, sq, 356.

²⁾ Paquot, xii, 153; Kuiper, 82, sq, 356-57.

³⁾ Paquot, xii, 153-54; Kuiper, 93, sq, 357-58.

⁴⁾ Cp. Kuiper, 95, sq, 104, sq, 134, sq.

⁵⁾ His *Ethicæ, seu de Moribus Philosophiæ Descriptio*, Basle, Sept., 1566, was already translated into English and published in 1571, as 'The Casket of Jewels: a plaine description of morall philosophie by Cornelius Valerius... turned into Englishe by J<ohn> C<harlton>'. — London, W. How, for R. Jones, 1571: Kuiper, 96; DNB. His *De Inventionem Dialecticam* was similarly used and worked into Thomas Wilson's *The Rule of Reason, Containing the Arte of Logique*: London, 1551: Kuiper, 93, 358, sq; DNB; G. Scheurweghs, *Nicholas Udall's Roister Doister (Materials)*, xvii: Louvain, 1939): xliii, lvii, 69-72.

⁶⁾ Kuiper, 158-82, 240, sq. — Auwater's treatises were used everywhere: they are recorded as classics in Cologne, 1557, 1563 (*JesRheinA*, 287, 483), Dillingen, 1573 (*UniDill.*, 248), Kornik, 1676 (Bibl. Kornik, MSS, 603, 1058), &c, and in 1615, Nicaise Bax put the *Rhetorica* into verses which were often reprinted and used for long years: Paquot, vi, 244.

That, however, was only the accessory part of his activity, — by which he wished to provide the wherewithall to spend his last years in study, and thus make up for the time he devoted to the tutoring and training of his many pupils for branches of general formation ¹⁾. For, before all, he was a Latinist, and when illness and old age made it difficult for Peter Nannius to deliver his lectures, van Auwater was requested to take his place. He thus taught for him throughout the year 1556; and when, very early in 1557 ²⁾, Nannius, who contemplated still devoting some years yet to his favourite authors, mentioned (in his edition of the *Bucolica*, 1557,) Valerius' help, he added that he contemplated having him as successor : 'ut quem huius professionis hæredem si quid mihi humanitus accidisset, destinarem semper, & adhuc destino'. Cornelius van Auwater gathered that succession long before it was expected, for Nannius died already on June 21 of that same year ³⁾ : having replaced his friend for his lecture on the very day of his decease, he was at once appointed, and started his own professorate on June 25 by the *Oratio Funebris* of his predecessor ⁴⁾.

In his lectures van Auwater continued the tradition of the *Trilingue* : he had at his command a discriminate and choice Latin, nervous and supple, matter-of-fact and yet very rich, embellished by the variety of allusions to a vast erudition, rather than by witty ornaments of style. In his lifetime he was highly appreciated for the lucidity and the purity of his exposition. 'Familiare illi', as Valerius Andreas, who knew several of his disciples, declares : 'purum, candidum, et

¹⁾ E. g., George of Austria, Charles V's nephew (cp. further, p 280), Count Philip William of Orange, Peter de Werchin (*Mansfeld*, I, 21-23), Charles de Melun, Prince of Espinoy, Baron of Antoing and Constable of Flanders, with his brothers, Robert, Lord of Richebourg (*id.*, I, 217, II, 70, &c), and James, Lord of Saultey, and many others. James de Melun died in 1560, and van Auwater composed an *Oratio Funebris* : Louvain, R. Velpius, 1560 : Paquot, XII, 152. Viglius entrusted to him the tutoring of his nephew — future student of law — as results from his letter of November 22, 1560 : VigIEB, 27.

²⁾ Polet, 173.

³⁾ Polet, 26-27 ; Paquot, XIV, 61.

⁴⁾ That *Oratio*, up to now inedited, and even supposed to have been lost, — Paquot, XII, 155, a, — has been found by the author of this book : it is intended to be reproduced as APPENDIX V.

minime veteratorum dicendi genus : dictionem antiquariam, obsoletam, horridam atque incultam, tanquam scopulum, fugiendam suo docuit exemplo' ¹). In fact, he based his teaching chiefly on Virgil and Cicero, and explained his texts, not so much for the technicalities of the expression, as for the ideas imparted or suggested, and for their influence on language and style : in that way he drew an immense advantage from the rich store of knowledge which he had gathered, and still was gathering, for his *Orbis Disciplinarum*, and prevented the study of Latin from becoming the occasion of vain quibbling about words and terms, and from turning into a barren imitation of some set phrases and turns. He thus broke off with the growing custom of displaying wit and erudition at nearly every sentence, which threatened to hasten decadence by the conventional word-play and the inane show of a pseudo-erudition, characterizing the third and fourth generation of Latinists, and marking the decline of literary Humanism in the xviith century. He did not follow Nannius, who was advancing in that direction, and it is, no doubt, on that account that he rather abstained from textual criticism, which often turns into mere subtlety ; he therefore preferred letting the clearness and the right understanding of the subject imparted, suggest the emendations, if necessary, whilst investigating the cause of the mistaken wording. If, on that account, he has been said to compare unfavourably with the author of the *Miscellanea* ²), he achieved better and more lasting work : he has not, indeed, silenced a Robortelli,

¹) VAndEx., 56 ; Suffridus Petri, *De Script. Frisiae*, dec. xii.

²) In his letter to John van den Wouwere, of October 1, 1600, Justus Lipsius mentions his master Cornelius Valerius : 'is', he states, 'Petro Nannio, qui primus honestum ibi (<viz., Lovanii>) ignem accenderat, successor datus : studio non impar, ingenio inferior' : J LipsEM, III, 87 (p 92). Still in the sentence immediately preceding, he praises his fellow-students and adds : 'ductore omnium nostrum Cornelio Valerio & quasi chorago'. It thus seems as if Lips, in his intricate style, intends the negation to apply as well to *ingenio inferior* as to *studio impar*, as otherwise one would expect a better marked opposition : *licet* (or *etsi*) *ingenio inferior*. At any rate, in a passage which is evidently intended as a praise as much of the master as of his disciples, the place seems an actual detraction from the value of Auwater, — who *tries* to come up to Nannius, but *cannot*, — unless *non* is applied to both determinations.

as Nannius did ¹⁾, but he has trained, not only as many famous disciples ²⁾, but even more, and more thorough, philologic critics than his predecessor or any of his successors : to him is due the formation of the authors of the *Novarum Lectionum* *LL. VIII*, 1571, William Canter ³⁾ (July 20, 1542-May 18, 1575) and of the *Lectiones Novantiquæ*, 1584, Francis van der Mauden, Modius ⁴⁾ (1556-1597); also of the famous editors : of Lucretius, 1566, Hubert van Giffen or Obert Giphanius ⁵⁾ (1533-July 26, 1604); of Sallust, 1573, Louis Carrion ⁶⁾ († June 18, 1595); of Prudentius, 1564, Sulpitius Severus, 1574, and Ovid, 1584, Victor Ghisselinck, Giselinus ⁷⁾ (March 23, 1543-1591); of Seneca the Tragedian, 1594, Martin Antony Delrio ⁸⁾ (1551-October 19, 1608); of Seneca the Rhetor, 1606, Andrew

¹⁾ Francesco Robortelli (1516-1567), an Italian humanist, had attacked Erasmus in his *Variorum Locorum Adnotationes*, 1543, and was taken to task by Nannius : Polet, 145, 161-63, 306-7, 313, 315.

²⁾ Such were James Typoets, of Bruges, († 1601), jurisprudent and councillor of John III, King of Sweden, afterwards of Emperor Rodolph II (Paquot, x, 157-66); Florent van der Haer, son of Lambertus († 1634), canon of Lille and historian of his times (Paquot, i, 279-84; VAnd., 359; *BibBelg.*, 217; Hessels, i, 731); John van den Driessche, Drusius (1550-1616), professor of languages in Oxford and Franeker : *LibIntI* IV, 417, r (August 28, 1565; Joannes Driesche Oudenarden. postea Joan. Drusius); Paquot, v, 104-28; Wood, i, 339-41, 403, 791; Janus Lernutius, of Bruges (1545-1619), poet, and Lips' companion on his journeys : *BibBelg.*, 440; Paquot, vi, 363-68; PlantE, vii, 200; SchottE, 39, 102; — and many others : cp. Opmeer, 38, b; Paquot, xii, 148; Kuiper, 72-77.

³⁾ Vern., 313; *BibBelg.*, 309; Opmeer, ii, 26; *SaxOnom.*, 410, 479; Gabbema, 257, 615, 629, 640-41 (with one letter of John, 717, one of Lambert, 692, and several of Theodore); Hessels, i, 124, sq, 129, 212; Paquot, xvi, 231, iv, 72; *GandErVir.*, 74; Sandys, ii, 216, sq, 105, &c.

⁴⁾ *BibBelg.*, 233; *BrugErVir.*, 7, 29, sq; *SaxOnom.*, 530; Orbaan, 145; Roersch, i, 110-35; P. Lehmann, *F. Modius als Handschriftenforscher*, Munich, 1908; *AireSP* (where he was a canon), 108; *ULPrivCon.*, 260-61; Sandys, ii, 217; *FlandIll.*, ii, 160-61.

⁵⁾ *BibBelg.*, 702; *SaxOnom.*, 411; Paquot, xvi, 87-107; Gabbema, 641, 715; Sandys, ii, 190, 362; PlantE, i, 110, 137, 222, iii, 11.

⁶⁾ Cp. Ch. XIX.

⁷⁾ *BibBelg.*, 843; Paquot, ii, 131-36; *ULPromLo.*, 201 (1556); PlantE, i, 110, sq, iii, 10, v, 191, vi, 263, vii, 199, sq, viii, 268, sq.

⁸⁾ Vern., 256; *BibBelg.*, 643; Opmeer, ii, 328; *BrugErVir.*, 18, sq, 42; *FlandScript.*, 117; *SaxOnom.*, 470; *CrenFasc.*, iii, 413, sq; Sandys, ii, 217, 203.

Schott ¹⁾ (September 12, 1552-January 24, 1629) ; also that of Tacitus, 1574, Justus Lips ²⁾ (October 18, 1547-March 23, 1606), and of many others. That glorious Pleiad is Auwater's unfailing claim to renown : for it was he who introduced his disciples into a thorough knowledge of the chief writers of the great Era of Latin literature, and instead of parading himself with the result of his studies, he was generous enough to allow those he had encouraged and disposed to the great task, to make full use of his comments on, and his emendations of, Lucretius and Cicero, Varro and Prudentius. Not only did he incite to relentless work his pupils, who expressed their gratitude on all occasions, but even encouraged and turned to study his own protectors and favourers, such as the John van Cuyck, Cauchius ³⁾, who, for several years, took an active part in the management of Utrecht, and whose comments he joined with those of his pupil William Canter and his own in an edition of the *Officia* ⁴⁾. No wonder that

¹⁾ Vern., 17 ; VAnd., 404 ; *BibBelg.*, 53 ; SchottE ; *GandErVir*, 114 ; *FlandScript.*, 135 ; *SaxOnom.*, 499 ; Gabbema, 719 ; Orbaan, 31, 106, 323 ; *BrabNobl.*, 594-608 (Douglas, de Schott), 600-601 ; *Antonii Augustini Archiep. Taraconensis Dialogorum Duo de Emendatione Gratiani Lib. II* (Paris, Muguet, 1672 : with a letter of Schott to Livinus Torrentius, 1586 : SchottE, 81) ; *NèveRen.*, 349, 407, 418, 421 ; Sandys, II, 305.

²⁾ Vern., 18, 131, 142, 145, 311-12 ; VAnd., 203, 280, 320, &c ; *BibBelg.*, 599, sq ; Opmeer, II, 298 ; *SaxOnom.*, 479, 636 ; Sandys, II, 301-4, &c. There are letters of Lips to Auwater in his *Quæstiones Epistolicae*, III, 16, v, 17.

³⁾ John, or John the Baptist, van Cuyck, Cauchius, a son of Antony van Cuyck and of Gouburga Pyll, daughter of the Utrecht alderman Bruno Pyll. He was born at the end of the xvth century, and studied literature and laws, so that, from 1534, he acted as councillor or alderman in his native town until, having been mayor in 1544, he occupied himself exclusively with his studies and his family : he had married Elizabeth Moerendaal, and he sent his sons to Louvain and Italy. With his brother Bruno, he was Auwater's friend and protector : he was encouraged by him to publish Æmilius Probus' *De Vitis Imperatorum Græcorum* (Utrecht, 1542), and he contributed some comments to Auwater's *Officia* of 1568. He had died meanwhile, on November 17, 1566, leaving *Notæ in D. Paulini Poemata*, which were used afterwards by Andrew Schott : Gabbema, 720 (1606), as well as several other documents which testify to wide-spread researches : *BibBelg.*, 479 ; ValE, 16, 17, 20, &c ; Paquot, xvi, 245-48.

⁴⁾ *Marci Tullii Ciceronis Officiorum Libri Tres, cum Animadversiones Ioannis Cauchii, Cornelii Valerii & Guil. Canteri* : Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1568 : Paquot, XII, 154, xvi, 247 ; Kuiper, 79, 116, 158.

Suffridus Petri applied to Auwater that which, some decads before, Erasmus had said of the *Trilingue* : 'ut ex equo illo Trojano rei bellicæ, ita ex hujus viri sinu rei literariæ principes infiniti prodierunt' ¹⁾ !

Cornelius van Auwater had, for a second time, emended and enriched his *Grammaticarum Institutionum Libri Quatuor* for Plantin's press in 1577 ²⁾, when his health, which had never been very grand, was made more precarious by painful attacks of gout ; he died on August 11, 1578, and was laid to rest in St. Peter's Church, where, in 1610, his former disciple George of Austria, Provost of that Church, and Chancellor of the University ³⁾, in gratitude to his Great Professor ⁴⁾, erected a monument, of which the inscription, on a brass plate, suggests the style of Erycius Puteanus ⁵⁾ :

¹⁾ *FrisScript.*, 202 ; cp. before, II, 247.

²⁾ Kuiper, 116, sq, 122, sq. There is an original letter of Valerius of July 24, 1575, to F. Raphelengius and John Moretus, referring to the reprinting of the *Tabella Ethices*, amongst the *Epistolæ Eruditorum* 1538-1674, British Museum, MS. Harl. 7011 : f 139, r.

³⁾ George was the natural son of George of Austria, later on Bishop of Brie, then Archbishop of Valencia and Bishop of Liège (c 1505-May 4, 1557 : cp. II, 132, 587 ; Brewer, III, p 969 ; *OlaCar.*, 3) and prob. a young lady of the family de Brimere de Meghem (*BerghAutr.*, 42-57). Having first followed the military career, he entered orders, became Provost of Harlebeke, June 9, 1577, commendatory prior of St. Saulve, near Valenciennes, 1597, provost of St. Peter's, Louvain, April 2, 1597, and chaplain of Albert and Isabella : as provost of St. Peter's, he was installed Chancellor of the University on June 3, 1598. He died in Brussels on April 21, 1619, and was buried in St. Peter's. He showed great gratitude to his former tutor and professor Valerius, as well as to the *Trilingue* : on July 11, 1614, under the presidency of Adrian Baecx (VAnd., 278), he laid the first stone of the new Chapel ; and by his will of September 16, 1613, he bequeathed to the College all his books and his furniture, and founded in it, partly by means of some rents on Alne Abbey, a scholarship in favour of natives of Brabant ; he endowed Bruegel College with a similar scholarship : Vern., 42 ; VAnd., 59, 278, 317 ; FUL, 1464, 1986 ; Allen, IX, 2566, 212 ; *CorpCath.*, XIV, 60.

⁴⁾ Mol., 607 ; Opmeer, I, 480, a, II, 38, b ; Guicc., 50 ; Miræus, II, 111 ; Vern., 145, 310-11 ; *SweMon.*, 211, 347 ; VAnd., 250, 280, 365, 403 ; VAnd-Ex., 58, sq ; *BibBelg.*, 165-66 ; Hoynck, II, I, 380, II, 8 ; *HEpU*, 196 ; Paquot, XII, 145-55 ; *SaxOnom.*, 230 ; FUL, 1441 ; *NèveRen.*, 298, 399 ; *NèveMém.*, 156, sq ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 506 ; Kuiper, 35, sq.

⁵⁾ Paquot, XII, 148.

D. O. M.

CORNELII VALERII VLTRAIECTINI

OSSA HEIC CONDITA & CONSUMPTA. NOMEN ASCRIBERE
 ALIENA PIETAS VOLVIT ; AN ALIENA TAMEN ? A DISCIPULO
 VENIT : & QUANTVS ILLE, CUI VENIT ! MERUIT. IVVENTVTEM
 BELGICAM ORE & STYLO IN COLLEGIO TRILINGVI DOCVIT, NON
 MINVS DISERTVS VTILISQUE, POSTQVAM LOQVI DESIIT, QVAM
 CLARVS & ÆTERNVS, POSTQVAM SCRIBERE. GEORGIVS AB AVSTRIA,
 PRÆPOSITVS HVIVS ECCLESIAE & ACADEMIAE CANCELLARIVS, NEGLECTVM
 XXXII. ANN. MONVMENTVM PRÆCEPTORI P. C. ANN. M. DC. X.
 VIXIT ANN. LXVI., DOCVIT XXI., OBIIT M. D. LXXIIX., III. EID. SEXT.

Besides the works which he published and which, by their frequent reprints, continued his influence throughout time and space, van Auwater left a couple of orations ¹⁾ and some introductions to, as well as notes on, the authors he read in his classes : Peter van Opmeer regretted that they were *impie suppressa* ²⁾ ; forty years later, Valerius Andreas stated that they were still kept, with other papers of his, in the *Trilingue* ³⁾ : no doubt, their almost microscopical writing discouraged all attempt at publishing them. In 1768, Paquot enumerates those manuscript works, possibly on the strength of an old catalogue, but regrets that they are not any longer in the College ⁴⁾. The author of this book has had the extraordinary fortune to secure by chance an unsightly bundle of old, almost undecipherable, papers, which contained those manuscripts, as well as Auwater's 'letter book' in his rough draughts from 1537 to 1551, and several poems ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ The *Oratio Funebris in obitu D. Petri Nannii*, (cp. p 276), intended to be edited here for the first time as APPENDIX V ; also the *Oratio Funebris in Exequiis Caroli V Cæsaris*, 1559, edited in Vernulæus' *Epitome Historiarum* : Louvain, 1654.

²⁾ *Candidi ingenij monumenta quædam adhuc impie suppressa ; alia tenebris eruta, omnium cum plausu leguntur* : Opmeer, II, 38, b (1611).

³⁾ *RibBelg.*, 166.

⁴⁾ Paquot, XII, 155.

⁵⁾ He hopes to publish, Deo favente, the copies made of those letters and poems, and of the other unedited documents.

2. LINGUISTS AND ERUDITES

A. ANDREW MASIUS

One of the glories of the *Trilingue* at that time, was the large part it had in the formation of the great linguist **Andrew Maes, Masius**, or *Liniacensis*, as he was also called after the village *Liniacum*, Lennick, near Brussels, where he was born on November 30, 1514 ¹⁾. He boarded in the Lily, and was the first of a series of 107 students who promoted Master of Arts in 1533 ²⁾. He started the study of laws, and was entrusted with the lectures of philosophy in his pedagogy the Lily ³⁾. He also applied himself most zealously to languages under the lead of Goclenius ⁴⁾, Rescius ⁵⁾ and especially Balenus ⁶⁾. His Latin was indifferent in the beginning, but it became pure and polished through reading fine literature. In a few months he mastered Greek so well, that he translated Aristotle's *De Præsgitiis Ventorum*; in half a year he learned Hebrew. Such excellent results made him already famous in Louvain, where he probably eked out the salary of professor of philosophy in the Lily, by tutoring young men of noble families.

In the first months of 1537, he contributed some verses towards Rescius' commemorative publication at Erasmus' decease ⁷⁾, and he probably was waiting for some promotion, if not at the University, at least to some ecclesiastical office by means of the *preces regales* or of the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts ⁸⁾, when, in August 1538 ⁹⁾, the Imperial

¹⁾ MasE, 162, 164.

²⁾ VAnd., 244; *ULPromRs.*, 81; his brother Quentin is mentioned in his correspondence: MasE, 19, *sq.*, 193.

³⁾ MasE, 8; *ULDoc.*, iv, 248, of which the year-dates have to be corrected by MasE, 1-4. ⁴⁾ MasE, 3. ⁵⁾ MasE, 15.

⁶⁾ MasE, 3, 14, 15, 17. ⁷⁾ Cp. II, 200, and further Ch. XVIII, 4.

⁸⁾ It seems as if, in the summer of 1538, he was already expecting such a nomination, since Balenus promises to follow up his suit, although he does not think there is much chance: letter of October 17, 1538: MasE, xvii, 3, 192-3, &c.

⁹⁾ On October 17, 1538, Balenus replies to Masius' letter of September 3, referring to the conditions which had been promised by Ericksen in de Weze's name, and which the latter does not seem to accept or execute: MasE, 3.

Councillor John de Weze, Archbishop of Lund and Bishop of Constance ¹⁾, offered him the situation of secretary. In his name his friend Godschalk Ericksen ²⁾ and Conrad Goclenius had promised Masius, besides the wherewithal to live, a good stipend and the assurance of advancement, and it was only then that he decidedly resigned the *conditionem quam habeba<t> non pessimam*. In his new office he was to follow Charles V's Court on all its peregrinations throughout Europe, and, in the first months, his friends complained about the lack of news. He himself was disappointed in his expectations, and his great and loving master Andrew Balenus even advised him to remind his employer of the promises made in his name by Ericksen and Goclenius : if not, he would help him to find another situation ³⁾.

No doubt, Masius' displeasure must have been the result of the impossibility of devoting himself to study : he, however,

¹⁾ John de Weze was Christiern's II's secretary, and Bishop of Roskilde, when his master caused him to be appointed as Archbishop of Lund. As he followed the King into exile, he never could substantiate his claim. After Christiern II abandoned the policy prescribed by Charles V, Weze and Godschalk Ericksen entered the Imperial service as councillors. John de Weze, who was one of John Dantiscus' great friends, backed Granvelle and Naves in their policy of peace : *Laemmer*, 170, 179, *sq*, 211, 223, *sq* ; *Pastor*, v, 88, 262-5, 317 ; he was often sent on embassies, and as reward was nominated Bishop of Constance in 1537, as well as administrator of the Abbey of Reichenau and of Waldsassen. He died at Augsburg on June 13, 1548, and was buried in the Abbey of Reichenau with an epitaph by Masius, which de Schepper pronounced to be too eulogistic : *MasE*, 65-66. Cp. *DantE*, *passim* ; *OlaE*, *passim* ; *Cran*, 57, 2 ; *LPH8*, vii, 697, *notes & errata* ; *LanzPap.*, 118-128, 155-58, 202-6, 277-81 ; *LanzCorr.*, i, 277, ii, 220, 375 ; *MasE*, 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 17, 26, &c ; *Polet*, 275-77, 299, &c ; *ZeitSchlecht*, 284, 287 ; *Seck.*, i, 266, a ; *AltRel.*, 273-76.

²⁾ Godschalk Ericksen, Rosenkrantz, Ericii, Sassenkerl, of Schleswig, was Christiern II's Chancellor ; he faithfully stuck to his master until he was lured into captivity in July 1532 ; he then entered Charles V's service as councillor, ambassador and army administrator ; he died on September 28, 1544 ; his countryman James Jespersen celebrated his memory in his *Anactobiblion*, 1544 : *BB*, i, 29, 3 ; there is a letter of him (Sept. 23, 1540) in *MasE*, 9, and several in *DantE* ; he is also often referred to in *OlaE* ; *Cran.*, 67, a, &c ; *FG*, 361 ; *Henne*, iii, 180, 189-200, 367, &c ; *LuChaV.*, 414 ; *Allen*, ix, 2570, 40 ; *LanzCorr.*, ii, 220 ; *LanzPap.*, 110-117 ; *Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift*, ii, vi : Copenhagen, 1891 : 189-227.

³⁾ Letter of Balenus to Masius, October 17, 1538 : *MasE*, 3.

did what he could : thus by 1540, he had made the acquaintance of the famous Orientalist John Alberti of Widmanstadt, also called Lucretius ¹⁾, who became his correspondent ; Sebastian Munster ²⁾, Hebrew professor of Basle, dedicated to him, in August 1539, his translation of Elias Levita's *Accentuum Hebraicorum Liber unus* ³⁾, and, in July 1542, Paul Fagius ⁴⁾ inscribed to him his Latin translation of *Sefer Amana, Liber Fidei* ⁵⁾ : the young secretary corresponded with those erudites in Hebrew. When, in the beginning of 1544, Andrew van Gennep, still suffering from his nervous break-down, was unable to teach, ⁶⁾, the *Provisores* of the *Trilingue*, as Nannius relates, intended appointing Masius in

¹⁾ He was a native of 'Nallinga', in Swabia ; he became papal secretary, and explained to Clement VII and some personages of his Court in the gardens of the Vatican in 1533 the system of Copernic : *Prowe*, I, II, 273-74 ; *Pastor*, V, 741. He afterwards was the Chancellor of Ferdinand of Austria ; in 1555 he published in Vienna his *Syriacæ Linguæ prima Elementa*, and his *Novum Testamentum Syriacum*. Cp. *SaxOnom.*, 341 ; *SchelAL*, II, 399, sq, XIII, 243-4, XIV, 468-500 ; *MasE*, 8, sq, 17, sq, 160-64, 199, 201, sq, 227, 262, sq, 351, sq, 438, sq, 442 ; *HebStud.*, 70, 106, 119 ; *Pastor*, VI, 148.

²⁾ Born at Ingelheim, Palatinate, 1489, he entered the Franciscan Order in 1504 ; he studied in Heidelberg and Tübingen, became chaplain to the Palatine Elector and was appointed Hebrew professor in Basle in the summer of 1529 ; he died on May 23, 1552. — He made a name through his edition of Ptolemy's works, 1540-42, and his *Cosmographia*, 1544. Cp. *DébAgMod.*, 296 ; *HebStud.*, 74-88 ; *Herminjard*, II, 248 ; *MasE*, 4 ; *HarvMarg.*, 212.

³⁾ Basle, August 1539 : *HebStud.*, 75 ; Masius is called *aulicus*, and praised for his zeal and modesty, which made him sign his Hebrew letter : your pupil ; cp. *MasE*, 4.

⁴⁾ Paul Buchlein, Fagius, born in 1504 at Rheinzabern, was for a long time teacher at Isny ; he became a disciple of Elias Levita and of Capito for Hebrew ; in 1527 he returned to Isny, became pastor there in 1537 ; he started a printing office, and published several Hebrew texts ; from 1542 to 1546 he taught Hebrew at Strassburg ; in 1549 he went to England, and died in Cambridge, November 12, 1549. Cp. *HebStud.*, 66, sq ; *DNB* ; *Cooper*, I, 95-7, 538 ; *Gough*, 315, a.

⁵⁾ Isny, 1542 ; *MasE*, 17 : in the dedicatory letter Fagius compares Masius to two great learned statesmen, John of Widmanstadt and Gerard van Veltwyck (cp. further in this Chapter, 5, B.)

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p. 213.

his place : by September, however, of that same year, the professor resumed his lectures ¹⁾).

Although his situation, as such, offered no reason to any complaint to Masius, he deeply regretted the absence of all occasion of study ; consequently when, in the summer of 1543, he met at Trent his late fellow-student John Visbroeck, secretary of Cardinal Morone ²⁾), they examined the possibility of finding an employ in Rome or Italy. There came an opportunity in 1545, when he crossed the Alps, probably being sent by his master to assist in his studies, a nephew, Henry Rudolph up ten Haitzhovel, who, having been adopted by his uncle, had taken the name von Weze after him ³⁾. Henry had been Masius' pupil before he went, by 1540, to Louvain, where he was Nannius' favourite disciple ⁴⁾. In the summer of 1542, he was in Bologna ⁵⁾, and as, three years later, he probably wished for some help in preparing for his tests towards his promotion as Doctor of Laws, Masius, who had devoted several years on juridical studies, was apparently entrusted with the task of assisting the young man, who actually became D. V. J. on October 19, 1546 ⁶⁾. The ardent scholar is not likely to have missed the opportunity of finishing his own academical training : maybe he prepared, in the time spent in Bologna, possibly even passed, the test for the Doctorate of Laws, which title, for certain by 1554, was his ⁷⁾. He, moreover, seems to have resided some time in Rome, and started his researches there, on which occasion he made the acquaintance of several outstanding people, who became his

¹⁾ Letters of Nannius to Masius, March 25, July 1, and <September> 1544 : MasE, 18-19.

²⁾ Cp. further in this chapter, 3, B ; also a letter of Visbroeck to Masius, March 15, 1544 : MasE, 17.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁴⁾ He was sent to Louvain by 1540 ; on July 1, 1544, Nannius communicates to Masius the news (probably received by letter) that *Henricus noster... pulcherrime valet et utriusque nostrum amantissimus est* : MasE, 19, also 11, 17, 21.

⁵⁾ Knod, 629.

⁶⁾ Knod, 629. On November 20, 1546, Jost van Meggen, later on captain of the Papal Swiss Guard, writing to Masius, refers to Henry as 'D. Doctorem cum cetera Reverendissimi familia' : MasE, 21.

⁷⁾ MasE, 20-23, 187.

friends for life ¹⁾. By November, he had returned to his master's residence Meersburg, near Constance, where Henry de Weze, who, in 1545, had been appointed as his uncle's coadjutor for the Abbey of Waldsassen, started on his new duties. Although longing to leave Germany, Masius had to stay at the Bishop's Court, and it was only at his sudden decease, at the Augsburg Diet, on June 13, 1548, that he was relieved from a situation which had become a burden since some time ²⁾.

He did not, however, leave Meersburg at once, for he resided, when not on some pursuit or other, with Henry de Weze, with whom he had become so affectionately connected that he called him *frater* ³⁾. Still, having secured several preferments, he wished to remain independent, so as to be able to offer his services to any court as adviser or ambassador, until, by April 1549, he settled for a time in the latter capacity in Rome ⁴⁾. He there found ample occasion to study, on account of the very rich libraries and the stores of manuscripts, as well as of the frequent visits of messengers from the East. He there got acquainted with Arabic, and he was the first of the few who knew Syriac in Europe : he learned that language from Moses, a priest from Mardin, Mardenus, in Mesopotamia ⁵⁾; he had been sent to Paul III by the Jacobite patriarch of Antiochia, to have the New Testament and some other books printed in their idiom ; Masius helped him as far as he could in his design, and afterwards translated a *Professio Fidei*, 1552, and a *Theologica de Sacrosancta Trinitate Contemplatio*, which Moses had written in his mother-tongue in 1552 ⁶⁾.

His love of a free life, allowing him to devote all his thoughts and time to study, made Masius refuse the offices offered about 1550 by Queen Mary of Hungary and by King

¹⁾ By the end of November 1546, Masius wrote to Father Octavius Pantagathus, referring to several of the acquaintances made in Rome, such as Antonio Agustino, John Metellus, Bernardino Maffeo and John Antony de Taxis : MasE, 21-25.

²⁾ MasE, 21-26 : he composed a '*Carmen Tricolon tetraastrophon*' in his memory : Paquot, ix, 201-2. ³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁴⁾ Letter of Masius to the Duke of Jülich, Rome, April 5/8, 1549 : MasE, 39, sq. ⁵⁾ MasE, xvii, 128-29. ⁶⁾ Paquot, ix, 207, 209, 210.

Ferdinand of Austria ¹⁾. He had been endowed by his late master with several preferments ²⁾, which made it possible to follow his bent for research. Unfortunately the continuous presence in Rome proved prejudicial to his health, so that he resumed his function of ambassador and agent for various princes ³⁾, which permitted occasional stays with Henry de Weze or with Gerwick Blarer ⁴⁾, Abbot of Weingarten. Indeed, the opposition to all attempts at reform caused much trouble to Henry as administrator of Waldsassen Abbey ⁵⁾, which office he intended resigning in favour of his friend ⁶⁾; after a long struggle, it ended by being definitely lost through the defection from faith of the Elector Palatine Otto-Henry by 1558. Therefore Masius entered the service of William Duke of Cleves-Jülich. He was there, at least, for a few years, with the great favourer of Erasmus, the Chancellor John von Vlatten ⁷⁾, and with his former amanuensis, the councillor Charles Harst ⁸⁾; and he had as colleagues his intimate friend Henry von Weze, as well as the Heinrich von der Recke who had been his companion in Rome ⁹⁾. He finally decided on giving up all idea of entering the Church, and married a

¹⁾ MasE, 30, 61, 63-7, 182, 188, *sq.*

²⁾ He was canon of Lübeck, Constance, Utrecht, Xanten, and Emmerich, Provost of St. Cunibert's, Cologne : MasE, *xvii*, 27, *sq.*, 31, *sq.*, 35, 63, *sq.*, 125, *sq.*, &c.

³⁾ Thus he acted in the Palatine Elector's name for Heidelberg University : MasE, *xviii*, 55, 72, *sq.*, &c.

⁴⁾ MasE, *xvii*, 25, 26, and *passim*. Blarer, whose acquaintance Masius had made, had been elected also abbot of Ochsenhausen on March 5, 1547, of which his friend obtained the confirmation in Rome. Cp. EllenbE, *passim*.

⁵⁾ Frederic II, Palatine Elector, had been favourable to Henry and Masius, whereas his successor, Otto-Henry, worked obstinately to protestantize the Abbey, of which he was protector, in so far that he put de Weze in prison for some months : cp. Ch. XXIII.

⁶⁾ In that purpose he was seconded by Hubert Thomas, of Liège, secretary of the Palatine Count : cp. further, Ch. XXIII ; MasE, *xviii* ; Busl., 218.

⁷⁾ John v. Vlatten, Chancellor since 1554, died on June 11, 1562 : cp. MasE, 30, *sq.*, to 323-25 ; also II, 144, &c.

⁸⁾ Charles Harst, left Louvain to enter the Duke's service in the spring of 1530 : cp. before, pp 229-30 ; he was often sent on embassy, and died in 1563 : cp. II, 142-45 ; MasE, 30, *sq.*

⁹⁾ Cp. Ch. XXIII ; Redlich, I, *99, 383-84.

niece of his friend, Elza up ten Haitzhovel, in the summer of 1558 ¹⁾. They settled at Zevenaer, where they bought the estate *Borchkens Hof* on January 17, 1561 ²⁾.

There, in the intervals left by his avocations as councillor ³⁾ — which in May 1559 led him to Brussels, where he fell ill and was cured by his friend Andrew Vesalius ⁴⁾, — and by his extensive correspondence, — for he had made the acquaintance of most of the leading men of his time ⁵⁾, — Andrew continued his studies and his relentless research, — almost undisturbed in the middle of the general uproar, — forming a happy, affectionate triumvirate with Henry de Weze and von der Recke ⁶⁾, writing most remarkable works on Biblical criticism and Syriac language, in which branches no man of his time surpassed him ⁷⁾. Unfortunately he suffered from dropsy, and passed away after some weeks of illness on April 7, 1573, as a pious and most devout Catholic ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ MasE, 318, (*Uxor mea est Henrici nostri Valsaxiensis ex fratre nep-tis*), 319, 329, *sq*; in the summer of 1565, Andrew took her to the baths of Spa : MasE, 366, 368.

²⁾ MasE, 329-30.

³⁾ He thus took a large part in the founding and endowing of Duisburg University, for which he had been active in Rome ever since 1555 (MasE, 218), and where, in 1562, he was designed to take up the teaching of Oriental languages : *Heresbach*, 162.

⁴⁾ MasE, 317-18 : letter of May 28, 1559, to Abbot Gerwick.

⁵⁾ Besides the numerous friends he had known in Louvain, from Bernaert and the Morillons to Vesalius and Mercator, Masius had made the acquaintance and become the correspondent of several outstanding men in Italy, such as Antony Agustino, Bishop of Alife, Octavius Pantagathus, Reginald Pole, and of other remarkable erudites throughout the world, like Gropper and de Schepper, Hosius and Arias Montanus, Busbeek and Peter Andrew Mattioli (MasE, *xix*, 517-537; *PigE*, *pussim*; Orbaan, 197), to the first adversary of the belief in witchcraft, John Wierus, to whose *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, 1563, he provided the explanation of the seven names of magic in the Old Testament : MasE, 342.

⁶⁾ MasE, 307, 309.

⁷⁾ MasE, *xix-xx*; *PlantE*, *iii*, 58.

⁸⁾ Henry de Weze, *Epistola de Morte Andreæ Masii*, in *Josue Imperatoris Historia* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1574); MasE, 511-12, *xvi-xx*; Guicc., 55; Mol., 606; Opmeer, *ii*, 10; Miræus, *ii*, 153; *BibBelg.*, 51-2; *Heresbach*, 162-63; *HebStud.*, 74-75; *PlantE*, *iv*, 26; *SaxOnom.*, 431-2; and further, Ch. XXIII.

Masius was not blessed with any offspring, but left works which have made him the first Orientalist. In the peaceful and happy atmosphere of Zevenaar, he procured a complete and emended edition of his writings about Syriac, which were printed as *De Paradiso Commentarius* ¹⁾, at Antwerp by Plantin in 1569. When there, under Arias Montanus' direction ²⁾, the grand Bible edition was started ³⁾, he provided the Chaldaic version of several books of the Old Testament, and enriched the *apparatus* of that famous work with a *Grammatica Linguae Syriacæ*, 1571, as well as with the *Syrorum Peculium*, 1571, a vocabulary of his own composition ⁴⁾, two books which remained as the groundwork for the knowledge and study of Syriac for over two centuries. His contribution to the Polyglottio Bible was highly appreciated : its promoter, Philip II, sent him a gold chain as reward ⁵⁾.

The activity of Masius as linguist was most rightly gauged already in his days ⁶⁾ : his authority was such that he could propose Bishop Lindanus to make peace with Arias Montanus ⁷⁾. His work has become the more precious since the Syriac original of *De Paradiso* by the Jacobite Bishop Moses Bar-Kepha († 903) got lost since, and his version has to replace that document ⁸⁾. Masius also proved to be the richest and soundest erudite in historical, political and geographical knowledge of the various peoples of the Old Testament, so

¹⁾ Paquot, ix, 202-210. ²⁾ CrenFasc., iii, 84-7. ³⁾ PlantE, iii, 74.

⁴⁾ Paquot, ix, 210-11 : PlantE, iii, 78. — Masius wanted to have a lexicon by Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie inserted ; still both editor and printer insisted on having the one made by him, as he was by far the apter : PlantE, iii, 58, 61, 63, 65, sq.

⁵⁾ PlantE, iii, 64, 83 : that gold chain, weighing 300 shields, had been brought to Brussels by Arias Montanus, September 17, 1571, on which Masius had requested Plantin to ask Montanus to keep the jewel in Brussels, which the latter promised to do : *ibid.*, 87 ; the editor of the letter (*ibid.*, 88), mistook the 'object to be kept', not as a gold chain, but as : 'le secret du soupçon d'hétérodoxie jeté sur Masius et l'accusation d'avoir cité les Talmudistes dans sa grammaire Syriaque' !

⁶⁾ Cp. PlantE, iii, 58 ; MasE, 68, 377 ; Paquot, ix, 201.

⁷⁾ Zevenaar, February 13, 1573 : cp. *Masius*, 436-41, and 425-36.

⁸⁾ It is edited in *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, xvii ; also MigneGr., cxi, 481-608. Cp. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur* : Bonn, 1922 : 281 ; J. B. Chabot, *Littérature Syriaque* : Paris, 1934 : 96 ; *Masius*, 432, sq.

that, as Sebastian Munster said, he seemed to have been born and trained in Old Jerusalem, or at least in Old Rome. He gave an admirable proof of his penetrating and yet most appreciative spirit ¹⁾ of study and research in his admirable *Josuae Imperatoris Historia*, which got his finishing touch in his last years : it offers the critical text of the Book of Josue, both in Hebrew and in Greek, with several Latin translations, and with abundant illustrations and fit comments, which make it into the first scholarly edition of any of the books of the Old Testament ; in fact, the information it supplies extends over the whole of Scripture. That edition is as the crown of Masius' investigations : unfortunately it had to be laid on his tomb, for the difficulties of the time cruelly interfered with the printer's work. It was issued only in 1574 ; it remained classical for several centuries, and it still is highly esteemed ²⁾. Had Masius been favoured with a longer life, he would have provided more grand editions, for he had extended his researches over many more books, from that of the Judges to that of Esther : he possessed the famous Syriac Manuscript, of 616, with Origen's notes on the Book of Judges and on others of the Old Testament ³⁾, and, going by his comments on the *Deuteronomy*, which have been kept and edited ⁴⁾, the loss of the information already gathered, and that which a few years' labour would have added, makes his untimely decease — Masius died at fifty-seven — a most untoward reverse in the history of the intellectual development of humanity.

¹⁾ In a letter of December, 30, 1564, to the young sons of Antony de Taxis, who are going to reside some time in Italy, he warns them for the ridiculous way of some of their countrymen who go to that country and stick together, spurning all the inhabitants, thus losing their money and a wealth of opportunities. He advises them to choose nice and vertuous people, who, by familiar intercourse, will prove most beneficial : Paquot, ix, 213-14 ; MasE, x, 361.

²⁾ Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1574 : Paquot, ix, 212 ; PlantE, III, 78, 80, IV, 26, 317 (liber... æternitati conservandus), v, 82 ; MasE, xix, xx.

³⁾ That Syriac manuscript, which preserved the readings of Josue as given by Origen, afterwards was in the possession of the Polish Protestant divine Daniel-Ernest Jablonski (1660-1741).

⁴⁾ Masius' comments and notes on Chapters XVIII to XXXIV of the *Deuteronomy*, based chiefly on the Syriac manuscript, were published in the second edition of the *Critici Sacri*, London & Amsterdam, 1648, II, ii, 127, sq ; Paquot, ix, 214-15.

B. CELLARIUS

Amongst Masius' oldest friends was the professor in his Pedagogy Christian Kellenaer, Cellarius, son of Conrad, of Isenbergh, near Furnes; as an inmate of the Lily, he promoted Master of Arts in 1525, being classed the seventh on 149 ¹). He started studying theology and was appointed as a *legens* of philosophy in his pedagogy and thus became most intimate with John de Bruyckere and, afterwards, Andrew Maes ²). He attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, and was zealously working at literature and languages; by 1530, he taught Greek and made verses. He also took a great interest in beggary and pauperism, for which Vives wrote his famous *De Subventionem Pauperum*, 1526 ³), at the request of the Bruges town authorities ⁴); they had already taken some measures to obviate the plague ⁵) resulting from the removing of the cloth trade and the numerous subsidiary interests to England, from where the wool chiefly was derived, as a result of the political quarrels and economic dissensions. Vives, with his penetrating practical sense, had systematically studied the question, and given a solution which was gratefully accepted, not only at Bruges, but also in other towns suffering from the same evil, especially at Ypres, where, after the unsatisfactory reply received in Paris, the views of the sagacious erudite were adopted ⁶). Still those views

¹) Christianus kellenaer de furnis : *ULPromLo.*, 9; Keussen, 596, 47; *BibBelg.*, 133.

²) *ULDoc.*, iv, 248; and before pp 282, sq.

³) Bruges, Hub. de Croock, March 17, 1526 and September 1526 : *NijKron.*, i, 2174, ii, 4066. Cp. *VieVita*, 65, 89-91.

⁴) It was written at the request of Louis de Praet, then on embassy in England, and dedicated to the town council in which John van Themseke and Joseph de Baenst had been particularly active as mayors and 'caretakers' of the poor : *Cran.*, xlv, 137, a, 150, a, b.

⁵) In 1504 had been started at Bruges regular tables for the meals of the needy; in 1512-13, a school for poor boys; in 1518, St. Elisabeth's, for girls: it allowed the authorities to prohibit begging in 1518: cp. J. Mayer, *Die flandrische Stadt Brügge als Wiege neuzeitlicher Armenreform*: Freiburg i. B., 1935 (for this paragraph).

⁶) John de Croock and James de Pape had been delegated by the Ypres town Council to gather the opinion of the Paris theologians; on December 28, 1530, the Faculty replied that begging was conform to

displeased many blind adherents of the old order, and particularly some theologians, who considered the measures suggested as disrespectful to the Bible, which mentions beggars and beggary as a most natural feature of human society ¹⁾. Cellarius voiced that opposition in a book which he published in November 1530 ²⁾ :

Oratio pro Pauperibus, vt eis liceat mendicare, Authore Christiano Cellario Furnensi. — Concurrant læti mendici vbique, / Est me<n>dicus rhetor blandisono ore pius. Qui legunt perlegant ac deinde dijudicent.

Vives, who sincerely wanted to remedy, or at least circumscribe, the growing evil by a systematic educating of the children and by the help of the authorities to provide decent housing and satisfactory refectories, as he had seen at work ever since his arrival at Bruges in the autumn of 1512 ³⁾, was too much a friend of truth not to help the young teacher in his inexperience of social evils. He, no doubt, managed to convince the generous young professor, whose knowledge of the subject must have been limited to theory, and perhaps to a wrong interpretation of some passage in the Bible ⁴⁾. At any rate in March 1531, he published as the corrective, if not the revocation, of his first pamphlet : *Oratio contra Mendicitatem pro noua Pauperum Subuentione, Per Christianum Cellarium Furnensem* ⁵⁾, as results from the conclusion *In detestationem orationis pro mendicitate ab eodem conscriptæ*, in which he

the Gospels and to the doctrine of the Apostles, and should be allowed ; still that view was waived, and Vives' opinion and advice were adopted. Similar measures were taken at Antwerp : *AntoDiercx.*, iv, 77-79.

¹⁾ Amongst them Eustace, General of the Minorites, Burchard, John ab Indagine, Arnold Oridryus and the Dominican Peter de Soto ; cp. Würkert, *Vives' Schrift von der Armenpflege* : Pirna, 190f : 13, sq ; W. Weitzmann, *Soziale Bedeutung des Vives* : Borna, 1905 : 25, sq.

²⁾ It was printed at Antwerp by Henry Petri of Middelburg, 'in inter-signo Talpæ', and was dedicated to James Rhitmerus : *BB*, c, 11 ; *NijKron.*, i, 549.

³⁾ Cp. I, 228, 232-33.

⁴⁾ It seems as if the fact that there were beggars in the time of Our Lord and of the Apostles, made them into a *conditio sine qua non* of any decent Christian town or village ; cp. *VOO*, iv, 486, sq.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, March 1531, Henry Petri of Middelburg : the book is dedicated to 'Dispensatoribvs Pauperum apvd Flandros' : *BB*, c, 12 ; *NijKron.*, i, 548.

generously owns his mistake ¹⁾. A few months later the decree of the Emperor Charles V, dated October 7, 1531, was as the authoritative approval of Vives' views as it prohibited all begging except by lepers or friars, and ordered the creating everywhere of institutions and committees providing for the various wants of the needy ²⁾. Cellarius thus contributed to the welfare of the community, for the dispositions suggested against mendicity were generally and generously applied in this country, and in many foreign towns, and it became as one of their natural features. Indeed, at every danger of their giving way to difficult circumstances, they were even reinforced : such as happened in the miserable sixties, at Bruges, when the town pensionary Giles Wyts wrote *De continendis et alendis domi Pauperibus*, Antwerp, 1562 ³⁾. It was attacked by Laurent de Villavicentio, Austin hermit, who vindicated the right of begging ⁴⁾, and criticized the decree taken by the town in 1564 ; the question was submitted to Margaret of Parma : she referred to Louvain University, where, on March 30, 1565, the duty of the town authorities towards the indigent was sanctioned, although freedom was left to private charity, which solution, suggested by Bishop Peter de Corte, was practically adopted, not only at Bruges, but throughout the Netherlands ⁵⁾.

Cellarius evidently wanted to cure other social evils : his *Pronosticatio ridicula, sed semper verissima in Moriopago calculata*, 1533, is, no doubt, a satire on the absurd *almanacs* and *prognostications* ⁶⁾, attributed to the calculations of the

¹⁾ His recantation is referred to by Giles Wyts, in 1562.

²⁾ *AntwDiercx.*, iv, 79-84.

³⁾ Antwerp, 1562 : the book is dedicated to Bishop Peter de Corte : *BibBelg.*, 30 ; *BrugErVir.*, 15-16 ; *FlandOHR*, iv, 324-25.

⁴⁾ *De (Economia sacra circa Pauperum Curam a Christo instituta, apostolis tradita et in universa Ecclesia inde ad nostra usque tempora perpetua religione observata... libri III, authore fratre Laurentio a Villavicentio Xeresano, doctore theologo Augustiniano eremita : Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1564.*

⁵⁾ Cp. A. de Leyn, *Pierre de Corte* : Louvain, 1863 : 99-108 ; Schrevel, i, 303-11 ; *AntwDiercx.*, iv, 77-84.

⁶⁾ A similar satire—possibly the translation, or imitation, of Cellarius' skit, which may have been in circulation before it was issued, — was printed at Antwerp by William Vorsterman, about 1532 : *Die seer vreemde vvarachtige ende wonderlijke Prognosticatie Ghecalculeert op*

professors of Louvain ¹⁾. In the same pamphlet he also added a satirical *Carmen rithmicum ad Bacchum* ²⁾. He further wrote historical poems : thus, in 1533, a *Carmen Heroicum de Bello per Carolum V. in Hungaria aduersus Solimannum Turcarum Imperatorem gesto*, issued in 1533 ³⁾. In 1536 appeared at Antwerp his '*De Incendio excitato in Ciuitate Delphit... Carmen*', with a Greek and Latin device : 'Nullum aduersus Sycophantæ morsum remedium' ⁴⁾; the poem, dedicated to 'D. Nicolas F. Hadriani', was followed by another '*In immatvram mortem Arnoldi Oridrij*' ⁵⁾.

Meanwhile John van den Cruyce, Crucius, one of his colleagues at the Lily, had died ⁶⁾; he had been, since January 1, 1528, the teacher of Greek in the Pedagogy, in which Peter de Corte had that lecture started officially ⁷⁾, after it had been practised privately by Josse Vroeye ⁸⁾ and, especially from 1513 to 1521, by the clever Adrian Amerot ⁹⁾. Christian Cellarius appears to have tried to take his place, by joining, from the summer of 1533, the lessons of Greek ¹⁰⁾ to those of

eenen Rooster... by mi heer Sorgheloos van Kommerkercke; — it is dedicated to 'prince here van ysbroec' : *NijKron.*, I, 1760. The evil persisted; in the next decads it caused a ludicrous controversy between three Bruges physicians, of which one, Cornelius Schuute, applied with Greek and Latin verses to Francis de Cranevelt and the Knight Halwyn, whereas Peter van Bruhesen advised the town council to stipulate days and hours for astrologically safe shaving : *Paquot*, IV, 253-58; *FlandIll.*, II, 159, a, 161, a; *BrugErVir.*, 25, 31; *NijKron.*, I, 1880, II, 3870-71; *BibBelg.*, 165, 238, 726; &c.

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, pp 245, 527, 545, and further in this chapter, 4, c.

²⁾ The 4^o booklet was printed by John Graphæus, Antwerp, 1533 : *NijKron.*, I, 550; *BB*, c, 13.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 134, notes that it was printed by John Graphæus, Antwerp, 1533 (8^o).

⁴⁾ Cp. Guicc., 184-85; the booklet was printed at Antwerp by Will. Spyridipœus, 1536; *NijKron.*, I, 547.

⁵⁾ Arnold Oridryus, of Bergheyck, schoolmaster at Enghien, died about 1533 : cp. II, 189-92.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 84 : the Rector approved of the execution of his will on Aug. 22, 1533 : *ExTest.*, 175.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 84-85; *Cran.*, 257, a.

⁸⁾ Cp. I, 222-25.

⁹⁾ Cp. I, 223, 255, 272-74.

¹⁰⁾ Although it is certain that Cellarius taught Greek in the Lily, it is not possible to state whether his lessons were official or only private, as all documents are missing.

philosophy, and to have applied most zealously to the study of that language with the help of the opportunity offered by the *Trilingue*. On that account his interest in social questions naturally was on the wane ; and, as he did not want to enter orders, he tried to prepare for a situation which would allow him to marry by 'aurum, cujus non minori tenetur amore, quam olim vates Pindarus', his friend Gensius wrote of him to Masius on October 7, 1541 ¹⁾.

Long before that time he had left the Lily and Louvain, and had gone to Cologne where he was inscribed on December 15, 1537, as a student of theology ²⁾. Most probably he gave private lessons ; on January 3, 1538, he was admitted in the 'gymnasium Cuckanum' to teach the rudiments of Greek, which he must have done to everybody's satisfaction as he was received as member of the Faculty later in the year ³⁾. He did not stay long, but went to try his fortune in Paris, where his countryman John van Strazeele, Straselius ⁴⁾, could hardly do more for him than recommend him to Gensius' host at Bruges, Daniel ⁵⁾, most probably, the councillor of the Franc van Heule, Lord of Lichtervelde ⁶⁾. When, after more than two years, he journeyed home, he happened to be at Bergues-St. Winoc when the headmaster Peter Curius, van den Hove, was buried : he requested and obtained his succession ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ MasE, 12.

²⁾ Keussen, 596, 47 : m. Christ. Kellenart de Furnis ; theol. ; i[n]travit et s[ol]vit] : Dec. 15, 1537. ³⁾ Keussen, 596, 47 ; *UniKöln*, 555.

⁴⁾ Professor of Greek in Paris : cp. II, 415-16.

⁵⁾ MasE, 6, 9, 12, sq.

⁶⁾ Gensius' host was a rich and influential councillor of Bruges of the name of Daniel : most probably he was Daniel van Heule, Knight, Lord of Lichtervelde, son of James, Knight, Lord of Lichtervelde († 1508) and of Margaret de la Kethulle ; he had married Jane, daughter of Robert of Bailleul, Lord of Eecke. He is recorded as councillor of the Franc of Bruges for the years 1516, 1529 and 1538, and as deceased in 1540 : his brother, Robert van Heule, succeeded him as councillor in 1541 and 1548 ; the John van Heule, recorded in that office for 1546, and the Antony, for 1554, 1556 and 1558, may have been his sons, whereas a daughter, Yberga, is mentioned as the wife of Adrian van Claerhout, Lord of Ardoye : *Brug&Fr.*, I, 245, VI, 209-210 ; *FlandIll.*, II, 185, b-187, a ; and before, p 259, n 5.

⁷⁾ MasE, 12-13 ; letter of Gensius, October, 7, 1541 ; cp. before, p 259 ; *BibBelg.*, 734 ; *NijKron.*, I, 666, 136, 1320.

Ten years later, on December 31, 1551, Vulmar Bernaert announced to Masius that Cellarius was then *ludimagister* at Maastricht ¹⁾, where in 1553 he published another bundle of his poems, *Carmina Scholastica* ²⁾.

C. CASSANDER AND COSTERUS

Another *Trilinguist* who used his knowledge and erudition, far more than Cellarius, towards the relief of the many evils afflicting humanity in his days, was **George Casant**, born on August 15, 1513, at Pitthem, near Thielt, better known as **Cassander** ³⁾. He was trained in the neighbouring town Bruges ⁴⁾, before he matriculated in Louvain as a student of the Castle on February 28, 1531 ⁵⁾. He promoted Master of Arts in 1533 with Andrew Masius ⁶⁾ and Louis Gensius ⁷⁾, although he was not specially known to them ⁸⁾; nor did he gain much glory in his study of philosophy. He applied himself with great zeal to Latin and Greek under Goclenius and Rescius, with so much success that, after teaching some time at Ghent under Eligius Houckaert ⁹⁾, he was appointed

¹⁾ MasE, 96.

²⁾ Maastricht, James Bathen, Batenius, 1553. — Cp. *BibBelg.*, 133-34, 729; *ULDoc.*, iv, 248; *FlandScript.*, 39; *FlandOHR*, i, 71.

³⁾ There does not seem to be any connection of Cassander with the isle or place Cadzand: *FlandScript.*, 57; Bianco, i, 655.

⁴⁾ Pitthem, his native village, is only 27 kilom. to the south of the old capital of Flanders.

⁵⁾ Georgius Casant de Pitthem Flandrensis: dives Castrensis.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 282, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 258, sq.

⁸⁾ When, on Oct. 7, 1541, Gensius announced Cassander's appointment at Bruges, Masius, remarked that he ignored who and what erudite he was, and received as reply, March 23, 1542: Arbitraber, amice, hominem tibi per se satis notum; est enim nobiscum in Castro promotus, patria Brugensis, latine et græce egregie peritus et in suo instituto non facile cuiquam nostratium cessurus, nullius olim nominis aut existimationis, nunc apud Lovanienses et Brugenses omnino magnæ. Nam apud utrosque eruditionis suæ specimen exhibuit et libellis editis jam innotescere coepit. When, on December 1, 1558, Cassander wrote the first time to Masius, he reminds him of having promoted together in Louvain as Masters of Arts, almost twenty-six years before: MasE, 13, 14, 312; CassO, 1085.

⁹⁾ *GandErVir*, 39-40; cp. further, Ch. XVIII. Whilst active at Ghent, at the *ludum literarium Montis Arenosi*, Cassander edited a choice of sentences from Plautus, which were printed (probably for the second

professor of *bonæ litteræ* in the School founded by John de Witte, Bishop of Cuba ¹⁾, at Bruges. His inaugural oration of May 3, 1541, in praise of the founder, of studies, and of the town of Bruges, at once secured him renown as linguist and literator ²⁾. James de Meyere, annalist of Flanders ³⁾, who had started himself a school at Bruges, wished a hearty welcome in an elegiac poem to the new master ⁴⁾, who, within a year, published a treatise of rhetoric, *Tabulæ breves et expeditæ in Præceptiones Rhetoricæ* ⁵⁾.

His great erudition gained him the friendship of the St. Donatian's canons Antony de Schoonhoven ⁶⁾ and Cornelius Wouters, *Gualteri* ⁷⁾; the latter was of a rich family, and enjoyed a considerable fortune ⁸⁾. In their great love for

time) by Judocus Lambrecht, Ghent, 1536, as *M. Accii Plauti Sententiæ Et Loqvendi Formolæ Venustiores*: NijKron., II, 3745. Four verses were added by him to Robert Gropretius, of Arras' *Regimen Sanitatis*, dedicated to Henry VIII, of England, and printed by J. Lambrecht, Ghent, 1538: NijKron., II, 3128.

¹⁾ *BelgDom.*, 188-90; Schrevel, I, 249-62, II, 44, sq; MasE, 13: Cassander had a yearly fee of 150 florins.

²⁾ *Oratio Panegyrica in Laudem Vrbis Brugarum*: CassO, 1251-69; Schrevel, II, 44. ³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVIII. ⁴⁾ CassO, 1251.

⁵⁾ Ghent, 1541: CassO, 1272: it was dedicated to the trustees of de Witte's foundation, Cornelius van Baersdorp, Imperial physician (*Brug&Fr*, III, 459-61; Schrevel, I, 261, &c) and John Claeysse.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 179-81.

⁷⁾ He had succeeded Peter Bracman, who died September 13, 1529, in the fifth prebend of St. Donatian's on September 22, but his appointment was contested till 1558 when he resigned: *BrugSDon.*, 120.

⁸⁾ Cornelius Wouters, a native of Ghent, was the second son of John, Lord of Vinderhaute and Meerendré, councillor of Flanders (cp. II, 181-82), a friend and protector of Erasmus and Vives; the latter wrote, in May 1523, to him and his brother on their arrival at the University in Louvain, where they were to apply themselves to languages — no doubt, at the *Trilingue*, — and law: VOO, VII, 216-7; and before II, 181-82, 470-1. For the rest of his life, Cornelius was the patron and the usual companion of Cassander, and, although he published *Annotationes in Hegesippum de Bello Judaico* (Cologne, 1559 & 1578), he is better known as joint addressee with his friend, of letters from Charles of Uutenhove, Nannius, Flaccus Illyricus, and others: Hessels, II, 11-14, 50-58; Polet, 307-9; Burman, II, 236; *EpSelC2*, 5, 9, 37, 55, 71, 76. By 1565, he was taking care at Ghent of his nephews and their mother, his brother's widow: *EpSelC2*, 122, sq, 290, 321; Schrevel, I, 574; which caused his absence when Cassander died; he saw to the funeral inscription, and, in 1577, he had his *Consultatio* printed in Cologne, although his friend

learning, Wouters and the young teacher decided on a journey to Italy ; Cassander offered his resignation to the town authorities, February 8, 1543, recommending as his successor James Cruucke, Cruckius, of Messines ¹⁾. In 1544, he published his *Tabulæ Præceptionum Dialecticarum*, started in Rome, and finished in Bologna ²⁾. He settled in Cologne on his return with Cornelius Wouters, and on September 22, 1544, he matriculated as a student of theology ³⁾.

Although he completed his second treatise as *Tabulæ Locorum Dialecticorum*, 1550 ⁴⁾, and composed a series of biographical sketches of great men of the Bible, from Adam to the Kings, for the schools of the Duchy of Cleves, under the title *De Viris Illustribus Liber Primus*, 1551, he devoted, from then on, time and efforts to the study of the Fathers in the first centuries and of the Liturgy in practice up to the Middle Ages. He edited some sacred hymns in 1556, which were criticized, because he added to the Ambrosian songs, poems, not only by James de Meyere ⁵⁾ and by Vives, but also by the Lutheran George Fabricius ⁶⁾, as well as heterodox notes. Although several of the Louvain divines approved of it, Cassander's book was entered on their *Index*, and on that of Paul IV, and neither his exchange of ideas with John Molinæus ⁷⁾, nor his assurance of his good intention were able to have the measure recalled ⁸⁾.

had disowned it : it makes it look probable that he was far from putting a brake on the religious opinions of the author of the *De Officio Pil Viri*. He died on August 12/22, 1582 : *GandErVir.*, 36 ; *BibBelg.*, 151 ; Hessels, II, 11 ; Schrevel, I, 389-90, 395, 407, 594-608, 691, 832, *sq* ; *CollTorr.*, 78.

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIX ; Paquot, XVIII, 374, 378. ²⁾ CassO, 1293.

³⁾ Keussen, 620, 93 ; *JesRheinA*, 247 ; Bonaventura Vulcanius boarded in their house in 1559 : *VulcE*, 5, 276-77, 492. ⁴⁾ CassO, 1331.

⁵⁾ Some of these hymns had been corrected by de Meyere in his *Hymni Aliquot Et Carmina* (Louvain, Rescius, Jan. 1537) and were reproduced by Cassander : *NijKron.*, II, 3527 ; Paquot, VII, 141 ; cp. further p 300.

⁶⁾ George Fabricius, of Chemnitz : cp. II, 590.

⁷⁾ *VulcE*, 270-74 ; CassO, 1094, 1097-1110 ; Burman, II, 246, 248, 249, 252. — John van der Meulene, Molinæus, of Ghent, had promoted J. V. D. on October 3, 1559, and was professor of Canon law since 1557. He was a good linguist, and is said to have dictated letters in Greek *ex tempore*. He was dean of St. James', then of St. Peter's, and became chaplain of Margaret of Parma ; he died (cp. *inf.*, 5, A) on Sept. 29, 1575 : *VAnd.*, 195, 197, 43, 61, 156, 364 ; *Vern.*, 34, 98, 107, 298 ; *BibBelg.*, 541 ; *Mol.*, 137, 158, 550. Cp. Ch. XXV. ⁸⁾ CassO, 1092-94 ; cp. Stapleton, 210.

The patristic studies brought him into connection with Andrew Masius ¹⁾ and other erudites ²⁾; they showed him the profound error of the heretics, refusing to accept the *Auctoritas Ecclesiæ* as source of faith beside the Bible ³⁾, and being always ready to accuse the Church of introducing new rites and dogms at will. In his *Liturgica de Ritu et Ordine Dominicæ Cœnæ*, 1558, and its sequel, the *Ordo Romanus de Officio Missæ*, 1560, Cassander proved that the bitterly abused rites and prayers of the Mass, are of the highest antiquity. By *De Baptismo Infantium*, 1563, he convinced the Anabaptists of their error, whereas by *De Sacra Communionē*, 1564, he showed that a merely accessory observance had been dropped for the sake of inconvenience, and thus suggested prudent concession to remove one of the chief obstacles that prevented the *utraquists* from returning to, or from joining, the Church ⁴⁾.

Those studies testify to a thirst for sound erudition and a conscientious research of unobjectionable evidence for religious liturgy and rites; they show Cassander's thoroughly humanistic spirit ⁵⁾, not only for the intimate acquaintance thus gained with ecclesiastical antiquity, but also for the attitude in those bewildering days towards the Church and her opponents. He victoriously proves that the rites objected

¹⁾ MasE, 334, 338, 358-60, 371, *sq.*, 381; the two erudites started a correspondence in 1558 on account of a document of Syriac Liturgy which Masius had studied: CassO, 1085; MasE, 312.

²⁾ Cassander and Wouters were in correspondence with Peter Nannius about recent editions of books: cp. Polet, 307-309: letter of Nov. 13, 1549: *EpSelC2*, 74-6; also with Bon. Vulcanius: cp. VulcE, 201, 270-74, 276-77, 492; and, for a treatise on the Eucharist by Pascasius Radbertus, with Nic. Mameranus: *Mameran.*, 64-65. ³⁾ Cp. before, I, 297.

⁴⁾ SchelAH, II, 562-84, with a *Præfatio Editoris*, about Cassander, his opinions and his works. It is greatly improbable that the *Laienkelch*, requested urgently by the Emperor of Germany and several princes, was the means of bringing back some provinces to the faith, for after a most doubtful trial it was stated by those who had urged that concession, that it would be of no avail, unless the law of the celibacy were also removed: *Heresbach*, 171; *ConstConc.*, I, 90-99, &c, 417.

⁵⁾ Although it has been said that Cassander was an advocate of Erasmian theories, there seems no proof of any influence, except the acceptance of the general principles of study and research by means of the object investigated or of authentic sources.

to by the Reformers date from the very first days of Christianity ¹⁾. He moreover utterly condemned the separation from, and the antagonism against, the Church on account of the corruption of some of her members, but he blamed with no less animosity those who, practically refusing to admit that all the trouble had been occasioned, if not caused, by the bad lives of the clergy, most ruthlessly persecuted those who endeavoured to remove all evil ²⁾. On that account he was sympathetic, not only to clear-sighted catholics like Hopper ³⁾, but also to many of the heterodox ⁴⁾, and he was asked for advice and enlightenment as well by the wavering bishop-elect of Münster William Kettler ⁵⁾, as by the frankly calvinist Richard Coxe, of Ely ⁶⁾, and the fanatic Matthias Francowitz Flaccus Illyricus ⁷⁾. It prompted him to publish anonymously in 1561, *De Officio Pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis Viri in hoc Religionis Dissidio*, which Calvin suspected to have been written by his old disciple Francis Baudouin ⁸⁾, and therefore attacked most violently; Cassander replied to that assault in 1562 by a dialogue: *Traditionum Veteris Ecclesiæ et Sanctorum Patrum Defensio*.

Unfortunately those and many of his other works suffer from a sad lack of theological accuracy; they were criticized by the Catholics ⁹⁾, and placed on the *Index*. William Linda-

¹⁾ Cp. judgments brought out in more recent times by liturgists and hymnologists, like Eusebius Renaudot, *La Perpétuité de la foy de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1711); Dom Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques* (Paris, 1878); S. G. Pimont, *Les Hymnes du Bréviaire Romain* (Paris, 1874): I, lxiii, 17, &c; Schrevel, 434.

²⁾ CassO, 787.

³⁾ Hopper encouraged him by a letter of October 12, 1562; cp. *HEpL*, 67, 68; CassO, 1149, 1155, 1130; Schrevel, I, 480; and further, Ch. XXIV.

⁴⁾ Cassander was in correspondence with Bullinger: *EpSelC2*, 83, 122-25; with John Uutenhoven: Hessels, II, 11-14, 50-58 (1546, 1557), and many others; his writings were frequently used and quoted by the Fathers of the Anglican Church: Gough, 156. He was also on excellent terms with James de Enzinas: *SpanRef.*, I, 134.

⁵⁾ Schrevel, I, 435, sq; *EpSelC2*, 78-118.

⁶⁾ *EpSelC2*, 5; CassO, 1110; Gough, 249; Strype, III, 90, 190, IV, 26; Gairdner, 291, 300, 391.

⁷⁾ *EpSelC2*, 9, 71; cp. II, 509.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIX; Paquot, III, 76, 90-92: Baudouin edited the *De Officio Pii Viri* for the 'Colloque de Poissy', 1561 and 1562.

⁹⁾ The monthly report of the Jesuits in Cologne for 1560 refers to the harm done to the Cologne and Duisburg youth by Cassander's writings: *JesRheinA*, 349; cp. Paquot, XIV, 431; Schrevel, I, 465, sq.

nus, Louvain professor of Divinity ¹⁾, censured them in a *Theophilos*, which Joachim Hopper, Philip II's secretary ²⁾, prevented publishing; still his colleagues, like John Hessels ³⁾ and Cassander's countryman, Josse Ravesteyn, of Thielt ⁴⁾, reproved them: the one in *De Officio Pii Viri cum Refutatione*, 1566, the other in an *Oratio in qua demonstrat portum tutum et fidum in quo acquiescere possint pii homines*, 1567 ⁵⁾. Still the growing irenic group with men like George Witzel ⁶⁾, Julius Pflug ⁷⁾, and Holding ⁸⁾, hailed Cassander as the leader of the conciliatory party, which was then not only prevalent ⁹⁾ at the Courts of the Duke of Cleves and Jülich and of the King of Bavaria, but even at that of the Emperor: Cassander was duly invited to Vienna to take part in the work of unifying his subjects for their religion, as well as for their government ¹⁰⁾.

He was then suffering from gout, and he replied from Duisburg, where he had gone at the request of the Duke of Cleves in view of the new University ¹¹⁾, that his health did not allow

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV; CassO, 1154, 1163-68; Burman, II, 273.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 300.

³⁾ Cp. II, 512-13, and Ch. XXV.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 508-10.

⁵⁾ Thomas Stapleton, doctor of divinity (VAnd., 86), and professor of that branch in Douai, also criticized the *De Officio*: cp. his *Opera*, Paris, 1620: II, 459-66; Paquot, XI, 322-23.

⁶⁾ George Witzel, Wicelius or Vicelius, born in 1501 at Vacha, had married as a priest and was Lutheran minister at Niemeck, until, in 1531, he became an ardent adversary of the Protestants. Ferdinand I appointed him Imperial Councillor, and made him help towards the revival of the Old Faith. Called to Vienna with Cassander, he wrote on that occasion his *Via Regia*; he died in 1573: *WitzelSchr.*, 130, &c; *ConstConc.*, I, 92-94, &c; Schrevel, I, 475; Allen, x, 2715, *pr*.

⁷⁾ Julius Pflug (1499-1564), a friend of Erasmus, was the last bishop of Naumburg-Weitz; he attended the Council of Trent, 1551, and died in 1564: Allen, ix, 2395, *pr*; *ConstConc.*, I, 95, and the references quoted.

⁸⁾ Michael Sidonius Holding († 1561), suffragant of Mayence and last bishop of Mersseburg, took part in the diets of Worms, 1557, and Augsburg, 1559: *ConstConc.*, I, 96.

⁹⁾ *HerMaur.*, 287, 352; Hessels, II, 957.

¹⁰⁾ *Heresbach*, 170-71; *HerMaur.*, 287; Schrevel, I, 566, *sq*, 568, *sq*, 573-91; *ConstConc.*, I, 613, 615-18.

¹¹⁾ Cassander had been requested to be professor of theology and rector in the projected University: *Heresbach*, 157; a John Otto, of Bruges, who had left Ghent where he taught, on account of difficulties about his

of the journey. Yet he was requested by Ferdinand I and by his successor, Maximilian II, to contribute to the solution of the trouble at least by his erudition and his experience; so he wrote *De Articulis Religionis inter Catholicos et Protestantibus controversis Consultatio* ¹⁾, which he afterwards disowned and withdrew. On February 3, 1566, he died at Cologne, after having solemnly declared to adhere to the Catholic Faith, and to submit to the authority of the Church ²⁾, as he repeatedly had professed in his writings ³⁾. He was laid to rest in the Franciscan church of Cologne, where, soon after, Cornelius Wouters adorned the tomb with a stately inscription in memory of his highly admired friend, whose last wishes he unfortunately contravened by editing the *Consultatio* ⁴⁾.

Although his life and work was a *signum contradictionis*, Cassander was a lover of truth and kindness, who, by lenity and understanding, tried to heal the gruesome discord that had set one half of Christianity at strife against the other ⁵⁾,

religious opinions in 1557, joined Cassander in Duisburg, and became professor there : *Heresbach*, 162; *BrugErVir.*, 52-53; Hessels, II, 58; *MasE*, 334, 338.

¹⁾ Schrevel, I, 575, sq. It was printed in Cologne by Henry Aquensis, 1577. — It had been made use of by John van den Castele, late parish priest of St. James', Bruges, in *De Magistratu* and *De Missa*, dated November 28, 1566, under the pseudonym of Stephanus Lindius, which was translated and reprinted at Bruges; it evidently must have been lent to him by Wouters : Schrevel, I, 288-89, 802-32, II, 180. On Nov. 9, 1576, Bon. Vulcanius requests the judgment of Abr. Musculus, Berne minister, about the *Consultatio*, probably for the sake of a Cologne printer : *VulcE*, 201.

²⁾ *JesRheinA*, 523; Bianco, I, 665-67; Schrevel, I, 591-602.

³⁾ *CassO*, 1094, 1163-68, 1190, 1209; Schrevel, I, 413, 478, 485-6, 570-71, 603.

⁴⁾ Cassander's *Opera*, edited by Joannes Cordesius, were printed in Paris in 1616; some poems by him are inserted in *DelPoBel.*, I, 859, 970. — Cp. *BibBelg.*, 259-62; *FlandScript.*, 57-59; *GoetLect.*, I, 56-68, with portrait; *SaxOnom.*, 233; Keussen, 620, 93, and references quoted; Schrevel, I, 253-5, 263-5, 315, 364, 388-619, 801-832; *ConstConc.*, I, 96-98, 110, II, 971; Hurter, III, 34, sq; Orbaan, 93; *Lasco*, 189; *Heresbach*, 157; *MolanE*, 25-39, 69; *PigE*, 105, 173, 176; *MasE*, 358-60, 368, 371, sq, 381; *VulcE*, 270-74.

⁵⁾ On May 24, 1564, the Nuncio Cardinal Zaccharia Delfino wrote from Vienna to Cardinal (St.) Carlo Borromeo : *Cassandro... è nel cathalago de sospetti e prohibiti; ma in qualunche evvento, io sono più che*

on account of the relentless doctrinal and ritual severity of the clergy, of which, especially in Germany and Austria, a large part had long been giving offence by lawless living ¹⁾. He zealously studied faith and rites of the patristic era, so as to find a means of bringing peace, and stop the breach from widening. Unfortunately the concessions for a possible understanding, which he did neither impose nor propose, but discreetly suggested to the leaders of Church and State ²⁾, were considered as provoking assertions, and doomed as heresies. Yet, as Seckendorf certified, he was *<ne> minime... quidem Lutheranus, sed veritatis amans* ³⁾, and the assurance he gave on several occasions of his staunch fidelity to the Church of Rome are so unequivocal, that it sounds ridiculous to doubt of the veracity of the report of his decease as devout Catholic ⁴⁾. He was proposed as model to controvertists for his total lack of bitterness and animosity, and the great historian of the sixteenth century, Augustus de Thou, praised him for devoting his whole life to the thorough study of the questions contended, so as to find a way to calm the over-excited minds and thus prevent that a further, wider rupture should divide Christianity ⁵⁾.

It would be difficult to find a greater contrast with Cassander's life than that of a contemporary and fellow-student at the *Trilingue*, John de Coster, Costerius, a native of Louvain. After his training in the University, he entered St. Martin's Priory in 1533, thus becoming a confrater of Martin Lips ⁶⁾, under whose lead he applied all his attention to St. Augustine's works, and became one of the most proficient of his disciples. Meanwhile he soon was famous for his eloquence, his erudition and his holy life, in so far as to go by the name *the Dove*, *Columba*, less on account of the sign of his parents' house, than on that of his gentleness of ways and manners ⁷⁾, as well

certificato che non si concluderà cosa, la quale non possa essere tenuta in ogni luogo per catholica (at the meeting convened by the Emperor to solve the question): *ConstConc.*, I, 102-64, 230, 613, 615, 617, 619, II, 970-71.

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., *ConstConc.*, I, 90-92.

²⁾ *ConstConc.*, I, 96-97; *SchelAH*, II, 563, sq.

³⁾ *Seck.*, I, 234, b.

⁴⁾ *Schrevel*, I, 591-619.

⁵⁾ *Histoire Universelle* (The Hague, 1740), bk xxxvi.

⁶⁾ Cp. before pp 71-75.

⁷⁾ Cp. the allusions in the epitaphs, *SweMon.*, 226-28.

as that of the arguing of the most beneficent sermons he preached. Still de Cøster seems to have devoted most of his attention to studies : he enriched the library of his Convent by a fine copy of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies in Greek, and with many more valuable manuscripts. He collaborated with Martin Lips at the 10th volume of *Sti. Augustini Opera*, reedited in 1543 by J. Froben, Basle ¹⁾, and became a clever and prudent emendator at his school ²⁾. He afterwards corrected and annotated the Works of St. Ambrose, the Sermons of *Guerricus Abbas Igniacensis* (Louvain, 1555) and the writings of St. Vincent of Lerins *Adversus Hæreses*, with Scholia (Louvain, 1568). He composed Commentaries on the Prodigal Son, on the *Canticum Canticorum* (Louvain, 1558), and on the *Ecclesiastes* (Antwerp, 1575), besides writing a fine oration in honour of Holy Scripture, published at Antwerp in 1555.

Whilst occupied at that extensive amount of excellent work he was an exemplary monk : after having been subprior for some time, he was elected the 13th Prior on September 24, 1554 ; he managed his religious family with the utmost care, making the practice of the rules of monastic life, light and agreeable by his powerful example and his fatherly management. On one occasion his kindness was taken unawares : urged by the brethren when celebrating the feast of the Three Kings, 1559, he suffered them to draw lots : to him befell the slip with the word '*Stultus*'. He considered it as a warning for his weakness, and was so remorseful that he fell ill, and died after a few weeks' lingering, on March 9, 1559 in his 45th year ³⁾. His tomb was adorned by many poems and

¹⁾ His confrater and collaborator in the editing of St. Augustine's works, John Vlimmer (cp. Ch. XIX), refers to him in the preface to *Sermones aliaque Opuscula* of the great Doctor, printed in Louvain (Jer. Wellæus, March 1564) ; that preface, in the form of a dedication to Bishop Martin van Rythoven, of Ypres, is reproduced in Migne's issue : AugO, XII, 379, c ; MonHL, 535.

²⁾ He composed an epitaph at his friend's death and had a monument erected for him in the Chapel of 'Croix en Lens', where he died on March 23, 1555 : SweMon., 223 ; ChronSMart., 253 ; LipsE, 790-91 ; MonHL, 537 ; and before, pp 71-75.

³⁾ ChronSMart., 76, 180-81, 260-64, 306-7 ; SweMon., 226-28 ; Miræus, II, 66 ; SweABelg., 413 ; BibBelg., 485-86 ; Mol., 289 ; Hurter, II, 1474 ; MonHL, 535, 537, 578-79, 584 ; de Reiffenberg, in BelgAcM, 1837, 77.

epitaphs, amongst them some by his friend John Latomus, of Bergen-op-Zoom, Prior of Our Lady's Throne, Grobbendonck ¹⁾).

3. RESEARCH AND EPIGRAPHY

A. ANTONY MORILLON

The tendency towards the research for unobjectionable sources of truth and knowledge, which characterizes the students of the *Trilingue*, — as well Masius and Costerus as Cassander and Cellarius, — did not remain inactive in the professors who were entrusted with the formation of the rising youth. They applied it particularly in those days towards the improving and extending of their information about the language and the culture of antiquity, as the only way of thoroughly appreciating the writings of the authors of the Golden Era. The understanding and the interpretation of the works of the classic authors had been greatly helped by the large amount of details gathered about the life of Rome at its glory, about its organization and its culture, from Gellius, Macrobius and more recent post-classic commentators and compilers ²⁾ : they now wanted to enrich, and

¹⁾ John Latomus, of Bergen-op-Zoom, was the last Prior of the Austin Convent *Our Lady's Throne*, Grobbendonck, near Herenthals, which he ruled for over twenty-five years; he gained a name as poet, writing *epitaphia* for friends (*SweMon.*, 226-27; *AntvAnn.*, II, 444), and as historian of convents of his order : *Corsendonca. sive Coenobii... de Corsendoncq Origo et Progressus*, commented and printed by its Prior John Hoybergs (Antwerp, J. Verdussen, 1644); *Historia Coenobii Paradisi B. Mariæ*, at Roomerswale, South Beveland, and St. Trudo's Abbey, at Saint-Trond. He died at Antwerp on SS. Vitus' and Modestus' day (June 15) 1578 : *SweMon.*, 184-85; *BibBelg.*, 524-25; Paquot, xvii, 407. — After the *Throne* was ruined by the Iconoclasts, the remains were joined in 1585 to St. Martin's Priory, Louvain, by the Chapter General of Windesheim : *ULDoc.*, v, 569, and references given; *BrArEc.*, IV, 212, 287-92, 294, 300; H. Nelis, *Archives de St. Martin et de Trône-N. Dame*, in *Rev. des Bibl. & Arch.*, 1903 : I, 2. Cp. further, 5, A.

²⁾ The information of authors like Hyginus, Palæphatus, Phornutus, Aratus, &c, had, by then, become most suspicious, except to poets.

especially to correct and substantiate, what had been taken for granted up to then.

That enriching, correcting and substantiating was done especially in the country which still preserved abundant documents, as well monuments as manuscripts, teeming with particulars about that antique life and culture, which, to be true, had long been past, but which was still surviving in many of its effects. It explains how Renaissance was almost produced by the first real contact of Italian traditional civilization with the state of culture of other nations at the 'Captivity' of Avignon, 1309 to 1377; how it grew up and flourished in Italy two centuries before it began elsewhere; how it produced there, amongst other characteristics, the large amount of first editions and critical studies of texts of the literature of Antiquity, which constituted as a real renovation of studies and erudition. All those who felt any interest in literature and any kind of knowledge, longed for a more intimate contact with the nation beyond the Alps; it was as a natural result of the training at the *Trilingue* that the students set their hearts on a stay in the fortunate country where so many helps were offered to searchers and eager scholars.

One of the first to move boldly in that direction, making the teaching received in Busleyden College serve to loftier purposes than just the clerical or oratorial qualifications of a secretary or a barrister, was **Antony Morillon**, the youngest of the three sons of Erasmus' friend, the Imperial secretary Guy Morillon, a staunch favourer of the *Trilingue* and its professors ¹⁾. They matriculated on April 4, 1532: 'M. Guido — Maximilianus — Antonius Morilonus fratres filii guidonis'; they were still under age: 'juravit pro eis adrianus bandelle' ²⁾, who seems to have been their tutor. Guido, the eldest, apparently deceased soon after entering the University ³⁾, whereas his brothers — Maximilian, who became Bishop of Tournai ⁴⁾, and Antony, the erudite, — must have been most

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 44-50.

²⁾ *LibInt* IV, 45, r.

³⁾ As mentioned before, p 50, he is represented in the lower right corner of the left wing on Michael Coxie's picture of the family, as a young boy, whereas his two brothers are drawn as full-grown men; next to him is painted a mere baby, probably the fourth son, who died in infancy.

⁴⁾ Cp. section 5, A, of this chapter.

successful in their studies, as the Imperial Councillor and Librarian, William Snoeckaert, Zenocarus ¹⁾, mentions the 'duo Morillonij' as 'Philosophi acutissimi' in his plea for Louvain against Paris, in his life of the Emperor Charles V ²⁾.

Especially after 1540, when his father returned to Belgium in the Emperor's retinue, and settled in Louvain, keeping in close connection with the professors of the *Trilingue*, Antony found the most efficient help and encouragement in his own family, in so far that besides his researches about the language and history of his native country ³⁾, he did whatever he could to develop his interest in Roman culture and history. It soon made him famous as 'vir eruditissimus, magnus Antiquarius, & simplicium omnis generis intelligentissimus' ⁴⁾. Like Janus Secundus, he joined to a great knowledge of antiquity, a remarkable skill as medallist ⁵⁾, with this difference that, whereas for Nicolas Everardi's son, art was of paramount importance, it was merely a handmaid to Antony Morillon's erudition. The old coins and *numismata*, which were little more than an expensive luxury to Jerome de Busleyden ⁶⁾ and to Antony Perrenot de Granvelle ⁷⁾, appealed to him chiefly because they provided most precious information about Greek and Roman political and cultural development. On that account the first of his works of art, as far as is known, bring the busts of two great authors : one being that of Seneca, with an inscription fixing its date, 1543, when he was twenty-one ⁸⁾; the other that of Theophrastus, with the legend ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΕΣΙΟΣ ⁹⁾. Those medals are so well made that they prompt the supposition that the auditories of

¹⁾ Cp. II, 170; Prowe, I, ii, 270; *FlandIll.*, II, 412, a (epitaph of his parents, Martin, † October 6, 1533, and Livina Benning, † February 28, 1528).

²⁾ VAnd., 403.

³⁾ Cp. Ant. Schonhovius, who, in a letter to Cornelius Wouters, Bruges, October 5, 1549, owns that on his and Morillon's example he is studying the names and antiquities of his native country : A. Roersch, *Étude sur Sconhove*, in *AnEmBru.*, 1924 : 170-72. Cp. *inf.* p 310.

⁴⁾ Guicc., 51.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 438-51.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 14, 63, 65, 106 : the collection comprized fifteen golden and two hundred silver medals, some of which Jerome had in keeping for his brother Valerian; it was inherited by Giles de Busleyden : *Coll-Torr.*, 76.

⁷⁾ *CollTorr.*, 76.

⁸⁾ It has this inscription : ANTON. MORILLON / L<OV.> DXLIII F / <ÆT s. x>XI : Simonis, 99-100.


⁹⁾ Simonis, 100-101.

the *Trilingue*, or the 'musea' of its professors were adorned with the great works of antique art ¹⁾; one even seems to be a proof of admiration for the great naturalist and botanist of Greece, — the explainer and describer of the *simplicia*, whose *Historia Plantarum* was reprinted as late as 1551-53 by Paul Manutius, in Venice ²⁾).

From that period, 1543, also dates a medal representing a young man, evidently a friend and fellow-student of Antony, Christopher of Beuyszum at the age of 19 ³⁾. About 1550, he made a medal of : ANTONIVS PERRENOTVS. EPISC. ATREBATENSIS', with, on the obverse side, Ulysses' vessel sailing past a rock, on which three fauns play various instruments : the Ulysses, fastened to the mast to resist the temptation, bears the Perrenot features, so as to express their device *Durate*. That medal, which is attributed to Morillon on account of the style of the design ⁴⁾, may have been as an expression of gratitude

¹⁾ Simonis, 101.

²⁾ Viz., as sixth volume to *Aristotelis Opera Omnia*, græce, studio J. B. Camotii : *CatZür.*, xviii, 520. Cp. Gabbema, 65; Lomeier, 274.

³⁾ The medal reproduced in Simonis bears the inscription D. CHRISTO. A BEVVSZVM. ÆT. XIX. A[nt/]. M[orillon]. F[ecit]. /  M D XLIII. — Simonis, 102, 103, reads the name Abevvszvm : still there is a space after A, and the fourth letter of the family name is, without doubt, a *γ*, which makes it a *Beuyszum*, *van Beuyszum*, or *Bueyszum* (*Buyssum*), which is more consistent with the idiom. The medal is preserved in a leaden cast by Morillon's nephew, Philip de Winghe, also a numismatist and antiquarian; he marked on the back P. W., and the biographical note : 'A° 83. Obiit 7 aprilis ante horam 10 vespertinam ætatis suæ 59'. Philip had gone to investigate art in Italy, where he met a fellow-student and congenial friend, John Macarius. When, on May 31, 1583, the falling in of the soil of a vineyard in the Via Salaria, revealed part of the Catacombs, he studied the most interesting find with the historian of the subterranean Christian oratories, Antony Bosio, of the Malta Order, whereas his friend Macarius described his discovery and the most interesting paintings of the first centuries, in his *Hagioglypta*. Winghe also provided Abraham Ortelius with geographical information and with objects of art, from 1589 to September-October 1592, when he died from a fever at Florence. Macarius took care of his belongings, and sent them to his brother, Jerome de Winghe, Tournai canon : they were stopped by an unpaid creditor at Venice for several years : Simonis, 125-28; Hessels, I, 408-523, 527, 606-731, 907, b; and before, pp 250-51.

⁴⁾ Simonis, 103, sq, and 106, sq, where a fifth work is ascribed to Morillon, the medal, namely, from which is reproduced the portrait of

for favours received, possibly for being sent to Italy. By that time, indeed, the Bishop of Arras had secured the services of the young artist, and being himself a great lover of medals, of which he was gathering one of the most famous collections in that century ¹⁾, he may have dispatched him already before 1550 to the native country of the art of Renaissance. When John van Gorp ²⁾ dedicated to Granvelle his *Origines Antwerpianæ*, in 1569 ³⁾, he stated that Antony Morillon was more indebted to his generosity than to his own study and to his father's example : 'Quam hic oram Italiæ et Siciliæ', he asked 'auspiciis commeatuque tuo non perlustravit?' He adds that the young man fully availed himself of the advantage placed at his disposal : no book, no document, no inscription, no monument in Rome or in Venice was left unstudied, unannotated, or unimitated by that *sciendi avidissimus* ⁴⁾.

Goropius evidently blundered in that dedication, when he made Guy Morillon the first Greek professor of the *Trilingue* ⁵⁾, but he did not mistake in praising his son ⁶⁾, as is amply proved by his friend and companion in Italy, Stephen Wynants Pigge. That great erudite, in fact, sketched in his *Themis Dea, seu de Lege Divina*, 1568, a visit of Antony and of the Imperial ambassador D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Cardinal Rudolfo Pio de Carpi, who had just acquired the statue of a divinity in white marble : the careful inspection of that work of art occasioned a discussion, in which took part their host, the Cardinal, and his friend Antonio Agostino, Bishop of Lerida ⁷⁾ : it led to the conclusion that it was a statue of

Lambert Lombardus, a Liège painter, in his *Vita* by Dominicus Lampsonius : *IN EFFIGIEM LOMBARDI A. M.* : with the date 1551 ; Lombard may have been Antony's master.

¹⁾ Cp. Simonis, 117, 136-7 ; *CollTorr.*, 76.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXI.

³⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin ; cp. PlantE, I, 59, 228, 270, &c.

⁴⁾ *Origines Antwerpianæ*, 291 ; Simonis, 98-99 ; Mol., 740.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 46-48.

⁶⁾ From PigE, 26 (March 3, 1568), it follows that Antony Morillon had written some notes on Antwerp history, which Maximilian, his brother, had passed to Goropius for his *Origines Antwerpianæ*. Pigge was requested, both by the Cardinal and by Maximilian, to suggest that due acknowledgment should be made of them in the preface : it was done, no doubt, in the passage just referred to.

⁷⁾ Sandys, II, 160.

the goddess Themis, and it became the subject of Pigge's book. The event happened during Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's embassy, from the spring of 1547 to 1552 or 1554 ¹⁾, and after 1549, since, in October of that year, Antony van Schoonhoven, Bruges Canon, related to Corn. Wouters that he had only recently been gained to the study of history and antiquities by Morillon and his investigations about the old names and monuments of Antwerp ²⁾. It seems, indeed, that, even in this country, the young erudite had started his researches. He had closely examined the famous *Blandinianus Antiquissimus*, in the Mont-Blandin Abbey of Ghent, of which he placed his notes, about the *Vita Horatii* by Suetonius, at the disposal of Mark Antony Muret, in Italy, who made ample use of them for his edition, printed at Venice, 1555 ³⁾. Similarly he found amongst the documents of the Abbey of Werden, on the Ruhr, near Duisburg and Ruhrort, the famous *Codex Argenteus*, written in silver and gold letters on purple coloured vellum, which he proved to be part ⁴⁾ of Bishop Wulfilas' Gothic translation of the New Testament, providing the most precious elements of Germanic Philology ⁵⁾. He copied some parts, of which his brother Maximilian communicated, amongst other extracts, the 'Our Father' to Goropius, who published it in

¹⁾ Diego de Hurtado, appointed ambassador on August 15, 1546, made his official entrance in Rome at Easter 1547; he was recalled probably for ruthlessly correcting a papal officer for speaking against the Emperor, but not before 1552, nor after 1554 : Mendoza, I, 30, 35; SadolE, 993-95; Lomeier, 210-11.

²⁾ Cp. II, 179-81, and *sup.* p. 307; A. Roersch, *Étude sur Antoine de Sconhove*, in *AnEmBru.*, 1924 : 171.

³⁾ Polet, 152-53.

⁴⁾ The Codex had originally 330 leaves, of which only 183 are extant; Wulfilas or Ulfilas was consecrated before spring 341 and died in 383.

⁵⁾ Janus Gruterus inserted a few extracts in his *Inscriptiones*, 1601 : 147, sq. At the surrender of Prague, 1648, where the Codex had been removed to, the army leader Königsmark took it as spoil to Sweden, where it became Queen Christina's. It was brought to Holland by Isaac Vossius, whose nephew Francis Junius edited the text in 1665. It came, in 1669, to the Swedish Chancellor Count de la Gardie, who had it bound in silver, and offered it to Uppsala University. Cp. H. C. de Gabelentz & J. Loebe, *Ulfilas* : Leipzig, 1843 : I, xii, xiii; F. Wrede, Stamm-Heyne, *Ulfilas* : Paderborn, 1913 : xv; W. Streitberg, *Gothisches Elementarbuch* : Heidelberg, 1900 : 11-12.

his *Origines Antwerpianæ*, 1569 ¹⁾). Unfortunately the young scholar died in Louvain long before his time, on October 10, 1556 : *e vivis sublatus*, his brother wrote on his tomb in St. Peter's, *in ipso ætatis flore, summo sui apud eruditos ob ingenium & doctrinam, relicto desiderio* ²⁾).

That *desiderium* was often expressed by Stephen Pigge in his correspondence where he referred to his deceased friend as an 'amicitiæ veræ columen', and as a most intelligent and qualified erudite ³⁾). When his *Themis Dea* appeared, it was found that it harmed Antony's fame, as another old student of the *Trilingue*, at work in Italy as numismatist, Nicolas Florens, Florentii ⁴⁾), backed, it seemed, by Fulvio Orsini ⁵⁾), pointed out : indeed, it appeared as if Morillon ignored the way in which the Greeks and the Romans conceived and represented Venus and the Graces, judging by his arguments ⁶⁾). Pigge gave as reply that it was a custom with Antony to pretend having forgotten some detail when he wanted to benefit by it in the debate, and that, if charged afterwards with deceit, he used to say that it is far more human to forget things already read or heard, than to assert boldly to know everything and anything ⁷⁾). Antonio Agostino, moreover, had been treated in a similar way, although his erudition was above all suspicion, on account of his excellent works ⁸⁾), whereas Morillon had hardly published anything. Pigge had already highly praised his friend in the dedication of *Themis Dea* to Cardinal Granvelle : he decided, moreover, to publish the correspondence with Florens on that head in a next edition of his book so as to preclude all possible misgiving ⁹⁾), not only

¹⁾ *Origines Antwerpianæ*, 739, sq. 750.

²⁾ *SweMon.*, 209 ; *Simonis*, 127 ; *CollTorr.*, 77. — Orbaan, 208, wrongly dates about 1580 a letter of Antony Morillon to William Lindanus on the true form of the Cross of Christ.

³⁾ Letter of Pigge to Maxim. Morillon, November, 14, 1575 : *PigE*, 40.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁵⁾ Cp. Sandys, II, 153, sq. ; to Masius, Pigge confided on January 5, 1568 : [Florentius] 'scribit Fulvii Ursini ut opinor verbis' : *PigE*, 33 ; *MasE*, 406, sq.

⁶⁾ Letter of Nic. Florens to Pigge, December 4, 1567 : *PigE*, 226.

⁷⁾ Letter of Pigge to Florens, January 10, 1568 : *PigE*, 6.

⁸⁾ *PigE*, 6, 226 : Florentii's letter, December 4, 1567, and Pighius' reply, January 10, 1568.

⁹⁾ Pigge wrote about it to Plantin, January 13 and 19, 1568 : *PigE*, 5, 32.

about Morillon, but also about Bishop Antonio Agostino, who was appointed Archbishop of Tarragona in 1576, and published a treatise on Roman Laws in 1583, three years before his death ¹⁾).

B. ARLENIUS AND VISBROECK

Antony Morillon was not the first of the students of the *Trilingue* to go and work beyond the Alps : he had been preceded for about twelve years for his journey to, and his stay in, Italy, by **Arnold Peraxylus, Arlenius**, a countryman : judging by one of his names, he seems to have been called *van Overthout* or *Boventhout*, for the other indicates that he was a native of Aarle, near Helmond, in North Brabant. He had studied so thoroughly in Busleyden College, that he developed a remarkable knowledge of Greek : most likely he is one more of Masius' fellow-students ²⁾). He tried to make at once use of his learning as a member of the book trade, and is said to have worked for a time in a shop at Bonn. For his business, probably, or in order to look for manuscripts to be printed, he journeyed to Italy, where he met, amongst other literators, Lilio Giraldi, of Ferrara ³⁾); for certain, he made the acquaintance of the Imperial ambassador in Venice, the great Spanish humanist Diego Hurtado de Mendoza ⁴⁾), and entered his service as librarian in, or after, 1538. He helped his master to gather a wealth of books and manuscripts, which he went to search for wherever they might be found ⁵⁾). On one of those journeys, he met Conrad von Gesner, in 1543, at Frankfurt ⁶⁾), and copied for him the

¹⁾ Sandys, II, 160.

²⁾ MasE, 89.

³⁾ Sandys, II, 265, 120.

⁴⁾ Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (cp. before, p 24) was sent after September 1538 (Stone, 151, 158, 161-62), as ambassador to the Republic of Venice : he was not only a Mæcenas, but also a scholar, and had already written then, if not published, his *Lazarillo de Tormes*, 1554, of world's fame : *Mendoza*, I, 11, sq, II, 3-8 ; F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery* : New-York, 1899 : I, 191-95, 343, 399-414 ; id., *The Literature of Roguery* : London, 1907 : I, 7-8, &c.

⁵⁾ *Mendoza*, I, 13 ; he greatly helped to form the grand collection described by Ch. Graux, *Fonds Grec de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1880), 185-89.

⁶⁾ *Mendoza*, I, 13, sq : Arlenius procured him the entrance to his master's famous collections.

illustrations in the MS of Oppian, in St. Mark's, Venice ¹⁾; he also introduced him, in 1544, to the rich Mæcenas, his master, who, besides buying Greek manuscripts in Turkey, had several refugees at work for him, copying rare books ²⁾. Arlenius himself was most active at the edition of texts which were printed, thanks to Mendoza's liberality. He thus was the principal agent in bringing out the first Greek issue of Flavius Josephus, Basle, 1544 ³⁾; he also effected the *editio princeps* of the *scholia* to Lycophron, Basle, 1546 ⁴⁾, and an augmented edition of Polybius, Basle, 1549, the first to offer the Epitome of Books VII to XVII ⁵⁾; with all that he greatly contributed to the Greek-Latin Lexicon of Basle, 1548 ⁶⁾.

When, by 1546, Diego de Mendoza was transferred as ambassador from Venice to Rome ⁷⁾, Arlenius unwisely left his service; by the end of that year, he was employed by a printer of Ferrara as foreman; afterwards he was active in the same condition at Florence, and finally at Monreal, in Piedmont, from where every further trace of him is lost ⁸⁾. On October 24, 1551, Masius writes from Rome to him in Florence and requests, in the name of their friend Dr. Francis de Torres, *Turrianus*, then in Cardinal's Salviati's *familia*, the variants of a manuscript of Theophrastus ⁹⁾. He wrote again on November 5, 1552 ¹⁰⁾, expressing surprise that the offer to enter the service of Cardinal Marcellus Cervini, which he had obtained for Arlenius, was refused so impolitely; he

¹⁾ Sandys, II, 265.

²⁾ Mendoza, I, 18, sq.

³⁾ It was printed by J. Froben and Nic. Episcopus, under the direction of Arlenius and Simon Gelenius, from three manuscripts of the library of Mendoza, to whom Arlenius dedicated the book: Mendoza, I, 21; Sandys, II, 265, 105.

⁴⁾ Sandys, II, 265, 483.

⁵⁾ Sandys, II, 265, 489.

⁶⁾ To him John Pierius Valerianus dedicated book xlviii of his *Hieroglyphica*, and Charles of Uutenhove, the poet (cp. II, 472), added a Greek poem to the book in which he praises the author, and his printer, and also Arlenius: *Hierogl.*, β 4, v, 352, v.

Τίnete Πιερίῳ πρῶτον χάριν, εἶτα καὶ αὐτῷ

Ἀρλενίῳ πάντων κύδεϊ Φλανδρογενῶν,

Ἀρλενίῳ πολλῶν τῷ ἐπευνητῆρι παλαιῶν

Ἡδὲ νέων, Γραικῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν τε βίβλιων.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 312.

⁸⁾ Mendoza, I, 13, 16-18, 46.

⁹⁾ MasE, 89-90.

¹⁰⁾ MasE, 115-16.

claims the critical notes on Theophrastus by his friend Solenander ¹⁾, and hears with pleasure that Diodorus Siculus, and, even more, that Athenæus, is forthcoming. — Thus vanished the *κῦδος Φλανδρογενῶν* ²⁾, called by Gesner in his *Bibliotheca Universalis* : ‘singulare decus ac columnen rei litterariæ, de omni studiorum genere quam optime meritis’ ³⁾.

Less brilliant, and yet in a way more prosperous, than Arnold Arlenius, was his fellow-student John Visbroeck, Visbrocus, of Ghent, who made an excellent use of the acquaintance with languages and literature gathered from the lectures in the *Trilingue*. He is referred to first in the correspondence of Andrew Masius, whom he had met at Trent, probably in 1543, when he was already Cardinal Morone’s secretary ⁴⁾. On March, 15, 1544, he was looking out for a situation in Rome for Masius ⁵⁾, who, meanwhile, tried to please him by procuring some rare specimens for his friend, the ichthyologist Hippolyto Salviani ⁶⁾. The letters of the following years, which were exchanged regularly, refer, not

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

²⁾ *Hierogl.*, β 4, v.

³⁾ *Mendoza*, I, 46.

⁴⁾ Giovanni Morone, born at Milan, January 25, 1509, entered the Church after his studies at Padua; in 1529, he was created Bishop of Modena, and, being sent as Nuntio to Germany in 1536, he showed great prudence and sagacity; so that, after a year’s absence, he was sent back in July 1539. In 1542, he was promoted Cardinal, and entrusted with the presidency of the Council of Trent. Having been transferred to the see of Novara, 1548, he was once more used to represent the Pope at the Augsburg Diet in 1555. Paul IV, however, suspected him of being too indulgent to Protestants, and, on May 31, 1557, had him put into prison, whereas his successor, Pius IV, took up the lawsuit and absolved him as innocent, conferring on him the greatest proof of his confidence, by entrusting once more to him the presidency of the Council of Trent, which he closed to Rome’s entire satisfaction. After several other important services rendered to the Church, he died in Rome on December 1, 1580 : *Morone*, ix-lvii; *SchelAL*, xii, 537-86; *Pastor*, v, 146, &c, vi, 528-41, vii, 24, sq, 99, &c, viii, 20-25, 576, &c; *Buschbell*, 46, sq, 49, 191, sq, &c; *MasE*, 80-89, 91, 94, 100, sq, 166-68, &c. Cp. *TorrPoeSa.*, 66.

⁵⁾ *MasE*, 17.

⁶⁾ He issued the *Aquatilium Animalium Historiæ* : Rome, 1554, in which he writes an effusive praise of Masius, and, in several places, refers to his help and his description of fishes : ff 210, 212, &c; letters of November 28, 1550, January 4, 1551, January 22, 1554 : *MasE*, 67-68, 71-72, 145.

merely to a possible advance in worldly affairs, or ecclesiastical preferments ¹⁾, but to all objects that interested them, even to a rare flower, which Matthioli does not describe accurately ²⁾, or to precious seeds ³⁾. Still most of their interest and attention is devoted to their studies and to the work they pursue with their friends ⁴⁾. On June 12, 1557, John Antony de Taxis announced to Masius that Visbroeck's master was taken a prisoner ⁵⁾; Morone's sister, the marchioness Soncini, however, took good care of him, and kept him at Milan, until Morone's rehabilitation, in April 1560 ⁶⁾, although he should have liked to return to the Netherlands.

Thanks to Morone's protection he had obtained a canonry at Liège; in November 1561, he left Rome, partly to reside the eight months required for his legal possession of the prebend, partly so as to visit his native country and his great friend Masius, who had married at Zevenaar ⁷⁾. With three young Englishmen and a youth of Florence, he then returned to Italy, leaving Liège on September 8, 1562 ⁸⁾, and reaching Rome in December, where he was heartily welcomed ⁹⁾. He helped Masius in his efforts to have a University founded at Duisburg ¹⁰⁾, and obtained through his Cardinal the necessary licence to have a book by Albert Pigge, Stephen's uncle ¹¹⁾, printed in Rome, or at least in Italy ¹²⁾. By August 1567, he

¹⁾ MasE, 166-68, 178, sq, 191, 194, 296-98.

²⁾ MasE, 183, 346 : Peter Andrew Matthiolus issued a new commented edition of Dioscorides' *de Materia Medica*, 1544, in Italian; 1554, in Latin; 1565, in French : he still adheres, most credulously, to the traditional doctrine, although he mentions Busbeek : Matthiol., c 2, r, sq.

³⁾ MasE, 198.

⁴⁾ MasE, 213.

⁵⁾ MasE, 291.

⁶⁾ MasE, 310, sq, 325.

⁷⁾ MasE, 340, 346-48; cp. before, pp 287, sq.

⁸⁾ MasE, 348-49.

⁹⁾ MasE, 355.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, pp 288, sq.

¹¹⁾ Albert Pigge, great mathematician and controvertist : cp. *Cran.*, 97, a-l, 220, a, and further, Ch. XXIII.

¹²⁾ Letter of Visbroeck to Pigge, October 19, 1563, and of Pigge to Masius, February 24, 1564 : MasE, 355, as well as of Pigge to his Roman correspondent Nicolas Florentii, 19 <December 1563> : PigE, 2^{bis}. Possibly to that same work refer other letters in the most ruthlessly bewildering correspondence of Pigge, as they are dated '1567' : namely those in which Pigge tries to make his friend Nicolas Florentii find a book which must be amongst some Cardinal's papers : January 16 : PigE, 204, and July 15, 1567 : PigE, 158.

wished to settle as a canon at Liège ¹⁾, which he reached in February 1568 ²⁾. In that summer he renewed the connection begun in Rome with Pigge ³⁾, in which his 'confratres' Lævinus Torrentius ⁴⁾ and Charles Langius ⁵⁾ joined. The year 1569 brought him a second longed-for stay with his great friend, the famous linguist of Zevenaar ⁶⁾.

Tradition accredits Visbroeck with a great experience in philosophic studies and ascribes to him commentaries on Aristotle; one of his friends, maybe Torrentius or Langius, alluding to his former master, the great Cardinal, who had become Dean of the Sacred College, wrote about his beneficent influence on their countryman, this distich :

Qualis purpureo Moronus in ordine, talis
Intereris patriæ lumin<e>, Iane, tuæ ⁷⁾.

C. MARTIN DE SMET

Whilst most of his fellow-students of the *Trilingue* followed carefully and respectfully the beaten tracks, studying languages and texts, Martin de Smet directed all his time and thoughts to a source of information, quite peculiar to Italy, which had been left almost despised and unused.

That new source of information were the inscriptions on buildings, memorial stones and monuments, which, comparatively abundant in Italy, were even becoming more numerous through accidental discoveries and systematic excavations. As is usually the case, that material proved far more attractive to foreigners than to those who had been accustomed to it from their infancy. At any rate it can hardly be merely fortuitous that the main parts of the two great systematic collections of inscriptions, constituting the basis

¹⁾ Letter of Nic. Florentii, August 3, 1567 : PigE, 129 ; MasE, 391.

²⁾ On February 1, 156[8], Pigge sends his *Themis* to him through Langius : PigE, 34 ; MasE, 391.

³⁾ Letters of Charles Langius to Pigge, May 20, <June>, 1568 : PigE, 16, 162.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁶⁾ Pigge to Masius, July 8, 1569 : PigE, 107 ; MasE, 427.

⁷⁾ *GandErVir.*, 79.

of Latin Epigraphy, are not due to Italians ¹⁾, but to old students of the *Trilingue* : besides acquiring the necessary acquaintance with antiquity, its history and its literature to carry out that pioneer work, they had also learned to realize the great interest and the growing necessity of searching the sense of those testimonies from their professors. One of those even left in his papers the proof of his appreciation of that new branch of philology : amongst Cornelius van Auwater's manuscripts, there is a collection of old inscriptions, in the shape of a miniature *Corpus*, of which many are provided with critical notes, or are compared with contemporary epitaphs ²⁾. Most likely his predecessors and his colleagues had similar collections, which incited some of their pupils, like the brothers Guy and Mark Laurin ³⁾, Martin de Smet and Stephen Pigge ³⁾ to imitate them, and, thanks to their lengthened stays in Italy, to surpass them. The present-day Epigraphical hoard is not only founded on, but is even constituted, for the far larger part, by the information which the latter two of those four pioneers have gathered and put into scientific shape and order.

The chief and leader of that grand group of searchers is

¹⁾ Some work had been done in that direction by the Roman bookseller Jacopo Mazochi, who, helped by Francesco Albertini, copied inscriptions of stones for as far as he could decipher them, especially those which were found amongst the rubbish of the Forum, or those which were either used as building material or going to be sent to the lime-kiln. The collection was edited in 1521 as *Epigrammata Antiquæ Urbis Romæ* : it did not aim at completeness, nor at exactitude : Symonds, 428-29. It was easily surpassed by that which Peter Apianus Bienewitz, professor of mathematics of Ingolstadt (cp. II, 543), seconded by his colleague Barth. Amantius, and especially by the generosity of Count Raymond Fugger, published in 1534 : Hallam, I, 333 ; Sandys, II, 260 ; CeltE, 70, sq ; *CorpCath.*, VI, 64 ; Müller, I, 5.

²⁾ That collection belongs to the documents acquired by the author of this *History* (cp. before, p 281), a large part of which are manuscript notes by Auwater, used for his lectures and studies. It takes up nine quarto pages, filled to overflow with copies in that professor's typically minuscule writing, occasionally illustrated by drawings. Of the inscriptions, some are ascribed to Rome (in particular to *Mons Quirinalis*), Naples, Verona, Padua, 'Salinæ' ; others to Spain, 'Gallia Cisalpina', &c.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

Martin de Smet, Smedt, or Faber, who, after having passed the test in 1534, as a student of the Falcon, was *birretatus* and promoted Master of Arts with four others on January 5, 1535. In the list he is marked as '*Martinus Faber Merbrensis*': the *Faber* evidently stands for his Flemish family name *Smet* or *Smedt* (Smith); whilst *Merbrensis*, — which has no sense, — is a bad reading or writing of the adjective derived from *Merendre*, *Meerendre*, a village about 10 kms. distant from Ghent, and 30 from Bruges ¹⁾).

After studying the Arts, he started theology or Canon Law, whereas he continued attending the lectures of the *Trilingue*, from which he derived the necessary knowledge for his later work, and acquired the wherewithal to make a living in Louvain by tutoring students. Amongst those may have been the sons of Matthias Laurin, Lord of Watervliet and Waterland ²⁾, Mark and Guy, who matriculated in Louvain in 1542, and were certainly indebted to him for a large part of their formation as antiquarians ³⁾. Maybe he accompanied them on a journey to Italy, so as to continue their training. He there, for certain, started annotating the old inscriptions in a most scientific and careful way, which possibly induced his pupils to provide him with the wherewithal to continue his work after they had returned. Certain it is that Martin spent there six years in absorbing research: he may still have been there in the spring of 1552, when Vulmar Bernaert, who was then at Trent ⁴⁾, thanks Masius for the service rendered to *their* Martin: '*Martino nostro*', as he writes ⁵⁾.

On his return to his native country, de Smet was appointed parish priest of the village of Oostwinkel ⁶⁾, half way between

¹⁾ *ULPromLv.*, 82: many mistakes were made when the lists of the promotions were copied out from the original registers: no doubt there was an upward curl after the *r* to indicate the abbreviation for *en*, which, with the following *d*, was mistaken for *b*: *mer'drens.* for *merendrensis*.

²⁾ Cp. II, 68, and references given.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 425-27.

⁵⁾ *MasE*, 104-5: Smetius, having studied in the Falcon, may not have been as familiar with Masius as with Bernaert, whose lessons he may have attended.

⁶⁾ In the collection of Pigge's letters preserved in the Brussels Archives the name of the village is written Westwinkel, which does not seem to be known. The mistake can easily be explained by the fact that the

Ghent and Bruges¹⁾, a few miles to the north-west of his native place Meerendre. He lived there with his two sisters and the treasure of epigraphic notes he had brought home from Italy. In that country he had met his Louvain friend Stephen Pigge, who, driven by the same desire to gather inscriptions, had started a collection for his host and protector, Cardinal Marcello Cervini²⁾. Smetius intended making good use of his leisure at Oostwinkel by a final, beautifully written copy, which was requested and paid for by the Laurins, who wanted it as a treasure for their library³⁾. He welcomed, in the spring of 1556, the return to this country of Stephen Pigge, with his collection; since Cardinal Cervini, who had become Pope Marcellus II⁴⁾, had died after a few weeks, he at once had entered (1556) Bishop Granvelle's service as librarian in Brussels.

Meanwhile de Smet had already copied out a good part of the epigraphs on large paper in beautiful writing and drawing⁵⁾, and had sent several quires to Bruges, when, in the evening of January 13, 1558, a fire destroyed his house, and nearly cost him his life and that of his sisters. It also consumed part of his copied manuscript, whereas other quires were damaged by the water used to quench the flames⁶⁾. In his distress he applied to Pigge, requesting him to procure the text of the epigraphs that were destroyed, promising neither to copy, nor to communicate to any one, the notes and comments which might have been added. That letter, of

copyist mistook the florid capital *O* of *Oestwinkel*, as it was often spelled, for a *W*: PigE, 199: *Westwynckele-medio fere inter Gandavum & Brugae itinere*.

¹⁾ In a straight line Oostwinkel is about 18 miles distant from Ghent and 22 from Bruges.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch XXIII.

³⁾ Cp. PigE, 151, 199.

⁴⁾ Pope Marcellus II, elected on April 9, 1555, died on May 1, following: the copy of the epigraphs made for him was returned to Pigge.

⁵⁾ Smetius had shown part of his copied manuscript in the spring of 1557 to Pigge, and Bishop Granvelle had asked for a copy: PigE, 199; that request does not seem to have been urged afterwards.

⁶⁾ The fire had been put to a neighbouring barn in a windy night, apparently in revenge, by a scamp who, with two others, so Smetius wrote, *præterito autumnō... in fossorem a meis electus fuerat*, and, probably displeased for some reason or other, had threatened with arson; the fire intended for some farms, was, unfortunately, directed by the wind to Smet's house: PigE, 199.

January 27 ¹⁾, had the desired effect, especially since Mark Laurin, to whom de Smet's collection was destined, also urgently appealed to him for the sake of friendship, of erudition, and of the confidence in their worthy fellow-worker, whom he had known 'ab incunabilis saltem literariis' ²⁾. Pigge readily helped to repair the damage as far as he could ³⁾, and allowed de Smet to consult and copy all his epigraphs. Afterwards the latter found some information in Mazochius, as well as in the notes of Maximilian of Waelscape (or -capelle), residing generally at Antwerp ⁴⁾, and in those of a nobleman of Lille, related to the Laurins, — both probably old *Trilinguists*; since their epigraphs were badly taken down, he once more had to resort to Brussels and to Pigge's help in October 1558, so that he could finish his work, and console himself with the idea that his Italian journey and his labours there had not been in vain ⁵⁾.

In fact his collection, finished and prefaced in 1565, was a grand treasure to the Laurins, and a most welcome help to their collaborator Hubert Goltzius, at least as long as they could dispose of it. For, when, at the arrival of the troops of the Northern Provinces at Bruges, Mark Laurin took to flight with his precious manuscript, he was taken prisoner on the road to Ostend by soldiers of the Scotch Colonel Henry Balfour, who, on March 26, 1578, had taken the town. Mark was deprived of all his treasures, and his valuable collection was sold in England; Janus Dousa, and other managers of Leyden University, who were there on embassy, bought it ⁶⁾: in 1588, Justus Lipsius added, as an *Auctarium*, some inscriptions which had not been known to, or perhaps omitted by, Smetius, and he edited the precious collection in 1588, as

¹⁾ PigE, 199: 'Rogo', de Smet writes to Pigge, 'per eam quam diu inter nos aluimus amicitiam fidemque'.

²⁾ Mark Laurin to Pigge, Bruges, February 11, 1558: PigE, 151.

³⁾ Mark Laurin to Pigge, Bruges, April 18, 1558: PigE, 134.

⁴⁾ Maximilian, whose sister had married Antonio de Taxis, Antwerp, had been in Rome with Masius: he was canon at Utrecht: *CollTorr.*, 76; *MasE*, 114, 322, 388, 402, 430, 467, 515.

⁵⁾ By his letter of September 18, 1558, he asks Pigge's leave and convenient time: PigE, 198.

⁶⁾ The story of Smetius' precious manuscript is related briefly in *SchelAL*, vii, 129.

Inscriptionvm Antiquarvm quæ passim per Europam Liber, auctore Martino Smetio ¹⁾).

Martin de Smet's death was very sad : in the dreary seventies of that century, he was suspected by some Spanish soldiers to be a protestant minister, one day that he was on the way to Termonde, and was hanged there and then ²⁾. Yet the man's work became the foundation of Janus Gruterus' ³⁾ most important contribution to Latin philology, the *Inscriptiones Antiquæ totius Orbis Romani* ⁴⁾, which reproduced Lipsius' edition and his *Auctarium* ⁵⁾, and offered, moreover, some epigraphs collected by himself and by others, especially by Mark Welser, burgomaster of Augsburg, and by Joseph Scaliger ; the latter had suggested the new edition, and had worked himself several months at the twenty-four admirably methodical *Indices*. In 1707, Gruterus' *Corpus* was enlarged once more by John George Grævius, and published in Amsterdam ⁶⁾.

The edition of Smetius' epigraphs by Lips was an actual revelation : it put to immediate work and research all the erudites that had any leisure, as follows from letters like the one from J. J. Boissard ⁷⁾ and the one to Carolus Clusius ⁸⁾,

¹⁾ JLipsEM, II, 24 : letter to Carolus Clusius, January 14, 1588/9 ; the book was printed by Fr. Raphelengius in Leyden : *Bibliographie Lipsienne* : Ghent, 1886 : II, 693.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 654 ; PigE, 214 (Plantin mentions on October 23, 1567 to Pigge that he is sending 'smetii Epist.' along with some books) ; *SaxOnom.*, 420 (ascribes his death to 1578) ; *SweABelg.*, 552 ; *Fland-OHR*, II, 164 ; H. de Vocht, *Maarten de Smet van Oostwinkel* (in *Mélanges A. de Meyer*), Louvain, 1946 : II, 825-35 (in which the inanity of the biographical details of the last years given in the *Vita... Jani Gruteri*, by F. H. Flayder : Utrecht, 1707, is pointed out) ; *CollTorr.*, 78 (for his collection of medals).

³⁾ Orbaan, 109, 140-41, 146-48.

⁴⁾ It was published by Jerome Commelinus in Heidelberg (*Opmeer*, II, 224) in 1601 or 1602.

⁵⁾ To Lipsius' *Auctarium* Janus Dousa, the elder, contributed several inscriptions : Paquot, xvi, 19, 224 ; Gabbema, 309, 313, 330, 338, 343, 604, 797, 799.

⁶⁾ Paquot, xvi, 18-23 ; *GandErVir.*, 64 ; *SaxOnom.*, 413.

⁷⁾ Letter to Abr. Ortelius, March 28, 1591 : Hessels, I, 466-67.

⁸⁾ Justus Lips to Carolus Clusius : Jan. 14, 1589 : JLipsEM, II, 148-49.

thus occasioning consecutive enlargements and enrichments ¹⁾. Yet, notwithstanding the many and valuable additions, Smetius' collection remains as the basis of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. It provided far more than the material. Pigge's collection, which was only published two centuries later, may be richer, offering many more inscriptions ²⁾; yet it lacks the soundness of that of his friend ³⁾: for injudiciously he took over some apocryphal details, which are not older than Pirro Ligorio's forgeries ⁴⁾. Smetius introduced an admirable exactitude, a sound judiciousness and a remarkable reliability into his work, and into the branch of philology which he founded. His division into inscriptions on civil or on religious monuments, for authorities and for subjects, to be true, was abandoned ⁵⁾; yet, his method is still followed: the rendering of the original inscriptions, line by line, in the actual shape and form, with abbreviations and indication of missing or mutilated parts, just as they are found; and, moreover, all possible enlightenment about the aim, the occasion and the signification of those testimonials of the past long gone by. Those, and many more principles, still adhered to, were introduced by the humble student of the *Trilingue*, who thus, not only provided the bulk of the matter, but even the very method, of present-day Latin Epigraphy.

4. SCIENTISTS

A. VESALE AND ANATOMY

Medicine, which of all the various kinds of human knowledge offers the most ready results, and proves to be of primordial necessity to human living, had been totally

¹⁾ Hallam, II, 387-88; Paquot, XVI, 18-23; *GandErVir.*, 64; Sandys, II, 359, 280, 327, sq; Roersch, I, 139-40; H. de Vocht, *Maarten de Smet* (cp. before, p 321, n 2), 833-35 and sources quoted.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

³⁾ Thus, e. g., Smetius always mentions whether he saw the inscription for himself, or only took it from some one else.

⁴⁾ Ligorio (who died about 1586) published a work on the Antiquities of Rome, in 1553, with a vast collection of inscriptions, many of which are spurious: Sandys, II, 154.

⁵⁾ Cp. PigE, 199.

neglected for centuries on account of the surprising belief that Galen, who died in 201, had said the last word worth saying in the matter. The Arabians showed themselves as eager adepts as the Christians, and, through the subsequent distrust of Greek lore and language, became as the natural guardians of that science, especially after Avicenna had brought the teachings of the Pergamus Archiater into contact with the theories of Aristotle, which were then being made into the basis of Scholastic Philosophy : that admirer of Galen thus became as the guide of medical studies from the xiith until far in the xviith century ¹⁾. When the Renaissance introduced the critical reading of ancient Latin and Greek authors, Galen's original text once more became the object of attention and interest : it was repeatedly translated into Latin from 1490, and naturally roused the question of its preeminence over Arabian tradition. The controversy thus caused, — which occasioned Hubert Barlandus' assault on his late Louvain professors Arnoldus Noot and Leonard Willemaers ²⁾, — called into existence, in the first half of the xvith century, a large amount of literature, comprising Galen's Greek text in the *editio princeps* of 1525 ³⁾, and authoritative translations, such as that by Thomas Linacre, 1517-24 ⁴⁾, with their numerous reprints, as well as comments by James Dubois Sylvius, Γαληνικώτατος ⁵⁾, and John Winter, of Andernach ⁶⁾, by Leonhard Fuchs ⁷⁾ and Janus Cornarius ⁸⁾. It all resulted in a revival, if possible, of the cult for the Pergamus physician, whose fame irresistibly attracted the leading erudite experts in France, Germany and Italy, and almost turned Humanism into Galenism for years to come ⁹⁾.

When that Galenic rage was fairly on the rise, a child was born in Brussels, on December 31, 1514, or the day following ¹⁰⁾, **Andrew Vesale, Vesalius**, the son, grandson,

¹⁾ Cp. Sandys, I, 395, 561 ; Heinrichs, 6-9 ; before, II, 517, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. II, 520-23.

³⁾ Sandys, II, 105.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 517, 530 ; W. Osler, *Th. Linacre* : Cambr., 1908 ; Sandys, II, 225-28.

⁵⁾ Heinrichs, 36, 74 ; *SaxOnom.*, 256, 632 ; *CatZür.*, xvii, 376 ; and further, p 326.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 529-30.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 532.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 389-90.

⁹⁾ Heinrichs, 72-76.

¹⁰⁾ Other dates are quoted : Jan. 1, 1514 and April 30, 1513 : *Vesale*, 16.

and great-grandson even of outstanding physicians. His great-grandfather John Witting, Wesel, Wesalius, had been one of the first professors of that art in the recently founded Louvain University ¹⁾; he entrusted to his son Everard, the office of physician to Mary of Valois, Duchess of Burgundy ²⁾, and in his turn, Everard left a son, Andrew Witting, Vesale, Vesalius, married to Isabella Crabbe, chemist to Margaret of Austria ³⁾. It is quite natural that their child Andrew grew up in the family traditions, and showed, from the very first, the predilection for dissections which made of him one of the most famous men that ever existed. He was sent very young to Louvain, where he attended the lectures of the Castle, although too young to be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts ⁴⁾. He applied himself to the study of languages, in which he was most proficient, as he proved to be when, in 1541, he helped to correct the text and the translation of the *Galen Omnia Opera* for the heirs of Luke Antony Junta, of Florence, at Venice ⁵⁾. He gained the necessary mastery for that work in the busying *Trilingue* ⁶⁾, where he made the

¹⁾ He was the fourth to teach medicine in Louvain, starting in October 1429, and continuing until his death; he was elected Rector on August 30, 1430, November 30, 1433 and 1438; he is mentioned for the last time in the *Acta* for the meeting of August 31, 1447. In October 1431, the Faculty of Arts requested him to teach mathematics, which he declined: *ULDoc.*, I, 251-53, II, 194-96. He wrote *Commentarii in Avicennam*, to which Andrew refers in his *Epistola de Radice Chinæ*; also an *Exhortatio de Calendarii Correctione*, addressed to Pope Eugene IV: Vern., 109; VAnd., 225, 249; *BibBelg.*, 576; Quetelet, 68.

²⁾ Everard de Wesel died at the early age of 36: VAnd., 226, 227.

³⁾ *ULDoc.*, II, 196; Gachard, 516, a. The Dordrecht physician John van Beverwyck (1594-1647), was related to Vesale by his mother, Mary Boot van Wezel: Paquot, x, 116-17.

⁴⁾ In such cases the young student was promoted when he came of age, except when special license was given: in the list of promotions he was then mentioned *extra ordinem*: *ULPromLo.*, 10, 82.

⁵⁾ To that joint work Vesale contributed the *castigatio* of *De Venarum Arteriarumque Dissectione Liber*, and that of the *De Anatomicis Administrationibus Libri Novem*: *CatZür.*, XVIII, 313.

⁶⁾ Vesale inserted a fine Latin poem: *Epistola ad Candidum Lectorem*, as introduction to his *Epistola de Vena Axillari... secunda*: Basle, 1539. Cp. C. Broeckx, *Médecins Poètes Belges*: Antwerp, 1858: 51.

acquaintance of Andrew Masius ¹⁾, John Visbroeck ²⁾ and especially of Gemma Phrysius ³⁾, and where he, no doubt, was taught the golden rule, that sound and reliable knowledge cannot come from tradition, but only from the very object it intends to investigate. Moreover, he found ample encouragement for real study in that direction, as his companions were working on the same lines, although for other matters, according to the principles of the School and the glorious examples of their predecessors.

Probably Vesale started studying medicine in Louvain, and may even have proceeded as far as his bachelorship : still he cannot have found much satisfaction in attending the lectures of Noot and Willemaers, who, ten years later, were dismissed on the complaints of their hearers who found them not only very remiss in, but even unqualified for, their task, as they taught by the terms and the wording of Avicenna without any explanation ⁴⁾; the students went so far as to threaten to leave the town if their grievance was not remedied. The two chief professors can hardly have been more interesting when Vesale was amongst their audience, as results from Barlandus' *Velitatio* ⁵⁾; while a means of submitting Galen's anatomical dogmatism to the test, proposed according to the principles of the *Trilingue*, must have appeared to be out of the question in the conditions then prevailing in Louvain. He therefore left Brabant by 1532 and went to France, where, at least, the possibility of making a critical and practical study was far greater.

He went to the University of Montpellier, which was renowned for the studies of medicine ⁶⁾; still he may have

¹⁾ When in the spring of 1559, Masius was in Brussels and suffered from fever, he was soon cured 'Dei clementia et Wesalii opera' : MasE, 317-19.

²⁾ From Rome, November 28, 1550, John Visbroeck sent to Masius greetings for two physicians at Ferdinand's Court : one of them was Vesalius : MasE, 67-68.

³⁾ Cp. II, 542-65, and further, p 327.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 219, 232 ; cp. II, 520-23, 537-38.

⁵⁾ That book was issued in the beginning of 1532 : cp. II, 521.

⁶⁾ He had there as fellow-student John Tagault, who died in 1545 ; he left a short treatise *De Chirurgica Institutione*, in which he followed Vesale's example and teaching : the book, edited in 1549 (Lyons, Gul.

been disappointed in its lack of occasions for practical research, which he finally found in Paris. He there attended the lectures on anatomy by an old student of the *Trilingue* and Louvain, John Winter, of Andernach ¹⁾, and specially by James Dubois, Sylvius ²⁾. The basis of their teaching was, of course, the system of Galen; in fact the belief and the trust in him was so deeply rooted into their conviction and in their teaching, that even the contradiction between his statement and an undeniable fact of experience was argued away by the suspicion of an alteration of his text by subsequent commentators: even a change in the human constitution was suggested since the time that he wrote his 'divine' works! Yet his anatomy, as Vesale found, is inexact: firstly because it is derived from dissections of animals; and secondly, since it does not constitute the starting point of his physiology ³⁾, which he had built up independently with great skill from Aristotle's psychology and philosophy ⁴⁾. Dissections of human corpses had been practised for some time already in Italy, in Montpellier, in Paris, and other Universities; even representations on separate sheets, with movable flaps, were bringing them to the general knowledge ⁵⁾. Yet, strange to

Rovillius), reproduces several of the illustrations of his great friend; it was translated in several languages, and became a textbook for English students in that century: *CatZür.*, xvii, 395.

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 529-30, 570: in 1538, Vesale corrected and castigated the second edition of his *Institutiones*.

²⁾ James Dubois, of Amiens, Sylvius (1478-1555), a renowned professor of anatomy by means of dissections, was appointed as successor by 1548 to the Italian Guido Guidi, or Vidus Vidius. That Vidius, or properly Vital Viduro, a Florentine, was the author of a *Chirurgia e Græco in Latinum conversa* (Paris, P. Galterius, 1544) from Hippocrates and Galen, with comments and many figures, which was influential in the development of surgical procedure in that century; at the death of Francis I, who had invited him to Paris, he accepted the offer of Cosimo de' Medici, and became professor in Pisa, where he died in 1567: Paquot, xii, 77; *CatZür.*, xvii, 399; *SaxOnom.*, 256, 631.

³⁾ Heinrichs, 33, sq.

⁴⁾ Heinrichs, 3, sq.

⁵⁾ It became the fashion to have the anatomy of man, or of parts of the body, represented by woodcuts or engravings, which occasionally were coloured; they were sold in loose leaves; some of them had superimposed flaps: lifted up, they showed the parts underneath. Such sheets were at times hung up in surgeons' and barbers' offices, specially those published under the title of *Anathomia* by J. Frölich, in

say, those dissections, far from shaking the faith in the exactness of the Galenic theory, strenghtened it, and were supposed to confirm it apodictically. The only change which had been brought about in that cult for Galen by two of the chief erudites amongst the humanists, was the faithful and accurate translation of Galen's *Methodus Medendi*, by the famous English physician Thomas Linacre, edited by the great French Hellenist Budé ¹⁾ : it made it clear that, for centuries, medicine had relied upon garbled and second-hand versions of the favourite author. It is Vesalius' great merit to have recognized where Galen's descriptions actually differ from reality, and to have had the courage to state his conclusions, full in the face of the almost invincible prejudice in favour of the Pergamus physician.

When, in 1535, he had to leave Paris on account of the war, he returned to Louvain and continued his study, notwithstanding difficulties of finding the indispensable matter for his research. He relates how with the help of his friend Gemma Phrysius he secured a skeleton from the gibbet ²⁾. It did not last long before he found ready assistance, not from the elder professors, who looked out for ways to harm him, but from the younger, like Thriverus, who encouraged him ³⁾, and like John Heems ⁴⁾, under whose presidency he held lectures, as they were imposed as exercises for the obtention of the

Strassburg, 1552, and Hans Weygel, Nuremberg, 1556. In prevision of his *Fabrica*, Vesalius had six illustrations made by his engraver John of Calcar, and had them published as soon as they were ready, so as to use them in his lessons in Padua : *Tabulæ Anatomicæ sex* : Basle, 1538 : Fulton, 15 ; *CatZür.*, xvii, 333, 392. — They quickly spread throughout the various countries, and made his book *de Fabrica* looked out for. Charles Estienne, who published *De Dissectione Partium Corporis Humani Libri Tres*, in 1545, had almost finished that work in 1539, when he was summoned to answer a charge of having unduly reproduced some of Vesalius' *Tabulæ* : *CatZür.*, xvii, 349.

¹⁾ *Galenī Methodus Medendi, vel de Morbis Curandis*, Thoma Linacro Interprete, Libri Quatuordecum : Paris, Did. Maheu, for Geoffr. Hittorp, 1519.

²⁾ Cp. dedicatory letter to Charles V, of his *De Fabrica Humani Corporis*.

³⁾ Cp. II, 532-42.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 83, and before, p 261 ; it appears that Heems made use of Vesale as prosector.

licentiate ¹⁾; in those lectures, he defended several of the conclusions which he had reached, and he could even prove them by his public dissections, since the Prætor of the town, not only assured him of his hearty sympathy, but helped him, by providing some corpses ²⁾. It was in that glorious period that he could make to his fellow-students the startling statement that Galen's anatomy had no proper foundation, as it was exclusively based on dissections of animals, and thus necessarily offered lacks and defects, differences and inconsistencies ³⁾, which even Sylvius and Winter ⁴⁾, amongst the clear-sighted of his adepts, could hardly deny, and tried to reason away.

Unfortunately the want of a sufficient number of actual proofs made that protest against the general and inveterate belief sound as the shout of a man in the roaring of a storm. He was looking out hopelessly for the means of finding the evidence sufficient to establish the real, unobjectionable anatomy of man, which a comparatively small town like Louvain could never afford, when those means were provided to him by his appointment as physician and surgeon in the Imperial army. It led him to Italy, where in 1537, the Senate of Venice allowed him to lecture on Anatomy in Padua, and placed at his disposal all the resources which he himself deemed necessary or useful for his teaching ⁵⁾. The result was that, thanks to the ample amount of information, he could provide

¹⁾ Bachelors in any of the four superior Faculties had to deliver a stated number of *Lectiones* to their fellow-students as part of their preparation to the licentiate : Mol., 1059, 1065 ; A. van Hove, *Statuts... de la Fac. de Médecine* : Brussels, 1920 : 96, 98. — It was the means for Vesale to communicate his views : he thus had amongst his hearers William Pantin (cp. further, pp 333-34) : Paquot, xvii, 204.

²⁾ About the Louvain mayor, Vesale wrote : Prætor adeo medicinæ candidatorum studiis favet, ut quodvis corpus a se impetrari gauderet, ac ipse non vulgariter anatomes cognitione afficeretur, mihiq; illic anatomem administranti sedulo adstat : *De Corp. Hum. Fabr.*, i, lix.

³⁾ Vesale stated that Galen had never seen a man's body dissected and points out, as proof, one hundred and sixteen evident mistakes which he makes : Heinrichs, 21.

⁴⁾ Professing, both of them, anatomy in Paris : cp. before, p 323.

⁵⁾ He had there amongst his audience Peter van Forest, Forestus, of Alkmaar (1522-1597), who became professor of medicine in Leyden : Paquot, xii, 77.

the unequivocal proofs of the incompleteness and inexactness of the Galenic anatomy, as well as of the unreliableness of his system of physiology, represented as having no connection with that anatomy, being the result of mere speculations, even though based on Aristotelian theories. Instead of all that, Vesale offers a complete scientific anatomy of man, suggesting a physiology based on judicious, unobjectionable deductions from experimental facts, which, no doubt, he intended working out afterwards, as complement to his systematic anatomy ¹⁾.

The latter, fully exposed in his lectures, and efficiently based on his practical dissections, was also communicated at large by his expositions in various towns of Italy, and, finally, most carefully and completely consigned in his *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri VII*. That wonderful book, illustrated by drawings made, under the author's closest attention, by his countryman J. van Calcar, disciple of Tiziano Vecellio ²⁾, was issued in Basle in 1543 ³⁾, and dedicated to Charles V ⁴⁾: it is not only the foundation of the new scientific human anatomy, but the very corner stone of modern Medicine. Nor did it last long before it was known and appreciated everywhere, even by the nation which is stubbornly opposed to 'aliens' and their progress: fifty years after

¹⁾ Heinrichs, 35, 37, sq. It is evident that circumstances prevented him from working out a physiologic system, which would have been as the complement to his anatomy. He also abstained systematically from all metaphysic questions, such as 'de animæ speciebus, earumque sedibus', so as not to become a ματαιολόγον, or a heretic. On the other hand, Vesale had not had the time to break off entirely with tradition: those of Galen's teachings and conceptions which he had not found to be incorrect, were adopted in his system and in his explanations: and so were many other points which he had had neither the leisure, nor the occasion to test in the astonishingly short time in which he had made his important discovery: pending their due examining and testing, he provisionally adhered to Galen's theory: Heinrichs, 35.

²⁾ John von Calcar, named after his birth-place, in the Duchy of Cleves, was a pupil of Tiziano; he died at Naples in 1546: Hessels, 1, 390, 907, a.

³⁾ It was printed by Joannes Oporinus; cp. M. Roth, *Andreas Vesalius in Basel*: Basle, 1885. Cp. for its being esteemed at once at its value, Fulton, 21, 25; *CatZür.*, xvii, 398.

⁴⁾ Moeller, 90. — A copy on vellum was offered in Charles V's name to Louvain University; it was beautifully adorned by illustrations which, by movable flaps, showed the anatomy of the various parts; it perished in the Fire of August 25-26, 1914.

the *Fabrica* came out, a skeleton was called *anatomy* in English, no doubt from Calcar's suggestive drawing, and Shakespeare described Pinch, as 'a hungry lean-fac'd villain, A mere anatomy...' ¹⁾).

Unfortunately, at its appearance, the *Fabrica* roused a wild storm of protestations from a world that was still, and even remained for a good while yet, addicted to Galen. It strangely enhances Vesale's greatness, for it shows to all evidence that he did not owe his great discovery to the doctors who taught him the art, for he was attacked, not only by the Marburg professor John Dryander ²⁾, but by his own Paris masters, John Winter and, loudest in his outcry, his 'well-beloved' James Sylvius, who called him *Vesanus*, and declared to have been rendered more confirmed in his attachment to the secular tradition ³⁾. Even Vesale's own followers in Italy, such as Fallopio ⁴⁾ and Eustachio ⁵⁾, although accepting his conclusions after a most minute checking of each statement, could not free themselves from Galen's influence ⁶⁾. The only explanation of the wonderful liberation from the general enslavement is provided by the true spirit of Humanism as proposed by Erasmus and the *Trilingue*, holding that all knowledge should be derived direct from the object, or from unobjectionable evidence, and

¹⁾ *Com. of Errors*, v, 239; also *King John*, III, iv, 40: rouse from sleep that fell anatomy; in 2 *Henry IV*, v, iv, 31-32, Doll calls the Beadle: Goodman death! goodman bones! — to which Mrs. Quickly adds: Thou anatomy, thou! Cp. *ShakEngl.*, I, 425.

²⁾ John Dryander, Eyckmann, from Wetter (1500-1560), was professor of mathematics and medicine in Marburg: he is said to have started dissections for his lectures: *UniMarb.*, 18.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 326.

⁴⁾ Gabriel Fallopio, of Modena (1523-1562), was professor in Ferrara, Pisa, and finally in Padua: Vesale was requested to replace him there at his death.

⁵⁾ Bartolommeo Eustachio, of San-Severino (c 1500-1574), taught anatomy at Urbino and afterwards in Rome: he published *Opuscula Anatomica*, 1564, and had fine plates engraved in Rome in 1552, which, however, were only edited in 1714 by Lancisius, physician to the Pope, whereas Boerhave reprinted his *Opuscula* in 1707. A *Collectio Vocum apud Hippocratem* by him was issued at Venice, 1566.

⁶⁾ Heinrichs, 39, sq; cp. Kaufmann, II, 539, who remarks that the medical studies in Germany hardly changed for about two centuries.

preferring one well established fact to the whole world's attestation and all available authorities and suppositions.

Like Erasmus, Vesalius had to pay for the great fortune that befell him, seeing centuries ahead of his contemporaries : he took up service again in the war against Gelderland, and spent some time at Nijmegen and Ratisbon. In this town he prescribed to Charles V the use of *Radix Chinæ* ¹⁾, about which he wrote a treatise ; still he failed to help the Emperor, who was unable to observe the necessary diet and rest. He returned to Italy, where, at Padua, Bologna and Pisa, he gave lectures, illustrated by dissections to show the inanity of the opposition in all shapes and from all sides against the *Fabrica*. That opposition was most unfortunate, for it interrupted the great Man in his progress, as he considered himself bound to justify his work, even to his own late master Sylvius. He himself would rather have continued his researches, and have described, after the *build* of Man, also the *work* of all the parts that constitute him. That further study would have enlightened him on some details, which he had found obscure, as he had not had the time to free himself completely from Galen and tradition. He certainly realized that they had to be cleared up by a scientific, fully reliable physiology, which was in his plan : he already sensed its reply in many points, such as the details about the action of the heart and of the arteries, which he realized, although he had not worked them out into decisive statements. Had he enjoyed rest, and freedom of work, — and a longer life, — he, no doubt, would have brought more light and more accuracy into his *Fabrica*, and, for certain, the world would not have had to wait for William Harvey's description of the circulation of the blood until 1628, since Vesale had already actually delineated clearly and undoubtedly its principal facts.

Vesale spent some years quietly in Brussels, where, after his first journey to Italy, he had married Anna van Hamme, daughter of Jerome, councillor and Master of the Exchequer, and of Anna Asseliers ; they had one daughter Anna, who

¹⁾ *Epistola de Ratione propinandi Radicis Chinæ Decocti* : Lyons, 1547 ; it contains an answer to James Sylvius, and was dedicated by a letter of 1542 to his friend, the Mechlin physician Joachim Roelants, Rolandus : Paquot, xii, 53-55 ; Daxhelet, 256 ; and before, II, 528.

became the wife of John Mol, Philip II's chief Falconer. He attended some of his old friends and fellow-students ¹⁾, until he was requested to follow Philip II to Spain as physician : as he was averse to Court life, and as he suffered from the climate, he pretexted a vow of visiting Jerusalem to get his dismissal. He travelled to Venice, to Cyprus and to the Holy Land, and was returning to accept a professorate offered to him in Padua, when a storm threw him on a wreck on the isle of Zanta, where he perished on October 15, 1564 ²⁾.

The 'Father of the Anatomy', the '*stupendum naturæ miraculum*', as Fallopio called him, whom Guicciardini pronounced '*professionis suæ in omni Europa primus* ³⁾', shares the fate of all men of Genius : he is either belittled : so as to seem to merit being sent to Judea for not noticing before a heart is laid bare at a dissection, that it is still alive ; — or he serves to make giants of pygmies, — who now can proudly point out faults in his writings ⁴⁾ : as if any man could find

¹⁾ He cured his fellow-student Andrew Masius from a fever in the spring of 1559 : MasE, 317-19, 377, and before, p 288. He also took care of Maximilian of Egmont, Count of Buren, Charles V's great general, whom, unfortunately, he could not cure, predicting the hour of his decease, which — if the story is true — was made into a state affair in Brussels, September 23, 1548, as is related in the great histories of the century : James Thuanus, *Historia sui Temporis*, II, 125, sq ; SleuComm., 653 ; Henne, VIII, 357-60 ; and before, II, 125-26. — Many legends have formed about Vesale's sharp verdicts : he is said to have predicted at Augsburg, Charles V's untimely death ten years in advance, which caused the Emperor to write his last will there in that town, and decided him to abdicate in due time.

²⁾ Opmeer, I, 508, b ; Mol, 570, 573-74, 793 ; Vern., 301, sq ; BibBelg., 58, sq ; SaxOnom., 191-92, 621 ; Quetelet, 91-92 ; GoetLect., II, 112-33 ; Ad. Burggraeve, *Études sur André Vésale* : Ghent, 1841 ; Henne, v, 57-58 ; Heinrichs, 9, 21, 33-41, 68, 74, 78 ; M. Roth, *Quellen einer Vesalbiographie* : Basle, 1889 ; J. F. Fulton, *André Vésale* (in *Rev. Quest. Scient.*, v, xiii), 1952 : 161-70. — Letters of Vesale to Henry Petri, Basle (August 28, 1558, a second, undated) and to Mark Pfister, 1553, are preserved in BbBasle, G, I, 15, G2, I, 20, b, II, 42.

³⁾ Guicc., 55. — Cp. G. Steinberg, *Bibliogr... des Portraits* (Hamburg, 1934) : 45 ; Spielmann, *Iconography of A. Vesalius* ; and the various collections of *Icones*, e. g., of Th. Zwinger, 1589, N. Reusner, 1590, &c : CatZür., xvii, 223, 224, 331, xviii, 779.

⁴⁾ Cp. G. Muls, *André Vésale* (in *Ann. d'Archéol. Médicale*, I) : Brussels, 1923 ; 6, 9, 10-12, &c.

in ten years what an innumerable host of physicians, made attentive to some anomaly, took *centuries* to put right. Heaven knows what an enormous amount would have been added to the debt of Humanity, if circumstances had allowed Vesale to develop into the 'Father of Physiology' as well as 'of Anatomy'.

B. PANTIN AND LEMNIUS

Amongst Vesalius' fellow-students was a **William Pantin**, Pantinus, of Thielt, who, beside medicine, also studied languages in the *Trilingue*, as his comments on Celsus and his occasional, very choice, poetry, such as that inserted in Goltzius' *Julius Cæsar*, amply prove. He there also learned the proper way of study : if he did not launch on any research work, he was most prudent in granting his assent. He was an admiring disciple of Jeremy Thriverus ¹⁾, about whose teachings and writings he stated that he felt it safer, and surer, and more honest to accept approved and experienced opinions, especially if they are confirmed by sound reason, rather than construct any new ones ²⁾. It shows that if he was not an innovator, he required a sound groundwork, on which he wanted to base all the teaching which he accepted from others. As Thriverus was often absent from Louvain to take care of patients requiring his attendance, and as Charles Goossins, Goswinus ³⁾, the second professor whom he greatly admired, was just then fully absorbed by the work of his rectorship ⁴⁾, he decided to take up a thorough study of the Latin Hippocrates, the most ancient and most eloquent physician, Cornelius Celsus ⁵⁾ ; he took him as subject of some of the lectures which he was to deliver in preparation for his licentiate, and he developed his teachings for a commented

¹⁾ Cp. II, 532-42.

²⁾ Mol., 566.

³⁾ He was a nephew of Peter de Corte, born at Bruges in 1507, who matriculated in Louvain as a rich student of the Lily in August 1523, promoted Master of Arts in 1528 and Medical Doctor in 1539. He was appointed professor on June 29, 1536, and staid at his work until his death, August 24, 1574 : *Cran.*, 109, a, 11 ; *VAnd.*, 233.

⁴⁾ Charles Goossins was Rector a first time from February to August 1542 ; a second time from August 1547 to Febr. 1548 : *ULDoc.*, 1, 266-67.

⁵⁾ Mol., 576.

edition, which was published by J. Oporinus, Basle, in 1552, as *Commentarii & Annotationes in Cornelii Celsi De Re Medica Libros VIII* ¹⁾; in its preface he highly praised his late fellow-student Andrew Vesalius ²⁾, and gratefully mentions 'præceptores suos Hieremiam Brachelium et Carolum Gosuinum, medicinæ professores longe principes' ³⁾.

By that time he had settled as medical licentiate at Bruges where, eventually, he became pensionary-physician of the town, and was honoured by the friendship of Cornelius van Baersdorp ⁴⁾, who, having been Queen Eleanor of France's physician, had taken up, with John Claeyssone, the founding and the managing of the School bequeathed by Bishop John de Witte, the Queen's almoner, to his native town ⁵⁾. Pantin showed a lifelong interest in studies : he closely followed his friend Leopardus' work and research ⁶⁾, as well as that of the famous brothers Laurin ⁷⁾ and of their printer Goltzsius ⁸⁾ : he used even learning as protection when the bands of armed Calvinists entered the town, and he went to meet them with a book fastened to his chest, and another to his back. The skilful physician died at his post as a bachelor on October 2, 1583, and was laid to rest in St. Walburgis' Church ⁹⁾.

William Pantin found a match, both as clever practitioner and as medical author, in one of his fellow-students, **Livinus Lemmen, Lemnius, Guilliemi**. He was born at Zierikzee on May 20, 1505, and after being trained in his native town and at Ghent, he came to Louvain, where he perfected his knowledge of languages in the *Trilingue*. He applied himself to medicine, after having followed for some time the lectures of

¹⁾ (In-folio :) *SaxOnom.*, 318.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 328.

³⁾ *Mol.*, 567.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 297 ; *BrugErVir.*, 24 ; *FlandScript.*, 138 ; Schrevel, I, 261-65, &c ; Henne, v, 58.

⁵⁾ Schrevel, I, 258-65, &c.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 247-50 ; *FlandScript.*, 129-30 ; Paquot, iv, 2.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁹⁾ *Mol.*, 576 ; *BibBelg.*, 331-32 ; *SweABelg.*, 216 ; *FlandScript.*, 71, 130, 133 ; *GandErVir.*, 57, 86 ; Paquot, xvii, 203-4, 224 ; *CollTorr.*, 78. — His cousin, Peter Pantin, born at Thielt about 1559, studied in Louvain, Douai and Toledo, where he succeeded Andrew Schott as Professor of Greek. He became Dean of St. Gudula's, Brussels, and died on Dec. 25, 1611 : Paquot, xvii, 205-17 ; Gestel, II, 14 ; *BruxBas.*, I, 112, II, 11, 84.

theology on Peter de Corte's advice ¹⁾. He set up as physician in his native town by 1534 ²⁾, and appears to have been most successful and most acceptable by his affable manners and buoyant character, which inspired the inscription he put over the door of his house : *Rerum irrecuperabilium summa Felicitas Oblivio* ; it is warmly praised in a poem which his friend Pascasius Oens, Oenius, of Heycrucy, rector of the Zierikzee school, composed at his decease ³⁾, and it gives to his several medical books a most encouraging spirit of sound and comforting sympathy with all strugglers and sufferers.

With the eminently fine and effective Latin in which his various works are written, Lemnius also derived from the *Trilingue* the spirit of ceaseless study and research, which characterizes all those who had been formed in the grand Institute. It is evident from all his writings that he devoted a constant attention to his patients, and did what he could to relieve their sufferings and cure their ailments. Unfortunately his native town was far away from the busy highway towards progress and intellectual development, and he must have regretted the atmosphere where a Thriverus was freeing himself from the heavy chain of tradition ⁴⁾ and Vesalius had started his search for sound anatomical knowledge ⁵⁾.

No doubt it was that hunger for information which made him apply to a congenial spirit, Rembert Dodoens ⁶⁾, who, soon after 1535, started work at Mechlin. He was allowed to

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 83-84 ; it suggests that Lemnius was an inmate of the Lily, where Peter de Corte then was Regent.

²⁾ In the preface to his *De Astrologia*, March 7, 1553, Lemnius states that he had practised (*rem medicam exercui*) at Zierikzee '*supra annos vndeviginti*', which suggests that he should have started late in 1533 or early in 1534. In his *Epistola Dedicatoria* to *De Habitu et Constitutione Corporis*, dated January 1, 1561, he refers to his fellow-citizens, 'whom', he says, '*annos supra tres & triginta operam meam in medendo approbare præstareque studui*' : namely he had decided by 1528 to study medicine, so as to be helpful to his fellow-citizens.

³⁾ Paquot, I, 363 ; he also praised *De Astrologia* by a poem.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 532-42.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 327, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, p 338. — It is stated in *BibBelg.*, 608, that Lemnius '*vixit familiaris Remberto Dodonæo Mechliniensi*'. On the other hand, it is hardly likely that Lemnius had, before 1527, as masters for medicine, Vesale, Jaso Pratensis, and as good as impossible that he should have heard 'Conrad Gesner' in Louvain, as Paquot, I, 361, asserts.

board and practise with him for a time : he greedily availed himself of his erudition and experience, and, no doubt, heard more of the renewal which their fellow-student Vesale was introducing into the old medical art. For certain, he was encouraged by his Mechlin colleague to devote all his attention to his patients themselves, rather than to the Galenic tradition : he developed a keen interest as well in hygiene as in pathology, not to mention the study of botany, as Nature's beneficent drugstore. He communicated to whoever wanted to avail himself of it, the rich information he gathered from his studies, and, above all, from his conscientious work as practitioner, in books which do honour to him and to his training in the *Trilingue*, both for the spirit that animates them, and for the language in which they are written.

They comprise an *Astrologia* ¹⁾, dedicated on March 7, 1553, to the Imperial Councillor Cornelius van Weldam ²⁾, by a letter in which is clearly indicated what has to be accepted on the subject and what not ; moreover the opinion is expressed in it that : '*Medicina tota in actione consistit*' ; also *De Occultis Naturæ Miraculis Libri II* ³⁾, inscribed to Matthew van Heeswyck, Abbot of Middelburg, in 1559 ⁴⁾ ; two further parts were added to that work, which, on December 31, 1564, were dedicated to Eric XIV, King of Sweden, who had taken his son William as his physician ⁵⁾. Those books relate many of his most characteristic cases, as well as his comments on men and their habits and on science. In 1561, he issued an amount of wise, prudent and most beneficial advice built on observation and experience : *De Habitu et Constitutione Corporis* ⁶⁾, inscribed to the *consules* Corn. Ocker and Peter

¹⁾ Antwerp, Mart. Nutius, 1554.

²⁾ Cp. *HEpM*, 74, b.

³⁾ Antwerp, G. Simon, 1559.

⁴⁾ Cp. *HEpM*, 8 : he succeeded in 1540 to Florentius Schoonhovius.

⁵⁾ At Eric XIV's imprisonment, William remained faithful to him, and lost his possessions ; he died in the same year as his father and as Eric XIV himself, 1568. He left a letter in Latin, contending that education has more influence on the mind than climate or natural surroundings : it was printed in his father's *De Termino Vitæ* ; Livinus further mentions a treatise *de Stomacace* in *De Habitu... Corporis*, II, 6, which has not been printed. Of Andrew Lemnius, also a physician, only one work (1556) has survived, but no information as to his relationship with Livinus : Paquot, I, 368-69.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, G. Simon, 1561.

Nicolaidas and the other town authorities of Zierikzee. Finally he published the notes on Biblical Botany which he had been gathering for years, and which he dedicated, on May 7, 1566, to Thomas van Thielt, Abbot elect of St. Bernard's, Antwerp ¹⁾, under the title of *Similitudinum ac Parabolarum quæ in Bibliis ex Herbis atque Arboribus desumuntur... Explicatio* ²⁾. That work is the first treatise on that matter : although wanting in actual knowledge of Eastern Countries for several items, it shows the author's earnest wish to base all knowledge and science merely on facts ; it also reveals his preoccupation in his last years : at the death of his wife, he had become a priest, and in grateful acknowledgment of a whole life of kind and effective care for his fellow-men, he was appointed Canon of St. Livinus' Church, Zierikzee, where he died on July 1, 1568 ³⁾. Long after he was laid in his humble grave, his writings, which were often reprinted and even translated, — the last one was Englished by Thomas Newton (Oxford, 1587), — continued his most beneficent and efficient solicitude for his suffering fellow-men ⁴⁾.

C. DODOENS AND BOTANY

Another most famous man formed in Louvain in the first half of the sixteenth century was **Rembert Dodoens**, great physician and botanist. He was born at Mechlin on June 29,

¹⁾ At the death of James van der Meeren, Abbot of St. Bernard's, in 1559, the Bishop of Antwerp was to succeed him as *Abbas Commendatarius*, to provide the cost of the new diocese of Antwerp. The monks, displeased at that measure, elected Thomas van Thielt, parish priest of Oudenbosch ; that election was not approved of in Rome, but the newly elected Abbot was accepted as Brabant Councillor ; his election afterwards was cancelled, which made him lose faith and all decency : *AntwEpisc.*, 45, 172 ; *AntwHist.*, iv, 454, sq, v, 86.

²⁾ Antwerp, G. Simon, 1569.

³⁾ Cp. Guicc., 214, 217 ; Opmeer, i, 515, b ; *BibBelg.*, 608, 322 ; *SweABelg.*, 505 ; Miræus, 141 ; Paquot, i, 361-68 ; *SaxOnom.*, 304, 638 ; *HEpM*, 42, a.

⁴⁾ A treatise added to the *De Miraculis Occ. Libr. IV*, in Plantin's edition of 1581, *De Vita cum Animi & Corporis Incolumitate recte instituenda Liber Unus*, was very often reprinted. His *De Habitu* &c was translated in Italian : Venice, 1567 ; *De Miraculis* &c, in German ; *Similitudinum* &c, in French (Paris, 1577) and English (Oxford, 1587). Cp. Paquot, i, 363-67 ; *HarvMarg.*, 131, 261 ; Fulton, 30.

1517 ¹⁾, as a natural son of the Frisian physician Denis Dodo of Leeuwarden, and Ursula Roelands, a widow, whom he afterwards married. The young man matriculated in Louvain on August 9, 1530 ²⁾ and gained the degree of Licentiate in medicine on September 10, 1535. He probably stayed some time yet at the University ³⁾, where Vesale was then lecturing on Anatomy, and imparting a doctrine of which Dodoens proved an adept throughout his life ⁴⁾. Before 1538, he settled in his native town, for his birth was legalized in November of that year, and in 1539 he married Catherine Lebrun, de Bruyne, daughter of Antony, receiver of Charles V's artillery, and treasurer of war. In 1541, he was appointed town physician ⁵⁾, and he remained at his work, although in 1554 a professorate was offered to him by the Louvain town authorities ⁶⁾, and although from the autumn of 1564 he was invited to Madrid to replace Andrew Vesale as physician to King Philip ⁷⁾, both of which situations he declined as the stipend offered was far below the wages he earned at Mechlin. Indeed he had gained a great fame as practitioner, and yet he found the time to study and edit the result of his researches. One of the first books he published ⁸⁾ was a revised and corrected edition of the translation of Paulus Aegineta's *De Re*

¹⁾ Judging by the inscription on his tombstone.

²⁾ Rembertus Dodonis de lewardia filius M. Dionysii : minorennis pro eo juravit Mag Lucas neyt : *LibIntIV*, 25, r; also *LibRecl* (Intitulati minores, 1530) : Rembertus Dodonis de lewardia. — At Mechlin he had been taught by Francis de Houwer : cp. *sup.* p 243.

³⁾ It is not likely that Dodoens went to study in any other University, since his intimate friend Charles de l'Escluse asserts in his *Rariorum Plantarum Historiæ* (Antwerp, J. Moretus, 1601) : 155, that Dodoneus never could have gathered any plants in Spain or France 'cum ante annum m. d. lxxiiii, quo ad Cæsarem Maximilianum II evocatus est, nunquam Belgicâ excesserit'.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 335-36.

⁵⁾ Cp. for the details of the family, the birth and the marriage, two contributions by G. van Doorslaer : *Glanes Nouvelles sur Rembert Dodoens* (in *Bull. du Cercle Archéol... de Malines*, xxxi), 1926 : 1-24; and *Rembert Dodoens au début de sa carrière* (in *Janus*, Leyden, xxxiv), 1930 : 132-41.

⁶⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1841 : 151-53; *BullAcBelg.*, vii, 148-57.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 332; Hoyneck, i, ii, 665, 708, 792.

⁸⁾ His name is on an *Almanack* for 1541, and he worked at a *Cosmographica Isagoge*, dedicated to his cousin Joachim Hopper in 1546, which was printed in 1548 : cp. further, p 345, and Ch. XXV.

Medica, by John Winter, Guinterus ¹⁾, issued at Basle (Joh. Oporinus) in 1546 : that work, which was often reprinted, shows, to all evidence, that Dodoens possessed a thorough knowledge of Greek, which he had studied at the *Trilingue* ; it was just then the more appreciated, since it was the language of the oldest books of medicine, which, for centuries, had been only known through the Arabian translations and commentaries.

To that same Institute has to be traced the peculiar spirit that animated Dodoens in his treatment of illness, as expressed and described in his *Medicinalium Observationum Exempla Rara*, 1581 ²⁾, and in his other works : it characterizes him amongst his contemporaries, since he does not any longer consider the dogmatic theorizing as of uppermost importance ; he far prefers a very scrupulous observation of the sufferer, and he is one of the first to use the autopsy as a clue to the intimate knowledge as well of physiology as of all special pathological cases, several of which he carefully describes. The most conscientious and detailed account of each patient entrusted to his care, with the minute exposition of the remedies he prescribed and the effect they produced, and, in many instances, the statement of the *post-mortem* examination, make of him as the pioneer of Pathology.

He was also a pioneer in the study of the plants, up to then neglected, except for such medicinal value as was generally accepted in mediæval times. Dodoens naturally turned to that panacea, though not without choosing or checking. Botany, unfortunately, did not help him : in fourteen centuries, it had cristallized in the treatises of Theophrastes, Dioscorides, and Pliny ; instead of the very plants, their descriptions were examined, scrutinized and commented. Dodoens reversed the order, — once more in accordance with the theories which Erasmus laid as the basis of the *Trilingue*. He criticized and completed the *De Re Medica* by a thorough study of the various plants, and provided exact drawings, in so far that

¹⁾ Cp. II, 529, *sq.*, 570 ; and before, pp 323, 326, 328, 330.

²⁾ Cologne, Mat. Cholinus, 1581. It was reprinted by Chr. Plantin, Antwerp and Leyden, 1585. After his death were edited his *Consilia Medica* by Laurent Scholzius (Frankfurt, A. Wechel, 1598) and his *Praxis Medica* (Amsterdam, Henry Laurentius, 1616) : Paquot, xv, 10-14.

his *Cruydeboeck* of 1554 ¹⁾, dedicated to Queen Mary of Hungary, brought the description of over a thousand various sorts, with a full indication of their use, and their real or supposed medicinal virtue : for, instead of breaking off with tradition, he fully availed himself of it, quoting as well the belief of the ancients as that of his own contemporaries. He arranged them in an order based on their use rather than on their characteristics ²⁾. His book, translated by Charles de l'Escluse ³⁾ into French, has been, up to the nineteenth century, as the classical handbook for his people ; it was corrected and completed by his own *Stirpium Historiæ Pemptades*, which are far more judicious than his first descriptions, and serve as basis to the works of his friends Charles Clusius and Matthias de Lobel. Dodoens was the first to gather a considerable amount of reliable accounts of plants, and he thus made it possible to arrange them systematically into groups and classes by their build rather than by their use. His example was followed and the culture of vegetals, especially exotic and ornamental ones, became a national hobby. Amongst his townsmen, Dodoens had as friend a young nobleman, John de Brancion, who had a fine garden and a rich collection, at least until 1572, near the palace of the Regent ⁴⁾.

All that work was continued whilst his native country was in constant trouble ; having lost his wife in 1572, he accepted Maximilian II's invitation to come to Vienna, and succeed

¹⁾ Antwerp, John van der Loo, 1554 ; a second edition, enriched and corrected, appeared in 1563 : John van der Loo ; the French translation, by Charles de l'Escluse, was published by the same printer in 1557 as *Histoire des Plantes* ; and an English translation, *A newe Herbal or Historie of Plantes*, by Henry Lyte, was printed at Antwerp by Henry Loë in 1578, and was 'to be solde at London in Powels Churchyarde by Gerard Dewes' ; it was reprinted in 1586, 1596, and, without illustrations, in 1600 and 1609. Dodoens' work was also translated by John Gerarde, 1597 : cp. *Dodoens*, 270-74. It was used most probably by Shakespeare : *ShakEngl.*, I, 508, 510, 513, 515, II, 187 ; *ShakEmbl.*, 18, 249, 307, 333, 476.

²⁾ Viz., ornamental, or medicinal plants, cereals, culinary vegetables, trees and shrubs.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV ; Paquot, XVIII, 413-28.

⁴⁾ Brancion was also the friend of Clusius, with whom he corresponded until 1575 : cp. *ClusE.*, and Ch. XXV.

Nicolas Biesius, of Ghent ¹⁾ : he became his physician in 1574 at a high salary, after he had tried in vain to restore his house and belongings which had been destroyed in 1572 ; the Emperor created him councillor, and, no doubt, conferred on him the titles of doctor of philosophy and of medicine ²⁾. In the capital of Austria, where he remained in the service of Rodolph II ³⁾, he found his friend Clusius ⁴⁾ and an excellent botanical collection enriched by Busbeek ⁵⁾; he there took as second wife Mary Saerine, 1576. It was only in the spring of 1578, that, wishing to secure what he could of his landed property in this country, he returned : he stayed, however, at Cologne, where he waited until the storm, then raging, had somehow abated : he there assisted Suffridus Petri's wife in her fatal illness ⁶⁾. He left for Brabant in 1581 and settled at Antwerp, where he was heartily welcomed, until, on Dec. 15, 1582, he accepted and started the lecture on Pathology and Therapeutics in Leyden, which had been offered to him, although a professed Catholic ⁷⁾. In full intellectual activity, but saddened by the trouble caused by a wayward son ⁸⁾, he

¹⁾ Biesius (March 27, 1517-April 10, 1572/3), *M. D. Senensis* 1558, professor in Louvain since 1562, sent by the University to Alva, died as Maximilian II's physician : Vern., 303 ; VAnd., 220, 234-6 ; *BibBelg.*, 679.

²⁾ The Pope and the Emperor, in those times, gave such scientific titles : even the Papal Legate received generally the right to grant two, or at most three, of such honours to gain help and good feeling.

³⁾ For some time he had some difficulties with the Imperial Archiater John Crato a Craftheim : Hessels, I, 131, 297, &c ; cp. P. F.-X. de Ram, *Dodonæi, Ortelii... ad Cratonem Litteræ* : *BullAcBelg.*, XII, 1847.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIX.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV ; Paquot, VII, 271-93.

⁷⁾ In 1565, Dodoens objected to a younger colleague's regular absence from religious processions, and urged the same privilege, so as to make the authorities proceed against a truant : *Dodoens*, 38. He himself was church-warden in St. Peter's from 1558 to 1572.

⁸⁾ He left a widow, Mary Saerine, or Saeryn, who died in 1606, and a daughter by her, Jane ; they asked and obtained from the Leyden University a certain amount of money as pension. Of his first wife, Dodoens left two daughters, one, Ursula, remained unmarried ; the second, Antoinette, had married Antony Saunters, procurator of the Great Council, Mechlin ; and also a son, Rembert, who, although bearing his father's name, and even recommended by him as his successor in Vienna, caused him more grief and shame than consolation, by his heartless and profligate behaviour.

died there on March 10, 1585, and was laid to rest in Our Lady's Church ¹⁾, from where, in 1819, at its demolition, the tombstone was removed to St. Peter's.

Severe verdicts have been pronounced over the man for accepting the Leyden professorate ²⁾, although most of the impelling circumstances are now ignored. Most soothing, on the contrary, is a passage in a letter to Plantin, dated from Aracena, September 22, 1583, in which he is judged by one who fully knew and him, and his value, and his situation, Arias Montanus; referring to the *Stirpium Historiæ Pemptades Sex*, he writes: 'Ramberti nostri librum amplexatus exosculatusque sum et singulis noctibus repeto et illius suavissimi hospitis cujus colloquium semper desidero, scripto tamen absentiam solv[o]: illum tu quam amantissime ex me salutatum curabis' ³⁾. In fact, Dodoens was the pioneer both for pathology and for botany; few men, moreover, have had as great and beneficent influence on their own nation: his *Cruydeboek* is, since several centuries, along with the Bible, the proud heirloom of numberless Flemish families. — He popularized botany, and largely contributed to the practical knowledge of the medicinal virtue of plants. In describing the Flora of his own country, pointing out a large amount of *species* up to then unobserved, he directed the attention, as well as he did in medicine, from the secular tradition to ever young actuality, from theories to facts, with a clearness and distinctness of view, which makes it the more to be regretted that, on account of a miserable short-sightedness of tight-fisted town authorities, he was not given the occasion to impart his vast experience and knowledge to a much larger

¹⁾ Guicc., 145; *FrisScript.*, 402-406; Opmeer, I, 515, b, II, 64; Vern., 303-304; *BibBelg.*, 792, sq; Paquot, xv, 1-14; *GoetLect.*, II, 138-58; Quetelet, 129; P. J. van Meerbeeck, *Recherches sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Rembert Dodoens*: Mechlin, 1841; C. Broeckx, *Éloge de Rembert Dodoëns*: Brussels, 1856; G. van Doorslaer, *Glanes Nouvelles sur Rembert Dodoens*: Mechlin, 1926; id., *Rembert Dodoens au début de sa carrière* (in *Janus*, xxxiv): Leyden, 1930: 132-41; Hoyneck, I, II, 486, 665, 708, 710, 792, 823; VigliEL, 18; PlantE, I, III-VII, *passim*; ClusE, *passim*; A. Louis, *La Vie et l'Œuvre Botanique de R. Dodoens*, in *Bull. de la Soc. Roy. de Bot. de Belg.*, 1950: LXXXII, 271-92.

²⁾ *MalGod.*, 278-9; F. V. Goethals, *Simon Stevin*: Brussels, 1842: 75-84.

³⁾ PlantE, VII, 109.

amount of listeners and disciples as Louvain professor, when he was at the very height and the power of his intellectual activity : it would have saved him from much trouble and malevolent suspicion.

That Dodoens actually wanted to devote his work and time to the development of youth, so as to introduce students into scientific research, results from a small leaflet found amongst Cornelius van Anwater's papers ¹⁾, consisting of a letter of 'IVNIVS REMBERTVS DODONAEVS Studiosis Adolescentibus', dated 'Mechliniæ Calend. Octob. 1550'. It explains the division of the year into months as was accepted in Athens : it gives the names of the various months and their lengths, comparing them with the Roman calendar, starting from June 26, 1549. It is evident that this leaflet, — of which the text is reproduced here on p 344 — was *not* intended to help the man in the street, but those who are especially engaged in the study of Greek Literature and History, and it may have been printed to be used in lectures, maybe at the *Trilingue* ²⁾. It certainly had nothing in common with almanacs, with their astronomical and other data for the ordinary man, such as the *Almanack des Iaers ons Heeren .xv^c. ende .xli.*, ascribed to 'M. Rembert Dodens Medecijn te Mechelen in de langhe Schepstrate' ³⁾; for physicians were considered in those days as having the monopoly of mathematics and astronomy, and printers tried to make their calendars more salable by an ascription which the Louvain University prohibited to her professors ⁴⁾. It is a fact that Dodoens was fully acquainted with Greek, as results from his corrections and emendations of John Winter's Latin

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 281 ; the printed space of the leaflet measures 108 by 63 mm. ; the author's name and the big initial N are in red ink.

²⁾ The little document, of which the margins are cut close to the text, has a blank reverse : on it is written 'Cap lix', suggesting that it was actually used in teaching : it appears that, indeed, Dodoens about that time trained some young men in the art of medicine, in the hope of being appointed one day in the University : *Dodoens*, 18 ; still the matter treated in this leaflet seems more adapted to the *Trilingue*.

³⁾ It is described by Miss M.-E. Kronenberg in *Het Boek*, xvii (The Hague, June 1928), 192-94 ; *NijKron.*, II, 2793.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 545, and before, pp 293-94.

IVNIUS REMBERTVS DODONAEVS

Studiofis Adolentibus εὖ πράττειν.

NE quid forte studijs vestris studiofi Adolentes, deficit mensium initia damus, quibus Græcorum præstantiores Athenienses olim vsi sunt. Sunt autem hi vt & Hebræorum Lunares. ab vno interlunio in
 5 alium supputati, quum vero tempus illud secundum medium Lunæ cursum. dierum sit. xxix. cum semisse, geminatumque dies efficiat nouem & quinquaginta. Hinc factum (vt Galenus inquit) quod vnus Mensis dierum sit. xxx alter. xxix. tantum Initium cuiusque
 10 mensis a die interlunium proxime sequenti ducitur : ipse uero interlunij dies, mensis ipsius finis est. Primus mensis dies Πουμηνία dicitur : secundus δεετέρα ἱστομένου. iii. τρίτη ἱσταμ, & ita deinceps ad Decimum, qui δεκάτη vocatur : Vndecimus πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα. xii. δευτέρα ἐπὶ δέκα, &c. Vigesimus εἰκὼς vigesimus primus, siquidem mensis est dierum
 15 triginta δεκάτη φθίνοντος. xxii. ἑννάτη φτένοντος. Sin vero dierum. xxix, tentum, erit vigesimus primus ἑννάτη φθίνοντος. xxii. ὀδόγη φθίνοντος, & ita deinceps descendendo more Romanorum in Calendis recensendis, donec ad ipsum
 20 interlunij & vltimum mensis diem deuentum fuerit, qui ἔνη καὶ νέα Atticis, Romanis pridie Calendas appellatur. Anni & primi mensis Initium sumitur a synodo æstiuo solstitio proxima : vn & superiori auno Romano. 1549. Iunij. 26. cepit Atheniensium annus secundus olympiadis,
 25 584. ac vt in huius anni. 1550. Ianuarij diem. 89. incidat Γαμιλιών octauus Atticorum mensis, quem sequitur ἐλαρηβολιών Februarij .17. Μοννηχιών Martij, 19. Θαργηλιών Aprilis. 17. Σκιβροφοριών Maij 17. qui anni epus vltimus est : hunc sequitur tertius annus olympiadis. 584. & mens
 30 sis primus ἑκατομβαιών incipiens Iunij die. 12. μεταγεινιών Iulij. 15, βωηδρομιών Augusti. 15 Μαιμακτηριών Septemb. 11. πυανοριών Octobris. 12. ἀνυσστηριών Nouembris. 9. ἱποσειδεών Decembris die. 9. qui est septimus Atticorum:

Valete, Mechliniæ Calend. Octob. 1550.

Dodonæus' Letter about Greek Chronology

Title Adolentibus 12 Πουμηνία] r Nou- δεετέρα] r δευ- 16 φτένοντος] r φθίν-
 18 ὀδόγη] r ὀγ- 23 vn] r vnde auno] 25 89] r 89 26 Γαμιλιών] r Γαμηλ-

rendering of Paulus Aegineta's *De Re Medica*, 1546 ¹⁾), as well as with chronology : in 1548, was printed his *Cosmographica in Astronomiam & Geographiam Isagoge* ²⁾) : it had been dedicated on December 1, 1546, to his cousin Joachim Hopper, who then was at study in Orleans ³⁾). In that *Isagoge*, Dodoens mentions that Gemma had calculated in 1545 that Louvain is situated at 26 degrees, 45 minutes of longitude ⁴⁾) : it suggests the active intellectual life that animated the Brabant University, and Dodoens, who was remarkable as pathologist and botanist, as Hellenist and chronologist, may have found there a most suggestive model in the famous Frisian physician ⁵⁾), who, besides being Vesale's friend and helper ⁶⁾), opened new ways to Mathematics, to Cosmography and to Geography, and was interested in the researches of the Frauenburg astronomer to such an extent, that he helped and seconded him by his observations of the comet of 1533 ⁷⁾), so that he was considered, in 1550, as '*alterum hac ætate Copernicum*' ⁸⁾).

5. PUBLIC SERVANTS

A. CHURCH- AND STATEMANSHIP

Several of the old students of the *Trilingue* distinguished themselves less by works of erudition than by the eminent services which they rendered to their fellow-men. One of the foremost amongst those was **Maximilian Morillon**, the second son of the renowned secretary of Charles V, Guy ⁹⁾). With his two brothers, he matriculated on April 4, 1532 ¹⁰⁾), and devoted himself to the studies of philosophy with such success that with the younger, Antony ¹¹⁾), he was praised as *acutissimus*

27 Μοννηχίων] r Μουνιχ- 28 Σκιόροφοριών] 31 βωηδρομιών] r βοηδ-
32 πυανοριών] r Πυανεφίων άνυσστηριών] r άνθεστ- (usually between
gamelion and elaphebolion) ίποσειδεών] r ποσ-

¹⁾ Paquot, xv, 5-6. ²⁾ Antwerp, John Loeus, 1548 : Paquot, xv, 6-7.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 562.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 542-65.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 327.

⁷⁾ Prowe, I, ii, 268-74, 283-84, 554 ; Pastor, v, 740-41.

⁸⁾ Prowe, I, ii, 272-73.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 44-50.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. p 306 ; *LibIntIV*, 45, r.

¹¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 306-11.

in that branch by Zenocarus, in the Emperor's biography ¹⁾. He afterwards applied to jurisprudence, and promoted *Licentiatius U. J.* His father, probably, recommended him to Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, Secretary of State, who entrusted him with the tutorship of his fourth son Charles ²⁾ : on August 25, 1540, when the latter matriculated in Louvain, Maximilian took the oath in his name ³⁾ : the young man promoted D. V. J. in some foreign University, and was appointed, in 1543, Provost of St. John's, Utrecht ⁴⁾, Dean of St. Donatian's, Bruges, in 1540 ⁵⁾, and, in 1548, Abbot and Baron of Faverney ⁶⁾ : he died in 1566 ⁷⁾.

On account of the care taken of his brother, Antony Perrenot of Granvelle, who, on December 14, 1545, began ruling the diocese of Arras, to which he had been appointed in 1538, invited Maximilian to enter his *familia*, and procured him several preferments : he became scholaster of Arras Cathedral, and was attributed canonries in St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, 1554 ⁸⁾, and in St. Gudula's, Brussels. In 1559, King Philip II granted him the Provostry of St. Peter's, Aire, which had belonged to Jerome de Busleyden ⁹⁾. When the Metropolitan See of Mechlin was created, his '*herus*', Archbishop Granvelle appointed him as the first Archdeacon and as his Vicar-General in the closing days of December 1561 ; in the latter dignity Maximilian replaced his master, who, since some time, had been monopolized by the affairs of State ¹⁰⁾, which were

¹⁾ VAnd., 403.

²⁾ A nephew, Francis Perrenot, is recorded amongst the Roman *curialists* : *MélMoell.*, II, 115.

³⁾ *LibIntlV.*, 134, r.

⁴⁾ Hoyneck, III, i, 257-59.

⁵⁾ *BrugSDon.*, 86 : he resigned, *cum clausula regressus*, in favour of Francis Bave, who was admitted to the office on February 8, 1541, but died on September 6, 1555 ; Charles Perrenot then took possession once more on September 7, 1555, but resigned again in favour of Nicolas de Tordomar, who accepted the post on March 26, 1556, and died on October 26, 1568.

⁶⁾ He succeeded Claud de Boisot, elected in 1524, who died in 1548 : Hoyneck, III, i, 258.

⁷⁾ Hoyneck, I, ii, 631.

⁸⁾ Laenen, I, 253.

⁹⁾ *AireSP*, 91, 274 ; *Busl.*, 43, sq.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. Gestel, I, 50 ; *GranClaess.*, 24, sq ; Granvelle resigned in his favour the provostry of St. Mary's, Utrecht, of which he took possession on September 22, 1561 : Hoyneck, III, i, 282, sq, 303, 310.

entrusted actually to him, though nominally to Margaret of Parma.

In 1564, the increasing opposition prompted Philip II to allow Cardinal Granvelle to leave the Netherlands, so that the whole administration and jurisdiction of the archdiocese was laid on Maximilian's shoulders. He fulfilled his duties with great wisdom and prudence : he thus took possession of Afflighem Abbey, incorporated to Mechlin See, in the summer of 1569 ¹⁾, after having accepted part of Liège diocese and Louvain into the new obedience on September 6, 1568 ²⁾ ; he proclaimed the decrees of Trent Council, May 5, 1570, and saw to their execution ³⁾ ; he attended the act of submission of some of the professors of theology, Hessels and Bajus, on November 16, 1570, in accordance with the *Bulla Censoria* of Pius V ⁴⁾, and took many most beneficent measures ⁵⁾.

Meanwhile he remained in close touch with all the events in those momentous years, of which he communicated his impressions to his late master Cardinal Granvelle, at Besançon, in Italy or Spain ; he thus provided to later ages a rich store of information by his lively and minute, sharp-tongued, though not always fully unbiassed reports ⁶⁾, relating as well the current Court gossip ⁷⁾ as the tragic fratricidal warfare ; as well the jealous hatred, of which the foreign army leader Peter Ernest de Mansfeld was the object ⁸⁾, as the quarrels

¹⁾ Hoyneck, I, ii, 535.

²⁾ *LouvoBoon*, 101, b, sq.

³⁾ Mol., 917, 921, sq ; he took care of the correcting of some books according to the prescriptions of the *Index*.

⁴⁾ Cp. VAnd., 367 ; Paquot, xv, 149-50, xvi, 309, xi, 145, 276 (about the suspicious doctrines of van Maelcote and others, which were also repressed) ; *GranClaess.*, 42-52 ; *BN*, s. v. Tapper ; Pastor, viii, 267-78 ; F.-X. Jansen, *Baius et le Baianisme* : Louvain, 1927 : 22, 149-61.

⁵⁾ Morillon entrusted Nicolas Esschius, who had been falsely accused, with the visit of religious houses : Paquot, xii, 87 ; he also protected the Jesuits in Louvain against some vexations : *DebEnCo.*, 197.

⁶⁾ In the large amount of correspondence left by Granvelle, there is a considerable number of letters from Morillon to his master, 1545 to 1564 : *BrsRL*, MS. 5060, and after 1564 : MS. 5106 ; as well as letters from Granvelle to Morillon : MS. 5101. Cp. GranvE, I, xxxix, 12, &c.

⁷⁾ *Mansfeld*, I, 153-58 ; he expressed his disapproval at Alva's ruthless measures : *RamCons.*, 73.

⁸⁾ *Mansfeld*, *passim*, *espec.* I, 91, 153-58, 217.

and sad rivalry of a wild nobility, prompting to acts of violence, such as the slaughter of Philip, one of the sons of that favourite of Margaret of Parma, by Robert de Melun, Lord of Richebourg, on June 1, 1574 ¹).

In appreciation of the staunch fidelity and beneficent services during the tragic seventies of that century until well in 1582, Maximilian Morillon was proposed for, and appointed to, the see of Tournai, which, from the death of Peter Pintaflour, April 10, 1580 ²), had remained unoccupied. He entered the diocese on September 10, 1583, and, having been consecrated Bishop on October 16, 1583, he was introduced into his Cathedral with the usual pomp on the next day. On October 30 following, he consecrated there Granvelle's successor on the See of Mechlin, John Hauchin, with the assistance of the Bishop of Bruges, Remi Drieux, and that of Namur, Francis Wallon-Capelle. Unfortunately he did not enjoy his office for very long : he died on March 27, 1586, and was laid to rest in his cathedral, where John Vendeville succeeded him ³). He had founded some memorial services in St. Peter's, Louvain, where, with his brothers-in-law, he had erected a fine memorial to his parents and his brothers : nor did he forget the interest of the instruction of youth in his native town ⁴).

In his ceaseless struggle against the difficulties of the most disorderly period in which he lived, Maximilian Morillon was encouraged by the staunch friendship of several upright men, chief amongst whom was the Viglius, who himself had to batter excesses prompted by ideas subversive of all order, or over-rigid severity in opposing them, just as he had to ward off as well the wild assaults of lawless error as the

¹) *Mansfeld*, I, 217. Robert was marquis of Roubaix ; he was the son of Hugh d'Espinoy, viscount of Ghent, and of Yolande de Werchin ; his uncle, Pierre de Werchin-Barbançon, Knight of the Golden Fleece, was seneschal of Hainaut ; he died on June 14, 1556 ; Peter Philicinus dedicated to him his *Esther* : cp. before, pp 268-69, 276 ; *Philic.*, 18, 30, 31.

²) Cp. II, 423-25.

³) *BelgChron.*, 422 ; *Gestel*, I, 50, 52 ; *Mol.*, 740 ; *FlandIll.*, III, 450 ; *GallChrist.*, III, 241 ; *Hoyneck*, I, i, 172-73 ; *VigIEB*, 27.

⁴) *FUL*, 4669 : the foundation included memorial masses for his parents and his brother, on Oct. 3 and 11, and Dec. 20, besides his own anniversary. Cp. *sup.*, 49 ; *LouvEven*, 277 ; *KunstLeuv.*, 34, xxvii.

bitter application of stubborn strictness. There was a deep friendship between them ¹⁾, in so far that, when, in 1561, the President of the Council, after a seventeen years' absence, visited his native country, he took as companions Morillon and the James Hessels who, in 1560, had married his niece Jetzia Hoytema ²⁾; it further results from the fact that he chose him as chief executor of his will on March 14, 1577 ³⁾, and made him a special legacy ⁴⁾. His numerous acquaintances are given a perennial memory in his correspondence with his absent master, so that the facts and the men of that most eventful period stand out in the living echoes of his letters ⁵⁾, whereas his own features are kept with the significative representation of his device in the beautiful medal of 1563, by James Jongheling ⁶⁾. In fact, besides religious and administrative work, Morillon devoted much interest to study and art and literature. He was one of the most eloquent men of his time, and, although he did not leave any work of his own, his erudition, especially in classic lore, was so great that he was not only famous as possessor of a fine numismatic collection ⁷⁾, but also as a *literatissimus & magnus antiquitatum scrutator* ⁸⁾. That interest, conceived and fostered in his father's home, had been cultivated in the *Trilingue*, where he had made the acquaintance of Andrew Masius ⁹⁾ and the brothers Laurin ¹⁰⁾, of Charles de Langhe ¹⁰⁾, Charles Rym ¹¹⁾ and especially Stephen Wynants Pigge, who had been his brother Antony's great friend in Italy ¹²⁾. A

¹⁾ Letter of Viglius to Hopper, July 18, 1566 : Hoyneck, I, ii, 365.

²⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 34 ; cp. *MalInscr.*, 66, 67.

³⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 212.

⁴⁾ Dno Maximiliano Morillon Præpositi Ariensi duo pocula crystallina ejusdem formæ, & crucem ex ligno nigro cum pede, cui Salvator ex argento affixus est : Hoyneck, I, i, 227.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 347.

⁶⁾ On the reverse of the medal, over the inscription *Vnum est Necessarium*, is represented the young Tobias whose father, in his embrace, shows the first impression of his recovered sight, whilst in the distance are seen Sarah with a child and a servant, as well as with camels and herds of sheep and cattle : cp. V. Tourneur, in *Rev. Belge de Numismatique*, xcii, 1946 : 77-81 ; *AireSP*, 274.

⁷⁾ *CollTorr.*, 77.

⁸⁾ Guicc., 51, 240 ; Henne, v, 37.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 282-90.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

¹¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

¹²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

highly interesting monument of that intellectual community survives in the correspondence of Masius ¹⁾, and, more especially even, in that of the antiquarian Pighius ²⁾, in which, though occasional traces of human weakness and of selfish pursuits are not lacking ³⁾, the paramount interest is devoted to the latest discoveries in Italy and the relentless work in Louvain. The result was communicated to the world by their friend Plantin ⁴⁾, and, later on, by his successor Moretus, who welcomed those artisans of the nation's literary and intellectual greatness in the hospitable house on the Antwerp Friday Market ⁵⁾. It caused the English exiled erudite Alan Copus ⁶⁾ to affirm to Maximilian, on February 5, 1567, that the praise then recently bestowed on the Morillons by Hadrianus Junius, was not only his deceased brother's as he would have it, but also his very own ⁷⁾.

Six months after Morillon, died, in Madrid, Cardinal Granvelle, who in his character and his aptitude fully, although reversively, realized the old saw of servant and master. A son of Nicolas, and Nicole Bonvalot ⁸⁾, **Antony Perrenot de Granvelle** was born at Ornans, on August 20, 1517, and was taught in his early years by the family tutor, the famous Adrian Amerot ⁹⁾. He matriculated on August 31, 1528 as a

¹⁾ MasE, 382, 399-403, 409, 424-26, 433, *sq.*, 456-59, 489.

²⁾ PigE, 40, 42-3, 82, &c.

³⁾ In the first years that Pigge was in Granvelle's service, he felt some envy towards Morillon : he often accused him in his letters of waylaying his plans, and disappointing him in his expectations of some nomination or other. From about 1567, their understanding seems to have been perfect and most friendly : MasE, 356, 489.

⁴⁾ Orbaan, 58, 197 (letter of October 2, 1574, to Gregory XIII, about his orthodoxy), 323.

⁵⁾ PigE, 19, 22, 39, 55, &c.

⁶⁾ Alan Cope, of London, M. A., fellow of Magdalen College and senior Proctor of Oxford University, matriculated in Louvain on May 4, 1563 (*LibIntIV*, 391, *r*) ; he afterwards went to study in Rome and became canon of St. Peter's ; he died about 1580 like a saint, as he had lived : Wood, I, 157, 715 ; *DNB* ; *Harding*, 238, 241.

⁷⁾ PigE, 228, referring to Junius' *Batavia* (cp. II, 483-87) ; *Opmeer*, I, 515, b.

⁸⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 273, *a* ; and before, II, 446, *sq.*

⁹⁾ Cp. I, 273-74 ; *ClenHum.*, 11 ; and further, Ch. XXIV.

rich student of the Castle in Louvain ¹⁾, and applied himself afterwards to theology, whilst attending the lectures of the *Trilingue*; from them he gained the ability and facility of expressing his thoughts which characterized him in subsequent years, as well as a powerful bent for art and antiquity, in which he could freely indulge, thanks to the brilliant career that opened for him. Already on December 13, 1529, he was nominated '*camerarius et Apostolicus notarius de numero participantium*'; it was the first of a long series of preferments ²⁾, leading up to the appointment as Bishop of Arras, in 1539, replacing Eustace of Croy († Oct. 3, 1538) ³⁾. He was consecrated at Valladolid on May 21, 1543, and made his solemn entrance into Arras on December 14, 1545. He accompanied his father on many an occasion, such as the first meetings of the Council of Trent, where he displayed a sound and persuasive eloquence, which was duly used on many embassies and at several diets. Although ill disposed, Strada highly praised him for the success he secured '*eloquentiæ beneficio, mira solertia temperatæ*', and he adds: '*Multis æquavit patrem, multis superavit, ingenii præsertim celeritate, fatigatis interdum quinque simul amanuensibus*' ⁴⁾. When his father died, on August 27, 1550, Granvelle had so far developed that he had become the ablest statesman of his days, and had gained the entire confidence of Charles V, who appointed him as his Chancellor ⁵⁾.

So great and deep was the confidence placed in the Bishop of Arras that, on October 25, 1555, when Philip II was to answer to his father for transmitting to him the XVII Provinces, he only excused himself in a few words, and requested the assembly to listen to Granvelle as if they heard

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 4, v; his eldest brother Thomas was inscribed on March 4, and his second, Jerome on July 13: *LibIntIV*, 44, v, 46, v; *Cran.*, 273, a.

²⁾ *GranClaess.*, 8-9.

³⁾ *BelgChron.*, 378-80.

⁴⁾ *De Bello Belgico, Decas Prima*, II, for 1559.

⁵⁾ A glimpse of Bishop Granvelle at the Emperor's Court is given by reports of the English ambassadors; one is of June 1548, another of October 1552: Tytler, I, 100, sq, II, 132-39; when, for a letter of July 13, 1549, mention is made of some difficulty which Charles V should have expected about the succeeding of his son, referring to having once drawn his sword to show his authority, he evidently alluded to the repression of the revolt of Ghent, 1539-40: Tytler, I, 183-84.

himself speaking ; it seemed as if Charles's gift of the crown to his son was perfected and almost completed by securing for him the help of the trusty Chancellor ¹⁾. That help was so powerful that, after it had been even made more effective by the appointment to Archbishop of Mechlin, and Primate of the Netherlands, which came to Granvelle as a surprise ²⁾, as well as his creation to Cardinal ³⁾; it roused the envy and the discontent of the leading noblemen to such an extent that they lodged complaints, not only with Margaret of Parma, whose chief counsellor and protector he was ⁴⁾, but with Philip II himself. The opposition, headed by William, Prince of Orange, made use of slander, and, above all, of the abysmal discontent caused by the creating of the new dioceses, which, strange to say, was directed against him, and roused even abbots and leading catholics ⁵⁾, whilst, to the people, it was

¹⁾ *GranClaess.*, 12.

²⁾ The erection of the new dioceses in Belgium had been contemplated by Philip the Good and his son Charles, and more recently, by Margaret of Austria ; it had been taken up and constantly pursued by Ruard Tapper ; his disciple Francis Sonnius had been sent to Rome in March 1558 to negotiate the creation, which was realized by Paul IV's bull of May 12, 1559, three months after Tapper's decease. At the delimitation of the dioceses by Pius IV's bull *Ex injuncto*, March 1560, Granvelle was created Archbishop of Mechlin : he was since some time already in want of money and had applied to the King for the Abbey of St. Amand, vacant since the death of George of Egmont ; Philip II granted it to him by his letter of May 12, 1560, in which he pressed him again, it seems, to accept the see of Mechlin. He took possession of it on November 27, 1561, and made his solemn entrance into Mechlin on December 21, 1561 : *GranClaess.*, 13-19 ; *Hoynck*, II, ii, 24, I, i, 175 ; *Laenen*, I, 249, 253-55, 291.

³⁾ He was promoted Cardinal by Pius IV on February 26, 1560 ; the hat, sent from Rome, was offered to him by Philip Nigri, dean of St. Gudula's, on April 5, 1561 : *GranClaess.*, 16-17.

⁴⁾ Grotius wrote : ' *Belgicæ moderamen vocabulo penes Margaritam, vi penes Granvellum* '.

⁵⁾ That discontent was chiefly felt in the abbeys which were deprived of their autonomy, and in the noble families which lost fine situations for younger sons : *Hoynck*, II, ii, 28-30 ; it was so general that, as late as 1573, John Molinæus, dean of Louvain, professor of canon law and Margaret of Parma's chaplain, went to Rome, with John Latomus, prior of O. Lady's Throne, of Grobbendonck, to beseech Pope Gregory XIII to recall the new dioceses, *abolita incorporationum [abbatiarum] immani ac sæva lue* : he had to return as he had come, and lost his reason, and even his life by it : *GranClaess.*, 31-32 ; *Paquot*, XVII, 406-9.

more distasteful than the measures taken against heretics. It produced as a chasm about the Cardinal, whom even the Regent abandoned : hoping to remedy the desperate situation by a few months' absence, he asked for a leave, and adjured the King to return in person to the Netherlands. Philip did not quit Spain and actually forsook his clear-sighted minister, who went to see his old mother, and to take care of a school founded by his father at Besançon, where he possessed a canonry ¹⁾. He never set foot again on the soil of this country, where the people, as Viglius wrote, *non aliter exultavere quam pueri abeunte ludimagistro* : it had to miss his fatherly, though just, management ²⁾, and was left to choose between the heartlessness of an Alva or the tender mercies of a host of greedy fortune-hunters.

Yet, as an old pupil of the *Trilingue*, Granvelle wanted to strengthen and extend the realm of knowledge and peace : he greatly contributed to the founding of the University of Douai ³⁾, and generously helped to bring about the edition of the Polyglot Bible, and of other important issues by Plantin ⁴⁾. He collected a most rich supply of books, which he entrusted to Suffridus Petri as librarian ⁵⁾, as well as an increasing wealth of antiquities, for which he took into his service Antony Morillon, whom he sent on a 'hunt' for treasures to Italy ⁶⁾, and, later on, Stephen Pigge ⁷⁾, whereas he kept on that account in steady connection with Fulvio Orsini ⁸⁾. During

¹⁾ *GranClaess.*, 21-24, 28 ; his mother died, nearly octogenarian, in the summer of 1570 : *Hoyneck*, I, ii, 578, II, ii, 26-36. Whilst at Besançon, he protected Gilbert Cousin, Erasmus' old amanuensis : *MonHL*, 49.

²⁾ His return was eagerly wished for as well by a large part of the people as by those friends who felt the injustice done to him : *Hoyneck*, I, ii, 526, 531, 552, 601-2, II, i, 399.

³⁾ *Hoyneck*, II, ii, 9 ; Granvelle also protected the Jesuits : *DébEnCo.*, 197.

⁴⁾ Granvelle was one of Plantin's chief patrons and protectors : *PlantE*, I, 48, and especially 98 ; there are letters between them from June 1567 to February 1581, and messages till his death : *PlantE*, I, 98, 193, &c, *passim*, to VI, 232, VIII, 72. He also protected Lips, when in Rome, in so far that to him were dedicated the *Vartarum Lectionum Lb. IV* : Antwerp, 1569 : *BB*, I, 350.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 308-9.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁸⁾ Cp. P. A. de Nolhac, *Lettere inedite del Card. de Granvelle a Fulvio Orsini e al Card. Sirleto* : Rome, 1884 ; *PlantE*, II-VIII, *passim*.

the few months he ruled the see of Mechlin, he endowed his Metropolitan Church with fine music and splendid books ¹⁾. His management was, in fact, as a golden period for our provinces; even in politics he was led by truth and an invincible love of humanity and clement justice. He was staunch to the House of Austria, but in as far as it was the righteous mistress of our countries, irrespective of its possession of Spain ²⁾; he wanted to promote the welfare of his own nation, and his leave, which Grotius already attested to be a disaster, since *Omnia Religionis et Imperii sus deque versa sunt* ³⁾, is now considered by all historians, even though Protestants, as an actual calamity: had he remained at the head of government, our provinces would, most likely, not have had to endure the endless sequel of distresses filling with utter desolation and misery the very country that, up to then, had been the most flourishing and fortunate of Europe ⁴⁾.

That Granvelle was a match for the comparatively smallish danger in the Netherlands, where unfortunately he had been deprived of the confidence of Margaret of Parma and, consequently, of that of many of the leaders, is amply proved by what he accomplished to liberate all Christianity from a by far greater and more imminent danger, the assault by the Turks, who had been relentlessly extending their dominion, surely, though slowly, over a fine part of Europe for more than a century. Having been entrusted in 1570 with the forming of an alliance between the Holy See, the Republic of Venice and Spain against the Ottomans, Granvelle was so prosperous that negotiations were soon concluded ⁵⁾. By 1571, Philip II appointed him Vice-King of Naples, which country he fortified against Turkish invasions, and endowed with security and prosperity ⁶⁾. Meanwhile the projected *Armada* was prepared, thanks, for a very large part, to the experience and the foresight of that sagacious Statesman; notwithstanding

¹⁾ Cp. Laenen, II, 157; G. van Doorslaer, *Jean van Turnhout*, in *Musica Sacra*, 1935: 218, sq, 240, sq, 246; E. Steenackers, *L'École des Choraux à Malines: Mechlin*, 1926: 25, sq.

²⁾ *GranClaess.*, 23-24.

³⁾ *GranClaess.*, 58.

⁴⁾ *GranClaess.*, 55-60.

⁵⁾ Pastor, VIII, 549, sq, 558-62, 569-79.

⁶⁾ *GranClaess.*, 29-30.

standing the danger of repeated disagreements, and even of separate peace offered to Venice, he realized the enterprise, which, under Don Juan's command, ended most gloriously in the naval battle of October 7, 1571, near Lepanto : it secured complete victory over the Turks, and crushed their baleful power, which was never to rise up again ¹).

At the death of the saintly Pius V, Granvelle was most influent in the Conclave, and moved the election of Gregory XIII, who wished to retain him in Rome ²). He returned to Naples, until, recalled by Philip, he served him practically as chief minister. 'Absque adulationis tormento', Strada writes, 'quadraginta circiter annos incorrupta fide arcem obtinuit principalis aulæ..., quippe nactus principem apud quem libertatem et gratiam, rara felicitate, ad extremum usque tenere licuerit' ³). When, in 1580, Philip II went to take possession of the throne of Portugal, Granvelle was made Regent of Spain, and on his glorious return to Madrid, the King made him ride on his left in full triumph ⁴). He survived that unique honour for several years, and died in Madrid on September 21, 1586 ; he was laid to rest in the family grave in the Chapel of the Carmelites at Besançon, of which town he had been appointed Archbishop in 1584, after he had resigned the Mechlin See on January 24, 1583 ⁵).

B. DIPLOMACY AND FINANCES

Great honour was brought to the *Trilingue* by Gerard van Veltwyck, a native of Ravenstein, on the Meuse, who studied

¹) Pastor, VIII, 583-91.

²) *GranClaess.*, 30.

³) Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, IV, for 1564.

⁴) *GranClaess.*, 30, 53-54.

⁵) Gestel, I, 49-51 ; *GranClaess.* ; Opmeer, I, 509, a-510, a ; *BelgChron.*, 378-80, 496-97 ; Hoyneck, I, i, 174 ; MasE, 123, 127, & *passim* ; PigE, 4, 17, 35, 100, 109, 118, 160, 183, 219, 230, &c ; PlantE, I, 98 ; *MalInscr.*, 22 ; SonnE, 18, 64, sq, 70, 73, 83 ; ViglEL, 49, sq ; ViglEA, 27, 28 ; ViglEB, 20, 22 ; *GranoPap.* ; *CartMan.*, 175a-178, 1284-98, 1602, 1853-54, 1869, 1873-74, 1911-19, 2140, 2146-47 ; SepulvO, III, 371 ; VulcE, 37 ; *Mélanges Kurth*, 1908, I, 261-71 (opposition to Gr.). — Granvelle was a great lover of art (cp. Laenen, II, 157), especially numismatics : he had a fine collection (*CollTorr.*, 76), and he was a protector of Leone Leoni (Simonis, 117) ; his secretary Antony Morillon made a medal of him (Simonis, 102-5, VI ; Hill, 64-65), and so did several more artists.

in Louvain as an inmate of the Castle, with such success that, on March 19, 1528, he promoted the first as Master of Arts of a series of 103 applicants ¹). He afterwards worked most zealously under the lead of Goclenius, Rescius and especially Campensis, and he was at Busleyden College when Dantiscus visited it ²). In fact, his proficiency in the three languages procured him the means towards a brilliant career. After a short stay in France and Italy, where he applied as well to theology as medicine, he became '*familiaris Episcopi Vaburiensis*' (Vabre), who was sent as French ambassador to Charles V about 1540. Gerard remained in the Emperor's service, and was most efficient at the diet of Worms, 1540; for he had studied controversy, and had even written against one of the Reformers ³). He was made Charles V's *a secretis* for Belgian affairs, and, being with him in his travels through Spain, Italy and Germany, he was found peerless for his prudence and his efficiency. In July 1545, he was sent as Imperial ambassador to Turkey, as Cornelius de Schepper had been before him, and Charles Rym and Ogier Ghislain de Busbeek after him ⁴). He was accompanied by Schepper's step-son, Matthias Laurin ⁵), and by Hugh Favolius, who described their journey in his *Hodæporicon Byzantinum* ⁶). Gerard delivered a remarkable Latin speech to Sultan Soliman,

¹) *ULPromRs.*, 76.

²) Cp. before, pp 22-23; Cornelius de Schepper recalls the fact in his letter of June 12, 1546, and thus explains to Dantiscus how Veltwyck knows him : DantE, 471.

³) Cornelius de Schepper, who related Veltwyck's life to Dantiscus on June 12, 1546, says that he ignores whether the book was against M. Bucer or Melancthon, and whether it was printed : DantE, 471 (119, r-120, r).

⁴) Paquot, xiii, 234; cp. II, 168, and Chs. XIX and XXV.

⁵) Letter of de Schepper to Dantiscus of July 17, 1545, when they had started their journey : DantE, 456. — Matthias Laurin was the son of Peter Laurin, Lord of Leeskens, and Ann Elizabeth (or Isabella) d'Onche, daughter of Peter and Jacqueline de Clichthove, of Veurne-Ambacht : *Cran.*, 249, b; Peter died on Febr. 27, 1521/2, and Schepper married his widow about 1529 : *BrugInscr.*, i, 160; *Brug&Fr.*, i, 365. Cp. II, 68, 167.

⁶) *Mendoza*, i, 13, 46 : the report was printed in Louvain in 1563, and dedicated to Cardinal Granvelle; the author, a native of Zeeland, died in 1585 : *SaxOnom.*, 459, sq.

which was afterwards edited with a letter in which he related his legation to Nicolas de Granvelle ¹⁾.

He had returned by July 1546, and had given complete satisfaction ²⁾. He entered the Privy Council and was appointed Treasurer of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1549. He became lord of Bouchout, and he is said to have adorned his estate with plants and flowers which he had brought home from his journeys, in so far that Rembert Dodoens dedicated to him his *De Frugum Historia*, 1552, in appreciation of what he had done for botany ³⁾. He had been sent on embassy to Cologne in 1552, and, on April 30 of that year, he reported to Queen Mary of Hungary on that legation ⁴⁾. He died in Brussels on January 4, 1555, as Viglius, who had always found in him a friend and protector, announced with great regret to Philip Cobel on Epiphany day ⁵⁾; he had suggested to Granvelle to send him as the Treasurer of the Golden Fleece to the Council of Trent, along with its Chancellor, Philip Nigri ⁶⁾, by his letter dated 1550 ⁷⁾, not merely for his connection with that Order, but for his great capacity and an erudition which was universally acknowledged ⁸⁾. In 1539, Veltwyck had published a rhythmic description of Jewish customs and their inanity, *Schevilé Thohu, Itinera Deserti* ⁹⁾;

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 285.

²⁾ Letter of Cornelius de Schepper to Dantiscus, July 17, 1545 : his step-son had come back ill from Constantinople : *DantE*, 456.

³⁾ Antwerp, John van der Loe, 1552 : *Dodoens*, 21-22.

⁴⁾ *LanzPap.*, 498, sq, 501, sq.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 304-5, and a note, quoted there from a letter of Viglius, Epiphany 1555 : *Hic nocte præterita cum magno nostro dolore Veltwykium nostrum amisimus.*

⁶⁾ Philip Nigri, J. V. D., was dean of St. Gudula's, Brussels, also of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin; Provost of St. Pharaïlde's, Ghent, and of Harlebeke; made first Bishop of Antwerp, he died before he was consecrated, on January 4, 1563 : *ConPri.*, I, 66; *ConPriT*, 69; *MalConM*, 75; *SonnE*, xxxiii, 81; *Gestel*, I, 41; *AntvDiercx*, IV, 192, 200, 202, 233; *Brux-Bas.*, I, 49, II, 10; *AntvEpisc.*, 56-57 (with biography and coat of arms : it dates the decease 'pridie Nonas Januarias'); *Laenen*, I, 184-6, 251-2; *OlaCar.*, 18.

⁷⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 345-46.

⁸⁾ Cp. John de Langhe's praise in his letter to Masius, January 27, 1555 : *MasE*, 193; and that of de Schepper, writing to Dantiscus, June 12, 1546 : *DantE*, 471.

⁹⁾ Venice, Bombergen, 1539.

yet John Isaac praised him in his second book of *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicæ adversus Guil. Lindanum* ¹⁾).

The value of the good seed, which in Veltwyck's case had fallen on excellent ground, was also fully recognized by Erasmus' friend and banker at Antwerp ²⁾, Erasmus Schetzenberg, shortened to Schets or Schetz for economy. He was a native of Maastricht, who had settled as merchant in the fast developing Flemish Metropolis, where, on July 27, 1511, he married Ida van Rechterghem, daughter of a business friend Nicolas, originary from Aix ³⁾. He prospered in his trade, so as to be able to build, in 1539, the fine '*Huis van Aken*', worthy to welcome as guest Charles V in 1545; he also bought the lordship of Grobbendonck in 1545 from Philibert de Mastaing. In his youth he had visited Portugal and had been King Manuel I's guest; starting an import trade in spices he soon became banker and money lender to the highest nobility and to princes ⁴⁾, and left a most prosperous concern to his three sons at his death, May 13, 1550 ⁵⁾.

As a true friend to his great Basle customer, he took particular care of the education of his sons, entrusting them to Louvain and to the *Trilingue*. One of them, the second, **Baltasar**, matriculated on August 30, 1530 ⁶⁾, and his brothers **Gaspar** and **Melchior Schets**, or Schetz, on February 26, 1531 ⁷⁾. Especially the eldest son, Gaspar, *Corvinus*, born on July 20, 1513, derived a great profit from the lessons in Busleyden College: he became very skilful in writing poetry: Nicolas Grudius and Hadrian Marius dedicated to him some of their *Epistolæ* ⁸⁾; on a journey in Germany, he called on Eobanus Hessus in Erfurt, in November 1535, and afterwards

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 285; Henne, v, 39, sq.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1541, *pr.*, &c.

³⁾ *FugZAlt.*, i, 366-67; and before, II, 474.

⁴⁾ *FugZAlt.*, i, 367.

⁵⁾ Guicc., 105; *DelPoBel.*, II, 633 (Nic. Grudius); *BbBasle*, C. VI^a, 71, i: 47-59, 87-89, 112; *ErasLaur.*, i, 521; FG, 418-19; *FugZAlt.*, i, 365, sq; Goris, 115, 119, 563, 567; *AntvAnn.*, II, 193, 247; *AntwHist.*, IV, 67, 495, 653-54; *MalGrCons.*, 826: 193: action at Middelburg and Mechlin against Andrew Morisson, merchant at 'Rotcheele'.

⁶⁾ Baltasar Scets de Antverpia filius Erasmi, leod. dioc.: *LibIntIV*, 25, r.

⁷⁾ Jaspar/Melchior Schets Hantwerpiens. minorennes: *LibIntIV*, 31, r.

⁸⁾ Nicolai Grudii <Fratrum> *Poemata*: Leyden, Joan. Patius, 1609.

in Marburg ¹⁾ : in gratitude for a poem, a dagger was sent as present from Antwerp; in return Eoban Hessus offered his last work, the *Ilias*, with a dedication in the form of an elegy, dated March 15, 1540, in which he deplores that Gaspar's parents by their rebukes estranged a young enthusiast from poetry to make a merchant of him ²⁾. For though the three brothers favoured literators and literature throughout their lives as they had learned from their father ³⁾, they worked most strenuously at the concern, which, by 1550, had become the most powerful at Antwerp. They made ample use of their opportunities and acquired fine estates : at the break-down of the concern of Gaspar Ducci, in 1560, Melchior Schets bought the Lordship of Hoboken ⁴⁾. They advanced money, not only to Mary of Hungary, but to the King of Spain, and to the Queens of England ⁵⁾, until they came into difficult circumstances on account of state bankrupts, like that of Spain in 1557; by 1572, they had to resort themselves to borrowing,

¹⁾ Hessus accepted the place of professor in Marburg in August 1536 and died there in 1540 : *Hessus*, II, 197, sq; *MatriMarb.*, 82, 272, sq; *UniMarb.*, 6, 17.

²⁾ *Hessus*, II, 189, 218, 251, sq, 263.

³⁾ Their father, Erasmus, had been honoured by the dedication of Francis van Zichen's *Pia Meditatio in Orationem Dominicam*, 1550 (Antwerp, Joh. Loeus : Paquot, v, 410, sq). He had had his sons trained in his house by Gerard Roeloffs, Rudolph, of Grave, who became canon at Liège, and wrote books on canon law and mathematics : Paquot, VII, 209-212; FUL, 1395. James Yetzweirts, of Bergues-St.-Winoc, offered to Gaspar Schets his *Aldenardias* (Ghent, 1573 : Paquot, I, 320); and Theodore Poelman, Pulmannus, of Cranenburg, his edition of Virgil's *Opera* (Plantin, 1564; cp. Ch. XXV; Paquot, xvi, 342, sq). The copy of James Jespersen's *Encomium Angliæ* (cp. before, p 246), now in Ghent University Library, bears the name of the first possessor, Baltasar Schets : he seems to have been in Edward VI's service, as on December 2, 1552, a passport was granted to him addressed to the King of France for safe passage to Spain about 'His Majesty's affairs' : J. R. Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, IV : London, 1892 : 183.

⁴⁾ *FugZAlt.*, I, 316; Henne, x, 21; *AntwHist.*, IV, 276, 281, v, 626, VII, 615. On November 14, 1559, King Philip invested Melchior Schets with the lordships of Rumpst, Boom, Heyndonck, &c : FG, 418.

⁵⁾ Guicc., 105; *FugZAlt.*, I, 207, II, 56-63, 152-53; Goris, 75, 187-88, 210-15, 250, 255, 261, 265, 365, sq, 488, 645; J. R. Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, IV, 1552-54 : London, 1892 : 58, 111, 152, 183, 267, 269, 334, 423, 424.

which did not prevent failure and loss of personal property of some of the partners ¹⁾).

By that time, Gaspar had freed himself from the common concern and thus escaped the result of the adversity. He had greatly developed his fortune, for besides the Lordship of Grobbendonck, which he inherited from his father, he had acquired the baronetcy of Wesemael and the lordships of Hingene, Heyst, Gestel and others ²⁾), as well as a remarkable collection of coins and medals. He was certainly the most able man of business of his family, and, from 1550 to 1564, he dominated the money market. By 1552, he had become the chief Imperial financial agent, and, in 1555, he was appointed Philip II's 'factor' ³⁾), in so far that he could, under certain conditions, sign in the King's name ⁴⁾). In 1564, he became General Treasurer of the Netherlands, and consequently withdrew from the Exchange. His moral character was far from being as glorious : Cardinal Granvelle called him mean and avaricious ; he was on several occasions suspected of, and even charged with, malversation ; a letter of the Fuggers shows that, in 1572, he had made a considerable profit on bear speculation in disfavour of Government, and it appears that he, more than once, received considerable presents from Queen Elizabeth through Sir Thomas Gresham in return for useful information. He certainly had an aversion for Spanish and Italian bankers and business men, who had 'inventions' to provide the money that was wanting for the State ⁵⁾), possibly since he seems to have been on the side of the discontented in the first years of the trouble under Philip's reign : not on account of his religious opinion, in which he was staunch and above all suspicion. Still he opposed the

¹⁾ Baltasar and Melchior failed ; Gaspar kept himself up : he even bought the lordship of Hoboken when his brother's goods came under the hammer : *FugZAlt.*, I, 371-72 ; he tried to enter Government service in the spring of 1575 : Hoyneck, I, ii, 840.

²⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 332.

³⁾ ' < He > is the kings generall factor and one of the counsell of finance and recolyth the hole finance and the burse of Antwerp ' : J. W. Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham* : London, 1839 : I, 365.

⁴⁾ *FugZAlt.*, II, 32 ; Goris, 363-65, 418, 424.

⁵⁾ Goris, 444, 450, 461, 481-94 ; *LonRoyEx.*, 363, sq.

tax known as 'tenth penny' in 1571 ¹⁾; as a favourer of the States General, he was sent to make agreements with Don Juan of Austria, and to attend several meetings in order to put an end to the dissension ²⁾. At Don Juan's withdrawal, his influence diminished ³⁾; he died on November 9, 1580 ⁴⁾, leaving one son, Lancelot, mayor of Brussels; another, John Charles, apostolic protonotary, Member of Mechlin Parliament and Chancellor of the Golden Fleece; and a third, Conrad, Lord of Hingene, commissary of finances, and head of the noble family of Ursel ⁵⁾.

C. ERUDITES FROM HOME AND ABROAD

Of the hundreds of young men who thronged the hall which President van der Hoeven had enlarged, only a few are exceptionally saved from oblivion by their undying work or by some chance mention in the history of those times. Such was the **William Putama**, of Furnes, to whom Rescius entrusted a message to Nicolas Olah, when he was on his way with his brothers to his native town, where he was to take part in the election of a new dean of the Chapter there in October 1533 ⁶⁾. Such was also **Sibrand Occo**, of Amsterdam, the son of the generously minded business man Pompeius Occo ⁷⁾, the host of the exiled Bishop of Trondhjem, Eric Walkendorp, and the Mæcenas who helped Alard of Amsterdam to the precious manuscripts of Rudolph Agricola. On that account, Sibrand is mentioned in the edition of the

¹⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 301, 302, 309; in *CartMan.*, 809, there is a memoir of 1575 against Gaspar Schets, Lord of Grobbendonck.

²⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 40, 185, II, ii, 206, 240, 244, 268, 349.

³⁾ Hoyneck, II, ii, 385.

⁴⁾ Cp. Guicc., 105; *BrabNobl.*, 235, 239, 240; Paquot, VII, 209-10; *CartMan.*, 2030: Actes concernant la famille Schetz de Grobbendonck et le Grand Tonlieu de Zélande, 1564-1598; *id.*, 2040: Notes concernant la famille Schetz; *FugZAlt.*, I, 368-72; Henne, V, 45-46; *AntwHist.*, IV, 68, 120, 495-96, 566, V, 626, VI, 615.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁶⁾ *OlaE*, 418: October 13, 1533; on December 6, following, Rescius referred again to him: *Gulielmo meo: OlaE*, 431. — *Putama* is probably meant for *Puthem* (van Puthem), a hamlet of Couckelare, near Dixmude.

⁷⁾ Allen, II, 485, 30; *HEpH*, 125, 126; *AgriCorr.*, 304-8.

latter's *Opera* ¹⁾, for having procured Agricola's translation of Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*, which was dedicated to him ²⁾. Sibrand made the acquaintance in Louvain of Janus Secundus, who inscribed to him an *Epistola* testifying to a genuine affection ³⁾, and may have met him afterwards when attending Alciati's lectures. He was in possession of Agricola's papers as late as 1561, when Viglius offered him a portrait of their great countryman, to have it placed in his study ⁴⁾.

Soon after 1530, there was also amongst the students of the *Trilingue* Philip Clericus, Claray, who may have been a brother of Janus Secundus' special friend Petrus Clericus ⁵⁾; he for certain was a licentiate in both laws, and to him John Varennius ⁶⁾ dedicated, on July 1, 1532, his *Syntaxis Linguae Græcæ*, which Rutger Rescius published on August 2, 1532 ⁷⁾. He was the brother of John Clericus, who became Archbishop of Oristano, in Sardinia ⁸⁾, and may be the 'Ioncker Philips de Clerck, Comoignemeester' of Mechlin, and commissary of the horse and foot of the State General, who died at Mechlin on February 23, 1565 ⁹⁾; he, possibly, was a son, or a relation, of the Charles de Clerck, Knight, Lord of Bouvekerke, councillor and chamberlain of Charles V ¹⁰⁾.

Amongst the assiduous auditors of the *Trilingue*, there were for certain several foreigners, who either made their regular studies in the Brabant University, or merely passed there some time : considering the sympathy for languages and literature, which most of the latter unmistakably showed, it is more than likely that they did not leave Louvain without having made a thorough acquaintance of the Institute, which

¹⁾ Rodolphi *Agricolæ Lucubrationes* : Cologne, 1539.

²⁾ *AgriCorr.*, 306 : Alard states that Sibrand is a student of the *Trilingue*.

³⁾ (*Epistola*) *Ad Sibrandum Occonem* : *JSecOp.*, 180 ; cp. II, 440, sq ; *HEpH*, 126.

⁴⁾ Allen, II, 485, 30 ; J. I. Pontanus, *Rerum Amstelodamiensium Historia* : Amsterdam, 1611 : 243-44.

⁵⁾ *JSecOp.*, 18, 185.

⁶⁾ Cp. I, 274.

⁷⁾ *NijKron.*, I, 2106 ; cp. before, p 108.

⁸⁾ Paquot, II, 305-6.

⁹⁾ *MalInscr.*, 68 ; still the title of J. V. L. is not mentioned : they may be different men.

¹⁰⁾ *MalInscr.*, 429 : he died on December 12, 1537.

about that time caused it to be famous throughout Western Europe. One of them was James von Omphal, Omphalius, born at Andernach, on February 11, 1500, who, after having studied in Cologne from September 1515 ¹⁾, had followed his townsman John Winter ²⁾, first to a school at Utrecht, and, probably in, or soon after, 1524, to Louvain. He attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek, so that when, by 1529, he went to Paris where he promoted M. A., he could undertake at once the new edition of Herodian in Poliziano's translation ³⁾. He met there some old fellow-students from Louvain, Joachim Polites ⁴⁾ and James Bording ⁵⁾; also, in the winter of 1530-31, Nicolas Clenardus ⁶⁾, as well as John Sturm ⁷⁾; eventually he accepted the office of teacher of Latin in Lisieux College. By the autumn of 1531, he made the acquaintance of Erasmus ⁸⁾, whom he seconded with might and main against the attack of Julius Caesar Scaliger ⁹⁾. By 1535, he had removed to Toulouse, where he promoted LL. D. on December 1, 1537, and where he trained some pupils, for whom he had edited Cicero's *Pro Cæcina*.

He then turned towards jurisprudence : he entered the service of Herman de Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, and represented him, soon after 1537, at the Speyer Imperial Court ¹⁰⁾, where he met an old friend, Viglius ¹¹⁾. He served de Wied until his death in 1552 ¹²⁾; after having been for a time councillor of Duke William of Cleves, he finally became legal adviser of Cologne town, and a highly appreciated professor of laws; he spent his last years in writing on politics ¹³⁾, and died on October 25, 1567, on his estate of Büchel, near Wiesdorf, on the Rhine ¹⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Keussen, 507, 60.

²⁾ Cp. II, 529.

³⁾ Bulæus, vi, 943.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 475-76.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 577.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 185-88, 253.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 582, sq.

⁸⁾ Allen, ix, 2577, pr, x, 2635, 1, sq; *Ent.*, 125, 165-67, 173.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 29-30.

¹⁰⁾ Redlich, i, 324, 327, 429.

¹¹⁾ Hoyneck, ii, i, 252.

¹²⁾ *WiedVarr.*, i, 262, ii, 113.

¹³⁾ Stintzing, i, 483-85.

¹⁴⁾ Cp. FG, 400; Miræus, 148; Bianco, i, 769; Keussen, 507, 60; Allen, viii, 2311, 46; ADB; J. Nève, in *Rev. Belge de Phil.*, ix, 1930 : 887, 892-96; *ClénCorr.*, i, 20, ii, 29.

Not long after Omphalius left Louvain for Paris, a young Franconian arrived there, **Daniel Stibarus**, Knight of Rabeneck. Born in 1503, he had studied in Erfurt with Camerarius ¹⁾ and in Basle under Boniface Amerbach; he had stayed with Erasmus in 1528, and met Charles of Uutenhove in the Great Humanist's household ²⁾. Having spent a few months in Paris, he went to Antwerp, from where he came to Louvain in 1529. He remained some months, during which he made a thorough acquaintance with Goclenius, Rescius and Campensis, attending their lectures, and enjoying their intimate friendship. He returned by Frankfurt to Franconia, and spent some of the winter months of 1529-30 with Erasmus at Freiburg, until he went to fulfil his duties as canon at Würzburg, where he became the Bishop's councillor, and died in 1555 ³⁾.

In the beginning of 1534, a native of Ulm, **Daniel Mauch** ⁴⁾, came to Louvain. After studying in Heidelberg, Tübingen, Cologne and Erfurt ⁵⁾, he entered, by 1530, the service of the Papal Legate in Germany, Cardinal Campeggio, whom he accompanied to the Diet of Augsburg, where he got a coat of arms and was made Count palatine by his master. From February 1531, he was in the service of George of Austria, Bishop of Brixen ⁶⁾, and resided with him at the Court of Brussels. When Bishop George was sent on an embassy to Denmark in 1534, Mauch was allowed to go and study in Louvain ⁷⁾: he applied himself to jurisprudence, — of which he became Doctor at Pavia in 1536, — but he, no doubt, was

¹⁾ From the summer of 1518, Camerarius studied and tutored in Erfurt, where Erasmus had many friends; in September 1521, he left for Wittenberg: Allen, v, 1501, *pr*; Stibarus, who seems to have been in Erfurt since 1515, enjoyed his help: *Hessus*, i, 225.

²⁾ Cp. II, 466-67.

³⁾ Allen, iv, p 615; *Hessus*, i, 225, II, 42, 188.

⁴⁾ He was born on January 27, 1504.

⁵⁾ Keussen, III, p 115, remarks that Mauch, who became D. V. J. in Marburg in 1544, had visited twenty Universities: he is mentioned as matriculating in Heidelberg on April 28, 1520 (Daniel Mauch Ulmanus), on July 23, 1522, in Tübingen, and in 1529, in Erfurt.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 132, 567, and before, pp 43, 280.

⁷⁾ He matriculated in Louvain as *maioirennis* between December 1533 and June 1534; *LibRecI*, 113, v.

prompted by his interest in literature and his close friendship with Erasmus ¹⁾, to frequent the lectures of the *Trilingue* and make the acquaintance of its professors. At any rate, he knew very well one of them, for in the autumn of 1536, passing through Speyer, he called on Viglius, and requested him to write a letter to Goclenius, of which he wished to be the bearer ²⁾. When, in November 1538, his master was appointed Archbishop of Valencia ³⁾, he followed him to Spain, and thus got the opportunity of inscribing his name in a few more universities ⁴⁾. When George of Austria was appointed coadjutor of Cornelius de Berghes, Bishop of Liège, on February 23, 1541, he returned to this country, but was kept a prisoner at Lyons, and only set free in the spring of 1543; his secretary Mauch was allowed to leave the confinement much sooner, for he was appointed advocate in the Imperial Court at Speyer in 1542. In 1544, he took orders, and was appointed head of the Chapter School of Worms, which office he fulfilled with great honour until he became the Bishop's Vicar General in 1554: he died on May 19, 1567 ⁵⁾.

On May 5, 1536, was inscribed in the Louvain matriculation register an **Everard Heresbach**, 'Germanus, Coloniensis dioceseos' ⁶⁾; he may have been a relative of Erasmus' friend,

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1633, *pr*.

²⁾ Letter of Viglius to Goclenius, December 17, 1536: ViglEB, 34.

³⁾ During those years, Daniel stayed mostly in our provinces, where he was well acquainted with Olah: OlaE, 568, 575-79, and where even his parents had come to live. His father, also called Daniel, was a famous carver, who probably had settled about 1530 in the neighbourhood of Liège. A small wooden statue of Our Lady with the Child, was carved for Paschasius Berselius (cp. I, 494-500, II, 15, 530); it is still in existence in the Church of Dalhem, and bears the coat of arms which the son got in 1530: cp. J. Ceyssens, *Berselius et la Statue de la Vierge de Dalhem*: Liège, 1925; *BerghAutr.*, 69: it is hard to believe that, by 1530, Mauch, the father, should have foreseen (what, especially in 1538 and 1539, looked far from probable) the succession of George of Austria, which he did not witness, as he died in 1540.

⁴⁾ In 1544, he boasted that the number reached 22: *MatriMarb.*, 104, 272.

⁵⁾ Allen, vi, 1633, *pr*, p xxiii; OlaE, 568, 575-79; SonnE, 30; J. Ceyssens, *Daniel Mauchius*, in *Leodium*, xviii: Liège, 1925, 68-74; *BerghAutr.*, 69.

⁶⁾ *LibIntIV*, 85, v.

the humanist Conrad Heresbach ¹⁾, then councillor of the Duke of Cleves ; for certain, he belonged to one of the best families of Cologne ²⁾, and it is most likely that he did not come to Louvain for the lectures of the *Artes*, which his native town could provide, but for the *Trilingue*, which, up to then, had no equivalent, neither as institution nor as spirit ³⁾.

It was, no doubt, that unique advantage which also led to Louvain John James Fugger ; son of Raymond Fugger, Count of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn, and of Catherine Thurzo ⁴⁾, he was born at Augsburg on December 23, 1516. He soon applied himself most eagerly to study, no doubt, on his father's advice and example ; for already in 1532, he was at Bourges, where he may have known Janus Secundus ⁵⁾. He spent some time in a few universities on this side of the Alps, until, in 1534, he went with his younger brother George, to Bologna ⁶⁾, and stayed there until 1535 ; he was there 'sindicus' of the German Nation, whereas George was

¹⁾ By 1535, Conrad Heresbach had decided not to enter the Church, although provided since 1529 with a canonry at Xanten ; he married in 1535 or 1536, and thus got the management of an estate on an island in the Rhine, below Wesel, belonging to his wife : Allen, v, 1316, *pr* ; *Heresbach*, 63, *sq* ; and before, *pp* 227-28.

²⁾ The *Heresbach* family counted, in the xvth century, several officials in the service of the Dukes of Cleves and Jülich, as well as canons in the chapters, and secretaries in the town councils. They were related to Hermann von Weinsberg : cp. before, *p* 227 ; John Heresbach is possibly the 'doctor Johann', who, in 1576, wanted to remove to Speyer : *Weinsberg*, II, 319 ; the name often occurs in other volumes of that chronicle.

³⁾ *UniKöln*, 197-99.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, *p* 317. At the death of his uncle James II Fugger, the Rich, in 1525, he was entrusted with the direction of the immense concern : cp. *inf.*, *pp* 367, *sq* ; *Strieder*, 54-59, &c ; *AntvAnn.*, II, 163, *sq*, 393.

⁵⁾ On October 14, 1541, Viglius sent him a copy of Janus Secundus' *Basia*, and wrote : Eum... tibi quoque Biturigibus innotuisse arbitror : Hoynck, II, i, 289 ; cp. before, II, 450.

⁶⁾ Knod, 144 ; with the two brothers was their preceptor Christopher Hager, one of Viglius' acquaintances (he died October 30, 1535 : Hoynck, II, i, 207, 209 ; Knod, 179), as well as their friend George Sigismund Seld, son of the Augsburg goldsmith George Seld, who, in 1550, became Imperial Vice-Chancellor : Knod, 526-27 ; *LuChav*, v, 519 ; *LanzPap.*, 465-77 ; *Morone*, 44-119, 172-74.

procurator in 1536 ¹⁾. He is said to have visited some Spanish Universities and also to have been in Louvain ²⁾. If so, he, no doubt, attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, whereto he afterwards sent his sons ³⁾, and where he, evidently, had known Nannius and Thierry de Langhe ⁴⁾. He was, indeed, greatly interested in Latin and Greek literature ⁵⁾, as results from the books which were dedicated to him ⁶⁾. He was councillor of Augsburg in 1542, and, later on, mayor; he also became a member of the Council of three Emperors, and president of that of Duke Albert of Bavaria. To the latter, he sold his fine private collection of books, numbering 12'000 volumes, now one of the most valuable parts of Munich Library ⁷⁾. He wrote a '*Gehaim Eernbuch*', an intimate history of his family ⁸⁾; also a relation of the Schmalkaldic

¹⁾ When, on March 1, 1536, Viglius wrote to the two brothers to condole with them for the death of their father and some other friends, he sent his letter for George to Italy, requesting him not to let the mourning interrupt his studies; and that for John James, to Augsburg, where he was already at work with his uncle Antony; he also urges him to continue the study in which he had proved most successful and advises him to remain in correspondence with the friends made in France and Italy to keep up an efficient knowledge of Latin: Hoyneck, II, i, 207-10.

²⁾ Knod, 144.

³⁾ In the last years of Nannius' professorate, there was in Louvain his eldest son Sigismund-Frederic, to whom was dedicated the commented edition of the *Bucolica*; at Nannius' death, June 21, 1557, he erected a monument for him in St. Peter's: Polet, 27, 328-29. In 1559, his second son, Octavianus Secundus, was also at study in Louvain: Knod, 145.

⁴⁾ From the dedicatory letter, dated August 28, 1558, of the commented edition of the *Bucolica* (Polet, 173-75, 328-29), which Nannius decided to inscribe to his pupil Sigismund-Frederic, and which Thierry Langius published for him (Basle, 1559), it seems as if that dedication was meant as an appreciation of, and an homage to, the boy's father, whom the two professors may have known when he studied in Louvain.

⁵⁾ On March 1, 1536, Viglius wrote to him: non contemnendum in disciplinis profectum fecisti: Hoyneck, II, i, 210.

⁶⁾ Petrus Paganus dedicated to him his *Orationes ad Imitationem Psalmorum compositæ* (Vienna, 1560); Sebastian Solidus, his *Querela Pannoniæ* (of about 1546); Jerome Wolff, his translation from Demosthenes; A. Reifenstein, his edition of Cuspinianus' *De Cæsaribus et Imperatoribus* (Basle, 1561), whereas the poets of the Augsburg School inscribed some of their *Carmina* to him: Knod, 144; SchelAH, I, 732.

⁷⁾ He had as librarian the Hellenist Jerome Wolff: Lomeier, 397-98.

⁸⁾ Part of that work was edited as *Ehrenspiegel*, by Sigm. von Birken at Nuremberg, 1668.

War, and a sketch of the history of Austria ; they still exist in manuscript. He married Ursula von Harrach in 1540, and afterwards Sidonia von Colaüs, and left twenty-one children at his death, July 14, 1575 ¹⁾. In 1857 his statue was erected at Augsburg in appreciation of his work as scholar, and as protector of arts and erudition, on which he spent the larger part of his fortune ²⁾.

The beneficial influence exercised by the *Trilingue* on her students is illustrated by the Hungarian **Adam Carolus**, King Ferdinand's secretary, who, on October 28, 1540, wrote to Damian a Goes ³⁾, whose acquaintance he had made in Louvain, about the excellent impression which his book about Ethiopia ⁴⁾ had made on him and on his visitor Claud Cantuincula ⁵⁾. He particularly requests Damian to remind him to his old professors and friends : ne graueris ex me doctissimos & humanissimos uiros Dominum Rescium, Petrum Nannium, Cornelium Grapheum ⁶⁾ (quorum ego memoriam ueluti sacro sanctam constanter conseruo) quam accuratissime salutare ⁷⁾.

A countryman of his, nephew and namesake of Queen Mary's Court preacher ⁸⁾ **John Henckel**, was sent to Louvain in September 1532 through Nicolas Olah ⁹⁾; the latter had expected that, since there was no room in the College, he would have been accommodated by Rescius. It proved impossible, so that the youth was entrusted to 'D. Petrus', canon of Mayence, and to Nicolas of Marville's tuition ¹⁰⁾. Five

¹⁾ John James was not prosperous as business man : he suffered great losses in 1563 ; on that account he left the firm, and entered Albert of Bavaria's service : *FugZAlt.*, I, 176.

²⁾ *ADB* ; Knod, 144 ; *MasE*, 128, 196 ; *BeitSchlecht.*, 80 ; — he seems to have been a man of most frugal habits, for, on June 20, 1538, and again on August 4, 1538, Viglius made fun of his custom of drinking water and praises wine to him as an incentive of heart and spirit : Hoyneck, II, i, 253-54, 257.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 50-71.

⁴⁾ '*Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum*' : Louvain, R. Rescius, Sept. 1540 ; *PortHum.*, 142.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 609-10.

⁶⁾ Cp. I, 438.

⁷⁾ *GoesOp.*, h 4, r-i 1, v : Adam Carolus was some years younger than Goes, whom he calls 'studiosorum omnium patrone incomparabilis' ; Olah wrote some verses to him : *OlaCar.*, 25-6.

⁸⁾ Cp. for John Henckel, late Court preacher, canon of Breslau, before, p 118.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, p 119.

¹⁰⁾ *OlaE*, 188, 250-52.

years later, the young man was still in Louvain, and was then confided to the care and tutoring of Peter Nannius, who, by the end of 1537, advised Olah to have him sent to Italy to continue his intellectual training ¹⁾).

From the Scandinavian countries students came to Louvain to find the development which their native land did not offer. That was the case of the zealous Dane James Jespersen, of Aarhus, who settled in the Netherlands as poet and teacher of languages ²⁾). It also was, probably, that of six Norwegians who matriculated about the time of van der Hoeven's presidency : 'Dominus Augustinus Schonck de Norwegia presbyter', was enrolled on September 9, 1528 ³⁾), and 'Tossanus filius olai naute, de Hamaria <Hamar>, noorwegus, pauper in Castro', on February 27, 1529 ⁴⁾); the names of 'Dominus Horderus de Norwegia, presbyter', and of 'Corbernus de Norwegia clericus', both of 'hammarensis dioc.' <Hamar>, were entered on the register on July 23, 1530 ⁵⁾); 'Dominus Petrus Joannis, ex Norwegia', was inscribed on August 8, 1531 ⁶⁾), and so was 'Gauto scrap ex norwegia. nidrocien. dioc.', on September 7, 1531 ⁷⁾).

It applies especially to their countryman **Bent**, or Benedict, **Arvidsen**, born in 1500 at Halland ⁸⁾); he matriculated in Louvain on August 27, 1528 ⁹⁾), and may have promoted Master of Arts even; he certainly learned there in the *Trilingue* the Latin and the Greek which caused him to be looked upon as one of the chief humanists and as the first Hellenist of the Northern realms. He became, by 1531, canon and head of the Chapter School of Lund, which, from then on, was one of the foremost centres of intellectual development in the country, and attracted all men eager of learning, such as the great Niels Hemmingsen ¹⁰⁾). Arvidsen represented his Chapter in 1537 at the Copenhagen meeting, at which the reform, proposed

¹⁾ OlaE, 609, 611-15; and before, p 119.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 244-47.

³⁾ *LibIntIV*, 7, v.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 10, r.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIV*, 25, r.

⁶⁾ *LibIntIV*, 36, r.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV*, 40, v : the archdiocese *Nidrosia* had its see at the mouth of the Nid 'in urbe Trudensi', now called Trondhjem (ancient *Nidaros*).

⁸⁾ On the south-west coast of Norway, near Egersund.

⁹⁾ 'Benedictus Aruidi ex Dania' : *Jørgensen*, 388-89.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *DBL*.

as '*Dwergens Punkterne*', was discussed between the partisans of the Old, and those of the New Learning. He showed, on that occasion, his great erudition and his acquaintance with the Fathers of the Church, although he could not carry the day. He remained, however, at his post in the Lund Grammar School, and a little while before his death, on October 28, 1583, he gave to the Chapter his most important collection of books, containing several of the treasures of his youth, the editions by Martens and Rescius : they form the *Bibliotheca Benedictina*, — after his name, — and became the kernel of Lund University Library ¹). — By his example, possibly by his advice, he may have directed some of his countrymen to Louvain, where the Dane Frans Brockenhuus, nobleman, matriculated in 1533, and Herman Skeel, also a native of Denmark, as well as the Swede 'Ericus hoonen', or 'hooren', were inscribed in 1536 ²); most probably, they, too, were familiar visitors of the *Trilinguis Aula* ³).

The new spirit of studies was also greatly appreciated in England and Scotland, where some of the first professors ⁴) and of the earliest students ⁵) of the *Trilingue* were at work, and where Vives had sampled its teaching, and revealed its meaning in his lectures in *Corpus Christi*, and in his tutoring of Princess Mary ⁶). It is quite natural that, in consequence, several students came from Great Britain to Louvain : not just merely beginners ⁷), but such as had already acquired a formation, and even gained academical degrees ⁸). The object

¹) *DBL*, I, 540 ; *Dansk Biografisk Lexicon* : Copenhagen, 1887 : I, 353 ; H. F. Rørdam, *Historiske Kildeskrifter* : II, 232, 251, 276 ; Rietz, *Skånska Skolväs Historia* : 244, sq ; H. F. Rørdam, *Kl. Lyskander* : 196, sq.

²) 'Franciscus Brockenhouze dioc. Rosscildensis ex regno Datie' : August 12, 1533. — 'Hermannus Scheelen Danus' : May 31, 1536. — 'Ericus hoonen ex Regno Suecie', May 22, 1536 : *LibIntIV*, 86, r.

³) Cp. Jørgensen, 387-89 ; *Heliä*, 1-9 ; and before, II, 20, sq.

⁴) Robert Wakefeld and Robert Shirwood : cp. I, 379, 500.

⁵) Robert Barnes and Thomas Paynell : cp. II, 15-20.

⁶) *MonHL*, 1-34.

⁷) E. g., 'Joannes de haberdonia, pauper standonicus' : February 27, 1529, and David Robert, of St. Andrew's, 'pauper Castrensis', August 30, 1531 : *LibIntIV*, 11, r, 40, r.

⁸) The following names were entered into the Matriculation register : Richard Fane : June 1526 ; William Gosualdus : December 4, 1528 ; Gabriel Dunnæus de Londino, religiosus St. Benedicti Stratuordiensis cenobii,

which, no doubt, the larger part of them wished to attain, is magnificently instanced by John Helyar, who, fully understanding the advantage he might realize during his forced absence from his Hampshire benefices, left Paris where he had gone to for shelter, and repaired to Louvain by the end of 1535 or the beginning of 1536, and assiduously attended the lectures of Goclenius, Rescius and Balenus with an enthusiasm to which his note-book testifies nearly at every one of its pages, and which he expressed in his poems in memory of Erasmus ¹⁾).

In the quest for truth and learning, the Iberian Peninsula did not stay behind : Gracian de Alderete and other friends were working there most actively ²⁾), and the 'Johannes Lopes, Hispanus, clericus Burg. dioc.', who matriculated on June 13, 1530, will have been a student of the *Trilingue* ³⁾). When, in the winter of 1530-31, Clenardus was in Paris, the impression made on the Franciscan Roque de Almeida by the description of the intellectual life of Louvain, was such that, a few days later, the *Frei* left for Brabant to become a student at Busleyden College ⁴⁾). A few years before, another Portuguese, Frei Bras de Barros, or de Braga, of the Hieronymite Order, who had gone to study in Paris, had left for Louvain, applying himself there to languages and to theology : he returned in 1527 to his convent of Penha-Longa which he reformed, and for twenty-seven years he worked as *governador* of Santa Cruz Convent, at Coimbra, organizing its schools after the model of the *Trilingue*, and making them famous ; he afterwards was appointed by Paul III as

sacerd. : March 30, 1530 ; Christ. Joyeus & John Uthancus, dioc. Lond. : January 28, 1531 ; John Magdalenæ, ord. prædic., doct. theol. : July 20, 1531 ; John Blyth, dioc. Eborac. : January 10, 1532 ; William Blaccader & Patrick Buchanan, dioc. Glasguens. : April 23, 1534 ; Henry Philippus : December 14, 1534 ; Robert Farengton, fil. Henrici : August 1535 ; Thomas Hennis & William Killerby, September 30, 1535 : *LibIntIII*, 201, r ; *LibIntIV*, 8, v, 23, v, 31, r, 36, r, 41, v, 65, r, 72, v, 77, v, 82, r.

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 594-604 ; and further, Ch. XVIII, 4, c.

²⁾ Cp. II, 408-12.

³⁾ *LibIntIV*, 24, r. — A 'Christianus Lopes, Hispanus' (de Jongh, *56) was allowed to start the tests for his licentiate in theology on Sept. 29, 1530 : he was probably an elder brother.

⁴⁾ *GlénCorr.*, I, 215, II, 149 ; *Cerejeira*, 30, 38, 40 ; *PortHum.*, 191.

the first Bishop of Leiria ¹⁾). Equally famous as Bras for the integrity of his life and for his real spirit of religion and of monasticism, was his confrater, Frei Diogo de Murça, **James a Murtia** : he also had left Paris for Louvain, and became there the eager disciple of Driedo ²⁾ ; he passed the proof of the licentiate in theology on September 29, 1530, and promoted doctor on May 27, 1533 ³⁾. But even more significative to the zealous scholar than his title, was the complete reversal in the studies to which he was introduced by the method used in the *Trilingue* : he could appreciate their salutary effect on theology in the lectures of the clever professor, whose principles on *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus* were inserted into the decree *Insuper* of Trent Council, in the very terms which the great Louvain divine had used in 1533 ⁴⁾. On his return to Portugal James worked with his *confrater* Bras at the restauration of the studies in Penha-Longa, and in their Order in general, on King John III's injunction ; in 1537 they received the mandate to extend the teaching in the too opulent convent of Santa Cruz of the Austin Canons at Coimbra : it was the first move of the transfer of the Lisbon University, April 1537 ⁵⁾. Their instruction was the close imitation of that of the *Trilingue* for spirit and method, which was called *o método lovaniense* ⁶⁾ and extended to theology and to the other branches ⁷⁾, when the University, in which A. de Resende ⁸⁾, another *Trilinguist*, was at work, was finally installed in Coimbra in 1543 ⁹⁾ with Murtia as rector until 1555 ¹⁰⁾ ; he renovated the studies of

¹⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 146, sq, 167, II, 120-21, 129 ; Cerejeira, 31-3, 96-7, 100-3, 116 ; *PortHum.*, 286.

²⁾ Cp. de Jongh, 156-9 ; *MonHL*, 344, sq ; and II, 505-8. — Murtia's gratitude to Driedo for his direction, explains how he and Goes were so eager to procure for his *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus*, a royal subsidy in return for his dedication to King John III on June 9, 1533. Clénardus, who lived of the King's liberality, remarks that Vives received a bounty, but not Driedo, nor Erasmus either : maybe he had a hand in the matter : *ErasPort.*, 31-32.

³⁾ *VAnd.*, 107.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 508-9.

⁵⁾ *PortHum.*, 286.

⁶⁾ *PortHum.*, 253-54.

⁷⁾ *PortHum.*, 253 ; Cerejeira, 31, 33.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 395-403.

⁹⁾ Pimenta, 252-54.

¹⁰⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 43, 121, 144, II, 55, 110, 118 ; Cerejeira, 9, 31-3, 55, 109, 111-14 ; *PortHum.*, 92, 253, 286 ; de Jongh, *56, *58, *60 ; J. de Carvalho, *A Livraria dum Letrado... Frei Diogo de Murça : Coimbra, 1927.*

theology in the College of St. Jerome, and greatly influenced those of other branches with the help of his confrater Bras de Braga. 'Por êles', Cerejeira concludes, 'a Universidade de Lovaina concorreu assim também para a magnifica restauração em Portugal das letras e sciências, de que a reforma de S. Cruz foi o prólogo, e o reitorado de Murça na Universidade marca o esplendor' ¹⁾).

To those proofs of signal efficiency of the work done in the *Trilingue*, may be joined the enthusiastic appreciation of one of her professors, John Campensis, for his lectures in the University of Cracow ²⁾, whilst even a higher appraising welcome was waiting for him amongst the most remarkable group of Cardinals in Rome ³⁾: they may have gladdened the heart of the genial Great Humanist in his dreary days in Basle, for they were, for certain, the highest praise which might be conceived for his Institute, even before it had completed its fourth lustre.

6. HOME GOING

A. ROBBYNS AND STERCKE

In the midst of the continuous expanding of all its energies, the *Trilingue* lost, one after another, its great friends and promoters.

The first to depart was its staunch protector of the initial months and its hearty friend, the Dean of Mechlin, John Robbyns: until the last days of his life, he was full of care and solicitude for the Institution which he had so effectively helped to found and foster; he had contributed largely to its prosperity by his wise advice and by the advantage of his ripe experience ⁴⁾. He was not a rich man, and as he had been the chief organizer of the foundation of his friend Nicolas Ruterius, Bishop of Arras ⁵⁾, and had actively taken part in Adrian VI's great scheme in favour of the Louvain Univer-

¹⁾ Cerejeira, 33. ²⁾ Cp. before, pp 198-99. ³⁾ Cp. before, pp 202-5.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 95, b, 17, b; *Busl.*, 47, & *passim*; cp. I, 8-12, and *passim*.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 17, a; *FUL*, 2241, 2244-45, 2333-34; *Busl.*, 305-7, & *passim*; *ULDoc.*, III, 155-58: on November 18, 1532, Robbyns had approved of the Statutes; *LuChaV*, v, 509; *LuChaB*, 15-16.

sity ¹⁾, other and greater claims upon his liberality prompted him to bequeath his books, his sacred ornaments and the larger part of his fortune to the Colleges of Arras and of Adrian VI ²⁾: owing to the limits of their unvarying income, they had been severely visited by the fall in the value of the money, and by the constantly rising price of living; whereas the *Trilingue*, as a working organism, could adapt itself more readily to circumstances, and was in fact prospering. Still, he showed his great sympathy with his friend Busleyden's creation, and, by his will of June 30, 1532 ³⁾, he made a bequest of 4 Rh. florins to it, wishing that they should be used to buy books for the Library. He died on December 28, 1532, after years of suffering from an illness, which, in his friends' opinion, originated in his severe and lofty principles ⁴⁾.

Three years later, the College lost another well-wisher in John Stercke van Meerbeke, who had remained in very close contact with the Institute he had helped to found ⁵⁾. Especially after Wary's premature decease, he was ever ready with his advice and assistance: at a period when considerable amounts of money were needed for the enlarging of the lecture room, in the spring of 1530, he advanced to van der Hoeven the money which enabled him to act for the best advantage of the College ⁶⁾; he gave his advice in the purchase of valuable rents ⁷⁾, and he attended the audits of the accounts ⁸⁾, and

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 17, b, 76, c, 81, b; *FUL*, 2473, 2670.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 17, c; *FUL*, 2401, 2732.

³⁾ *FUL*, 2401. He had a brother (cp. II, 12), Walter Robbyns, alderman of Mechlin in 1525, 1529 and 1533, who died in 1537, and left several children from his marriage with Catherine Smets: *Simonis*, 130-31.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 17, c, 114, 15; *FG*, 413; *Laenen*, I, 65, 184.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 90-92, 120; also I, 14-16, 286, 359 and *passim*, II, 61, sq., 105, 225-29, 238-41, 297-98.

⁶⁾ Van der Hoeven noted down in his accounts that he received from John Stercke 36 Rh. fl. about March 15, 1530, and 57 Rh. fl. and 8 *stivers* on April 4, 1530: *ManHoev.*, 1, r: one amount was a debt recovered by Stercke as Wary's executor.

⁷⁾ *AccHoevII*, 7, r.

⁸⁾ He attended the checking of vander Hoeven's first account, 1529-30: *AccHoevI*, 1, r, 71, r; *ManHoev.*, 6, v; he himself rendered account for Wary's last year with Nicolas van der Borch, September 19-22, 1531, and thus took part in many transactions in 1530: *AccHoevI*, 50, v-51, r; *ManHoev.*, 3, r, 5, r; *AccMarvIII*, 1, sq.

the various meetings of the 'procuratores', or trustees, whenever they came to Louvain to see to the interests of the College ¹). Nor did he, with all that, keep aloof from the Faculty, in which he occasionally took office, and of which he was elected dean on September 30, 1530 ²). He died on April 5, 1535 ³), and was buried in the chapel of St. Martin's Priory, where an epitaph praised his prudence, his erudition, and his generosity :

Doctiss. Theologo, piissimo Sacerdoti, Philosopho disciplina, moribus absolutis., Iustitiæ & priuilegior. Vniuersitatis defensori inuicto, disceptantiū pacificatori æquiss.,

D. IOANNI FORTI MIRBECANO,

Collegii Buslidiani primo Præsidi, quo in dispiciendo quæ ad Rempubl. pertinebant, nemo fuit sagacior, rursus nemo in perficiendo constantior, nemo ab omni ambitione remotior, vt qui vltro oblatas dignitates & ampliora sacerdotia, mediocritate contentus ⁴), singulari animi modestia recusarit, consiliisque re & opera in omnes perpetuo liberalissime vsus, incredibile sui desiderium, & mœrorem incomparabilem, tum ciuibus, tum toti Academiæ reliquit.

IOANNES FORTIS MIRBECANUS PROFESSIONE THEOLOGVS,

SED NVLLIVS FERE DISCIPLINÆ IGNARVS,

VIR CELEBERRIM. OB CLARISS. VIRTVTES NOMINIS,

HIC SIBI SEPVLTVRAM DELEGIT.

MORTVVS ANNO DOMINI M. D. XXXV. V. APRILIS.

Inuitus terram qui deserit, cælum timet ⁵).

¹) He attended the meeting of May 5, 1534, when Rescius was granted an indemnity for not boarding or living at the College; with John van Hove he was invited to meet van Vessem on March 18-21, 1530: *AccHoevI*, 50, v; *AccHoevII*, 34, v; *ManHoev.*, 11, v; cp. before, pp 123-24.

²) *LibNomI*, 225, v, 237, v; on June 1, 1530, he was elected procurator for Brabant.

³) Goclenius announced to Erasmus, on August 10, 1535, that death had taken many of the *Capita* of the University that year: in April 'D. Joannem Merbecanum quondam Collegii Buslidiani præsidem': *GocIE*, 15, r; Allen, xi, 3037, 34.

⁴) A 'Johannes Stercke de Meerbeke', probably a nephew, matriculated on August 31, 1539, as 'pauper liliensis': *LibIntIV*, 127, r: a proof that Stercke had not left much to his heirs.

⁵) *SweMon.*, 225-26. Cp. *ULTest.*, 165; *Mol.*, 598, 630; *VAnd.*, 277;

B. A PROSPEROUS HERITAGE

It must have been a supreme consolation for those two generous artisans of the great Institute, who had shared the bitter anxiety at the disheartening opposition in the first months of its existence, to witness the grand efflorescence of school and studies, which had necessitated the enlarging of the lecture room ; it was sending forth, into the country and throughout the Christian World, the clever and beneficent 'workers' in all kinds of intellectual activity, who, in a way, owed to them their efficient formation and their admirable equipment. Even the material welfare of the College must have gladdened their hearts.

Indeed, the management of van der Hoeven was characterized by great prosperity, which is evidenced by the fact that, on September 30, 1536, the College could advance a considerable amount of money to James Daems against a yearly interest of 8 Rh. fl., secured by a mortgage on his house in Shrine Street : it had once belonged, at least partly, to the 'Red Convent' in the Forest of Soignes, and to St. Martin's Priory, Louvain, and it had been acquired in 1500 by John Custos, a priest, who, in 1530, transferred it to Daems ; it was situated next to the property of the Mechlin councillor Peter l'Apostole ¹), who, on July 29, 1522, had made an agreement with Custos about the boundary wall and the eaves' drop, the '*oesendrop*' ²) ; it also joined a house which the College possessed in that street, and which was

PF, 478 ; *Théâtre Sacré du Brabant* (The Hague, 1729) : I, 123 ; *Nève-Mém.*, 49, 98, 387-88 (even without Goclenius' statement, quoted in n 3 of p 375, there could hardly be any doubt about the exactness of the year of the decease, 1535 : for had Stercke died on April 5, 1536, he would have attended the hearing of van der Hoeven's account for 1533-34, on September 14, 1535 : *AccHoevII*, 44, r, as he had done for that of 1529-30, on May 14, 1531 : *AccHoevI*, 71, r ; in his stead Goclenius was invited : *AccHoevII*, 2, r, 44, r) ; FG, 14, 354 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 497, III, 129-30 ; Allen, v, 1322, pr ; Almelooven, 69 : also *GeldColl.*, 75-77 (letters to him from Albert Pighius, Rome, last weeks of 1522).

¹) *Cran.*, 30, a, 261, 45 ; *Busl.*, 311-12, &c. L'Apostole had been a professor of law in Louvain from 1492 to 1504 ; he was appointed a member of the Great Council, Mechlin in 1504, and died there on April 20, 1532.

²) *Ino.*, 8, v to 11, r.

let on the condition that the president should have the right to enter and go out through the premises ¹⁾).

As the estate of the College had been made up of various small holdings, it was quite natural that some contest or difficulty should occasionally arise with one or other of the numerous neighbours. One of them, Peter van den Putte, innkeeper of 'de Hant', on Fish Market, on the right side of the egress of the College, had had already some contention with Walter de Beka on account of the boundary of their respective gardens; the decision of the Louvain 'paelmeester', or surveyor, Lambert Jordens, of July 4, 1516, had not been quite apodictical, as John Stercke had had to apply again to the same surveyor on April 13 and on June 8, 1523, so as to settle the question of the exact limits, and of the draining or flow of the water of the place where the fives-court of the College had been laid out ²⁾). When, in 1530, the same Peter van den Putte started a building ³⁾ near that very place, joining the way out of the College to the Augustines Street, the question was raised once more, and Lambert Jordens, then town secretary ⁴⁾, was requested to settle the difference, which he did with the help of the town surveyor on May 17 and 27, 1530 ⁵⁾).

A few years later was solved a difficulty with the heirs of 'mgr Francis van der Hulst' ⁶⁾), namely his daughter

¹⁾ In 1530, the lessee John van Bollenberghe was refused a continuance of the lease on account of his having prevented Wary to pass through the premises. The house was then taken by Paul de Veris, one of the messengers of the University : *ManHoev.*, 20, r.

²⁾ 'Ter causen vander... erfuen van den caetspele' : *Inv.*, 6, r, v ; cp. II, 46 (ground-plan), 54, 231, sq, 238.

³⁾ The records call it the 'tymmeringe vanden creytenborch peeters vanden putte' : *AccHoevI*, 50, v. ⁴⁾ *Mol.*, 725.

⁵⁾ *AccHoevI*, 50, v ; *ManHoev.*, 12, r. The question was moved a last time under van der Borch's regency, when it was finally settled by a judgment of the Louvain aldermen on November 4, 1541 : *Inv.*, 6, v.

⁶⁾ He is, no doubt, the Brabant Councillor who had been appointed as extraordinary member on December 5, 1505; as ordinary, on May 1, 1508; he was nominated inquisitor by Charles V on April 23, 1522, and by Adrian VI in 1523; he was dismissed, in 1524, by Margaret of Austria for a breach of formality in the action against Cornelius Hoen (cp. I, 463); he died on December 6, 1530 : *BrabCon.*, III, 350; cp. *ErasLaur.*, I, 357, 404.

Catherine and her husband John Charloys, on the one hand, and the College with its left-hand neighbour of the Fishmarket, John van Bullestraeten, landlord of 'de Rose', on the other. The matter had already been submitted to Giles de Busleyden on February 16, 1530 ¹⁾; it was brought before the Brabant Council, where on September 7, 1534, a verdict in favour of the College and the neighbour was given, and the adverse party was condemned to pay the expenses ²⁾).

The few accounts which have been preserved from the time of van der Hoeven's regency, show that he greatly helped to make the College and its patrimony thrive by his prudence and experience. One of them is a *manual*, or daybook, in which he entered himself all the expenses and receipts from December 1, 1529 to May 31, 1534; the document, however, is now short of several leaves ³⁾. There are, moreover, two accounts which he rendered to the trustees, one from December 1, 1529 to the same date of 1530; it was checked from May 22 to 24, 1531, by 'Adrianus Joseph' and Bartholomew van Vessem, in the presence of John Stercke ⁴⁾, 'the patron and favourer of the College', as the account has it ⁵⁾. The other is the fifth, rendered by van der Hoeven: it goes from December 1, 1533 to December 1, 1534, and was approved on September 14, 1535, by 'Adrianus Joseph' and van Vessem,

¹⁾ James, the servant of the College, was sent that day with a letter to Busleyden: *AccHoevI*, 50, v; *ManHoev.*, 11, v.

²⁾ *AccHoevII*, 2, r, 40, v; the amount paid by John Charloys to the College came to 42 Rh. fl. and 7 stivers.

³⁾ *ManHoev.*, 1 to 20; no doubt the end of the gathering of quires has disappeared: there are moreover 2 leaves missing, 8 and 17. From 1532 the entries become incomplete and fragmentary.

⁴⁾ *AccHoevI*, 1-71, r; a duplicate of that account exists in FUL, 1451: both those accounts are in the hand that wrote the *Manuale*, no doubt, van der Hoeven's, as the heading of the latter document attests: *Memoria... administrationis mej Judoci vander Hoeuen*. Between the two accounts there are hardly any discrepancies, except that in *AccHoevI*, 6, r, sq, the expenses for the kitchen are given more in detail. It was the custom that, at the checking, each of the trustees present had a copy to himself, so as to follow easily: it explains the duplicate.

⁵⁾ *AccHoevI*, 1, r: the note added by the trustees on the title-page mentions: 'meester Jan van Meerbeeck Licenciaat Theologie patron ende fauteur der Collegie'.

with, as witness, Conrad Goclenius, since 'the great friend of the College', John Stercke, had died ¹⁾).

The chief agent at those checkings of the accounts was always Bartholomew van Vesseem; he continued, too, to be the real father of the College, and the audits were occasions on which friends, like John Stercke, or the notary John van Hove, or 'M. Becanus, cancellarius præsidentis', as they described the Brabant councillor Arnold van der Beken ²⁾, were invited to a glass of wine in the *Trilingue* ³⁾. He was always ready with his experience or his service: he collected outstanding debts which were hard to recover ⁴⁾; he found the most profitable investments for money liberated by the refunding of loans ⁵⁾. In his foresight of possible trouble, he wanted to avert all danger of difficulties and contestations from his College, which might arise from the fact that he had always acted for the *Trilingue* in his own name. He therefore requested John van Hove, the notary, on November 27, 1529, to make up an inventory of all the belongings and of the whole property of the College, and to draw up a solemn deed by which he, van Vesseem, declared that all the houses and all the ground he had bought in Louvain or for the estate of Ormendael, were all purchased for the sole benefit of the *Trilingue* ⁶⁾; as some of them had been acquired in his own name, he resigned, by deed of March 31, 1530, all his rights and those of his heirs, to the president and his successors, constituting them the sole legal proprietors in the name of the College ⁷⁾. No doubt van Vesseem had been impressed by the untimely decease of Wary, and dreaded to be overtaken by fate before his trust would be in unobjectionable order.

¹⁾ *AccHoevII*, 1-44, r; cp. before, p 374, n s.

²⁾ *ManHoev.*, 15, r, and before, II, 74-75.

³⁾ *AccHoevI*, 50, v, 51; *ManHoev.*, 6, r, 11, v, 14, v, 15, r; *AccHoevII*, 2, r, 42, r: on this last occasion, from May 2 to 5, 1534, some wine was, one day, taken to, and drunk in, the market place, where justice was done: 'daer men Justicie dede', probably punishing some culprit.

⁴⁾ *ManHoev.*, 1, r.

⁵⁾ *AccHoevII*, 42, r.

⁶⁾ The solemn deed was drawn up on March 31, 1530; a procuration to the same effect had already been given to the president on November 30, 1529: *Inv.*, 24, v.

⁷⁾ *AccHoevI*, 50, v; *Inv.*, 24, r, v, where a summary of the deed is given under date of March 31, 1530.

C. VAN DER HOEVEN'S DECEASE

The brilliant prosperity of the College must have been a cause of pride and hearty joy to the second founder and, certainly, the protector and the 'servator' of the College, the great Erasmus, even if, like a loving father he reprimanded his dear son Recsius until the last lines of his ultimate letter. For he, too, went home, on July 11/12, 1536. The loss suffered by the *Trilingue* in its great animator was too deeply felt to let it pass without an attempt, at least, at making it continue in some monument : even the very students wished to express their sadness in a series of epitaphs : they took some time in preparing, and thus they were only ready during the regency of van der Hoeven's successor ¹⁾).

Indeed, exactly two months after Erasmus, on September 10, 1536, he entered eternity ²⁾). No doubt, he had felt his end nearing, for on August 12, 1536, he had made his will in the presence of his professors Goclenius and Rescius, as well as of Francis Ruts, of Helmond, and of John Egnoy, probably students ³⁾). He took as basis his will of 1511 ⁴⁾), but introduced several changes. He added bequests to his dear friends : to Bartholomew van Vessem, a carpet in which were represented *hasti ludarii* ; also the *Supplementum Supplementi Croniconum Fratris Jacobi Bergomensis religiosi ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum St. Augustini* ⁵⁾ : item *Cronicon Brabantie*, in

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVIII.

²⁾ Mol., 723.

³⁾ FUL, 1440, 1663.

⁴⁾ Will of August 14, 1511 : FUL, 1663.

⁵⁾ That book was written apparently by Giacomo-Filippo Foresti, generally called James Philip of Bergamo, an Italian chronicler and biographer ; he was born, in 1434, at Soldio, near Bergamo, and became Austin friar ; he was successively prior at Imola, at Forli and at Bergamo, where he died in 1520. Besides a *Confessionale* or *Herithoma* : Venice, 1487, which was often reprinted in the first quarter of the xvith century (NijKron., I, 1182-84, II, 3245), and a gallery *De Claris Mulieribus* : Ferrara, 1497 (Polain, II, 1497), he wrote a *Supplementum Chronicarum*, from the beginning of the world to his own time : in the various editions, from that of August 23, 1483, at Venice, additions gave some of the most recent events, until that of 1503 : Polain, II, 1492-96 ; apparently it was that *Supplementum Supplementi* that was offered. It was made up to date, and printed a last time for the edition in folio of Paris, 1535.

Theutonico pressam ¹⁾; nec non dialogum gallica lingua scriptum, habitum et Calisiæ, in Anglia, disceptatum jnter oratores Pontificis Romanorum, Imperatoris, Gallorum et Anglie regum, in papiro ²⁾. To Goclenius : tapetum quod mihi legauit magister noster bone memorie Martinus Dorpius ³⁾, undique paunno lineo foderatum ; to Andrew van Gennep ⁴⁾ : chiatum argenteum oblongum in qua califaciebam medicamenta ; to Rescius, leonem aureum, seu illius valorem, et uxori eius unum florenum caroli. He wanted some money to be distributed to the servants of the *Trilingue*, to which he left all his plate and some of his belongings ; as heir he instituted the College of the Holy Ghost, to which was destined the residue ⁵⁾ of his succession after the death of his son Antony ⁶⁾. The boy was not of age when his father died ; he had as tutors the executors of Judocus's will, his medical doctor, professor John de Winckele ⁷⁾, and his friend and

¹⁾ That *Cronicon Brabantie*, was, apparently, a copy of the *Cronike van Brabant, Hollant, Seelant, Vlaenderen*, published at Antwerp by John van Doesborch, in October 1512, and reprinted by him in 1518 and 1530 : *NijKron.*, I, 652-54.

²⁾ Possibly a report of the meeting at Calais in the summer of 1521 : *CMH*, II, 418, sq ; *Cran.*, 11.

³⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 24, a, b, 152, a, b ; *MonHL*, 75-93, 116-20, 354-408 ; and before, I, 93, 187, sq, 215, sq, 264, 444, sq, II, 258, 263, 502-5.

⁴⁾ Viz., the professor of Hebrew of the *Trilingue* : cp. before, pp 208-19.

⁵⁾ It constituted an annual revenue of one hundred florins ; Josse van der Hoeven had stipulated that, at his death, 5 florins were to be given to the bursars of the College of the Holy Ghost for a pittance, and 3 florins to those of Standonck House for a '*refectio*' : *Mol.*, 624, 723.

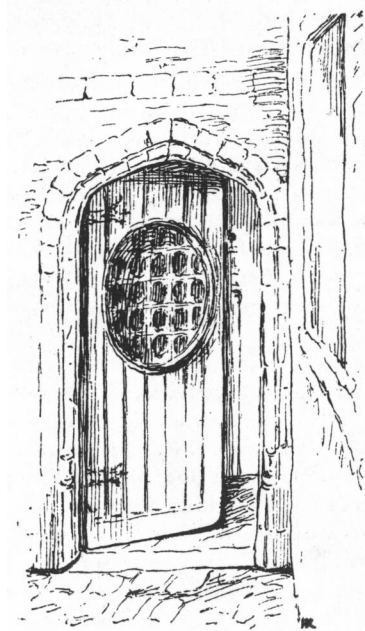
⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 10.

⁷⁾ John de Winckele, doctor and professor of Medicine, was the son of a friend of Erasmus (cp. I, 442, sq) ; he had often received him as guest, but at the founding of the *Trilingue*, he became an enemy, as even results from the Statutes of the College he founded with his father's fortune ; he had married Margaret Bogaert, daughter of James, medical professor. Erasmus was most familiar with the father, so that, through him, he made the acquaintance of Gerard de Gronsselt, Mechlin councillor, whose guest he often was at Mechlin (letter of March 1, 1523, to Josse Vroeve : *Allen*, v, 1347, 130-38). Gerard was the son of the Louvain professor John de Gronsselt († 1473) ; he died on February 7, 1514, and his wife, Wendelmonda de Zyl, on June 16, 1517, leaving a son John, who was also councillor at Mechlin : *MalInscr.*, 267 ; *VAnd.*, 170, 229 ; and before, I, 441-43, 569, sq, 585, sq ; cp. *Cran.*, 85, a, b.

neighbour James Daems ¹⁾; on May 13, 1549, he was allowed to exchange against a life-rent the use of the fortune which his father had left ²⁾).

¹⁾ James Daems was a neighbour living in the house adjoining that of the *Trilingue* in Shrine Street, which had belonged to John Custos, priest (cp. I, 362), who transferred to him at least part of it in 1530; John, Peter and Denys de Vaddere sold the remainder of the property on February 4 and May 12, 1534, to Daems (*Inv.*, 10, r, v), who borrowed the money from the College on September 30, 1536, against a yearly rent of 8 Rh. fl. At the death of Daems, the rent was not paid, which caused a lawsuit concluded on July 29, 1540, when the *Trilingue* bought the house : *Inv.*, 11, r ; *ManBorchI*, 47, v, 50, r.

²⁾ FUL, 1440, 1663; Mol., 624; VAnd., 277, 291; *ULDoc.*, III, 36, IV, 497 (it is a pity that Wary's successor as President of the *Trilingue* did not see Reusens' correction of his name, *van den Hove*; in his accounts and his Manuel he mis-spells it as *Joes vander Hoeuē* : *AccHoevII*, 2, r).



E trance
to the
Wendelsteen

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
<i>Trilingue</i> : architectural detail	<i>pp 103</i>
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	178
Entrance to the <i>Wendelsteen</i> (cp. II, pp 48, 52)	382
Doorway leading to Lecture Room.	457
Corridor leading to the <i>Wendelsteen</i>	529
Goclenius' receipt of an Annuity, June 26, 1538	584
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	594

CORRIGENDA

On p 61, n 2, l 3,	<i>please read</i>	Peter	<i>instead of</i>	Cornelius
»		1530 to 1539		1527 to 1532
» 240, l 1		Spinelly		Spinelli
» 280, n 3, l 4,		Brimeu de Meghen		Brimere de Meghem
» 327, l 2		strengthened		strenghtened
» 457, l 12		March 28		March 27
» 605, n 21-22		Agricolæ		Agricola

CHAPTER XVIII

PRESIDENCY OF CONRAD GOCLENIUS

I. MANAGEMENT & BOARDERS

1. GOCLENIUS' APPOINTMENT

A. THE NEW VICE-PRESIDENT

It was not an easy matter to provide a successor to van der Hoeven since, apparently, van Vesseem and his friend Adrian Joseph were both suffering from some illness, or, at least, prevented to come to Louvain and see to the question with due care and consideration. The only solution that seemed satisfactory, was to request Goclenius, the eldest of the professors, and, in fact, the only one residing in the College, to take up the management until a fit successor should be found. In his spirit of self-sacrifice, he accepted the burden from the day of the President's decease; he agreed to the title of Vice-President, but secured the help of the notary Matthew Cogge ¹⁾, who was to act as 'procurator' and accountant of

¹⁾ Mat. Cogge[n], also called of Breda, probably his native town, was a notary authorized by the University; his name occurs in many deeds of the time. On November 4, 1535, he was appointed one of the two Academic promoters, and he remained in that office until July 18, 1542, when he succeeded to John vander Meeren as notary of the Court of the Conservator of the Privileges; he died in the summer of 1558, since John de Wamel was appointed to take his place on September 24, 1558 : *VAnd.*, 54, 74; *LibAct* VI, 229, r; *Inv.*, 11^{bis}, r; *ULDoc*, I, 351, 557, 558; *Cran.*, 111, 47. He acted as promoter to safe-guard Goclenius' succession : *MotJuris*, 11, 39. Cogge owned a house in Augustines Street, next to the egress of the College; he transferred it against a rent to Peter van Hofstadt in 1551, who, in his turn, passed it, in the same year, to William Cogge, 'georiszone gedefroit van lyere'; on June 23, 1552, it was sold to the *Trilingue*, and the 12 Rh. fl. of rent mortgaged

the *Trilingue*, and to take care of the household under his supervision.

B. ERASMUS' TRUSTEE

At the very time that Goclenius had accepted the responsibility, if not the name, of the presidency of the *Trilingue*, he was fully occupied carrying out his duty resulting from being, in this country, the executor of the last dispositions of his dear Friend and in a way the Founder of the *Trilingue*, Erasmus. Since several years, the Great Erudite had looked out for the time that he would be able to return to Brabant : in fact, even from the first months of his last and long stay on the banks of the high Rhine, he had planned to come back to Louvain ¹), where he had wished to spend his last years. Unfortunately the gigantic editions of the Fathers kept him in the near vicinity of the presses of the Frobens for endless years, notwithstanding danger and disagreeable experience ; and when, finally, his *Ecclesiastes, sive de Ratione Concionandi*, was ready in the latter part of the summer of 1535 ²), and he wanted to start the long projected journey 'home', he was overwhelmed by illness in the house of his friend Jerome Froben, from which he was carried to his grave.

One of the last sentences in his last letter, that of June 28, 1536, to his great friend of Louvain : 'Vtinam Brabantia esset vicinior' ³), sounds as the outcry of his lifelong hunger. Far from being chased from Louvain by the violence of the attacks of his contradictors, he reminded Goclenius, on June

on it, were paid off to Matthew Cogge on May 28, 1555 : *Inv.*, 11^{bis}, r, v. On November 5/7, 1541, Nicolas van der Borch bought from him a rent of 17 Rh. fl. on the houses in the 'Langen Bruel', near the Grey Sisters, belonging to the heirs of John Scarley, of Hertogenbosch : *Inv.*, 25, r ; *ManBorchI*, 3, r. Cp. *sup.*, p 127.

¹) Already on February 6, 1522, Erasmus wrote to Goclenius : Spero me isthic adfuturum in quadragesima, nisi hi tumultus obstabunt qui videntur imminere : Allen, v, 1257, 10-11. His intention is expressed in several letters : Allen, iv, 1233, 188, 1239, 19, &c.

²) Jer. Froben & Nic. Episcopus, Basle, August 1535 : *EraBib.*, 1, 78 : the dedication is dated Basle, August 6, 1535.

³) Allen, xi, 3130, 28-29.

8, 1521, in the midst of the gathering storm, of providing for him a comfortable house with a garden, in which Dorp was to help him; 'for although I am going to Germany this autumn', he wrote, 'ob nomen tamen cuperem istic habere nidum paratum' ¹). Yet it was not necessary for him to purchase a house just to avoid the appearance of having to retreat, for his intention of returning to, and of settling in, Louvain was abundantly proved — although not to the public at large, — by the fact he left his books there, and that, with his furniture and silver ornaments, they still occupied the room in the Lily that was reserved for him ²).

The most conclusive argument for his intended return, is the amount of money which he kept ready in Louvain to be used on settling there again. Leaving for Basle, he entrusted to his *sincerum amicum* ³), Goclenius, four hundred and fifty gold florins, besides six ducats and one hundred and thirty *philippæi* ⁴). He had already given into John de Neve's custody another amount of money, and, in the summer of 1522, he thought that it would be wiser to join that first amount to the second, in Goclenius' keeping. He therefore instructed Hilary Bertulph to ask that sum back: still as the latter had been ordered to receive *so many* rosenobles of Edward IV, and *so many* French 'lions d'or', actually constituting the first deposit, which, since long, had been exchanged and used, he was afraid to accept the value offered by de Neve. For if, at the time when they were entrusted to his host, the Regent of the Lily, they were worth three hundred and forty-six Brabant florins and a half, they were then only equivalent to three hundred and thirty Rh. fl. and 12 stivers; since de Neve insisted on not having to suffer an evident loss on either side, he requested a delay, and at a next visit he would have ready the coins specified in his

¹) Allen, iv, 1209, 14.

²) Allen, v, 1322, 12, 1351, *passim*, imply that his friends expected his return to Louvain.

³) To Olah, Erasmus wrote on Febr. 27, 1532: Nec istic ullum habeo vere sincerum amicum præter unum Conradum Goclenium: OlæE, 201.

⁴) He ordered Goclenius to pay 25 fl. to James Ceratinus for his Greek Lexicon in 1523: Allen, v, 1437, 155, 1460; he referred to that money in his letter of April 2, 1524: Allen, v, 1437, 122, 89.

bond. Hilary had already agreed to that proposal, when the world-wise Goclenius advised to try and get the amount due at the present value, making out a list of the actual coins received, which, if Erasmus preferred to wait for the precise equivalent of the original deposit, could be handed back on a next journey of the amanuensis. John de Neve agreed to it, and his secretary wrote out a list of the coins, which Hilary signed : with the money, it was given to be kept by Goclenius, who made a copy of it, which Hilary took to Erasmus ; in due time a receipt was signed for the total amount of the two deposits ¹⁾. The Regent of the Lily would have preferred to have had the money at his disposal for some time more ; fortunately enough it was placed in safe hands : a few months later, de Neve died, leaving his affairs in a most desperate state : it took some trouble and the urging statement of friends and acquaintances to save from the greedy heirs the plate and the furniture of Erasmus ²⁾, who, most likely, would not have recovered one farthing of the money he had entrusted to his friend, if Goclenius had not had the happy inspiration to make sure and accept what was offered ³⁾.

In later years a third sum, consisting of 909 *philippæi* and one stiver, had been sent to Goclenius by Quirinus Talesius ; the receipt for that deposit was duly handed to Erasmus. In the summer of 1530, wanting to refresh the many bonds, he had them transcribed by an amanuensis, and submitted for signature to Goclenius. The latter saw with astonishment that the list of coins accepted from de Neve as a diminished equivalent of the original deposit, had been considered as a new amount due, although it had been merely drawn up for the case that Erasmus would have preferred waiting to have the money paid back in the coins in which it had been originally given ; whereas that amount was comprised in the bond extending over the two first deposits. He therefore explained the way in which things had happened in his letter

¹⁾ Letter of July 14, 1530, of Goclenius to Erasmus : Allen, viii, 2352, 23, sq, 82, sq.

²⁾ Allen, v, 1355, 49-28 ; the books were claimed at once by Josse Vroeye for Erasmus ; the plate and jewels were handed to Goclenius, who sent them to Basle by Nicolas Canne : Allen, viii, 2352, 106, 228, sq.

³⁾ Allen, viii, 2352, 82-139.

of July 14, 1530, and, no doubt, Erasmus acquiesced to what his faithful friend related ¹). On August 28, 1533, he even wrote a short letter from Freiburg to Goclenius, attesting that in consideration of the help he had constantly received, and of the steady work accomplished towards the advancement of studies in public, Erasmus wanted to give an *amicitiæ syncerissime monumentum*, and therefore transferred to Goclenius the whole of the money deposited with him : ' volo ', he declared, ' pleno iure tuam esse, vt de ea statuas quicquid volueris, seu viuo me seu mortuo... Ne quis autem super hac re possit tibi negotium facessere, volo hanc epistolam manu mea descriptam chirographi esse loco, cui & annuli signum peculiare appressi ' ²). That deed did not actually transfer the money to Goclenius, for the latter in return constituted a counter-deed : namely in a letter of September 17, 1533, he declared that, having received three deposits from Erasmus, he offers him in donation a sum equal to that which he received, and that he adds a bequest of twenty ducats of his own money, stating that he wants that deed to be considered as his supreme will ³). The purport of those two apparently contradictory deeds was to secure Erasmus' right to the money against all those who might, by circumstances, have to act in the case of the decease of either of the two friends who knew each other's mind and intentions, or even in the supposition that a wrong person should happen to get hold of the hoard. Since Goclenius came as a poor young man to the College, and his colleagues were aware what sums he had earned, he might be suspected of having appropriated those amounts unduly, and be authoritatively deprived of them ; even a discharged amanuensis of Erasmus might claim at least part of them through some stratagem ; and at the Great Man's decease, his relatives might follow the example of their forbears, the Peter Winckels, and require the money,

¹) Allen, VIII, 2352, 23-269.

²) Allen, x, 2863, 1-10. A copy of that deed, authenticated by the notary Joh. Duyfkens, reposes amongst Erasmus' documents in *BbBasle*, MS. C. VIa. 71 : 109, r, v.

³) A copy of that deed, also authenticated by the notary Joh. Duyfkens, is amongst the papers quoted : *BbBasle*, MS. C. VIa. 71 : 110, v ; cp. Allen, x, p 409-10.

unless Goclenius, by an unobjectionable deed, could prove that the hoard belonged to him '*pleno iure*'. On the other hand, if Erasmus should outlive his friend, there was no danger that he should be dispossessed of his own property by the heirs or successors of Goclenius, since he could prove at any time before any judge that, if the store of money was '*pleno iure*' the professor's, the latter stood in his debt for exactly the same sum.

C. ERASMUS' WILLS

When the Great Humanist made his first will on January 22, 1527, he bequeathed to Goclenius '*nomismata aurea et argentea omnia et sex cyathos argenteos quos nunc habet*' ¹⁾, and wished him to participate in the complete edition of his writings ²⁾ : he stipulated that if Goclenius should deign to come and take the lead of that work in Basle, he should be paid, in addition to whatever the printer would give, one hundred crowns each of the four years allowed to the issue, — whereas the others were only to have sixty or forty ³⁾. In his second will, of February 12, 1536, he stipulated that his executor was to leave Goclenius entirely free about the money entrusted to him : '*Pecuniam apud Conradum Goclenium depositam illi in Brabantia dispensandam relinquet, quemadmodum ei mandaui*'; and to himself he bequeathed a '*pocu-*

¹⁾ Allen, *App.* xxix, 33-34, vi, p 504. — They had been left in 1521 in the Lily, and had been secured from the heirs of de Neve in 1522; afterwards they were returned to Erasmus, for Goclenius wished for a receipt about them on July 14, 1530, as well as about the '*tres anulos aureos, item aliquot fibulas cum capsula serico tecta*', which Nicolas Cannius had requested on his master's command : Allen, v, 1355, 22-23, viii, 2352, 106, 228-31.

²⁾ To that edition he wished to have the help of some of his friends, who, if they should decline, would have to be replaced by the heir Boniface Amerbach : Allen, vi, p 504, 60-63; they were Henry Glareanus (cp. II, 499), Goclenius, Beatus Rhenanus (cp. I; 391-92), Basil and Boniface Amerbach, and Sigismund (Simon) Gelenius, Gelensky (c 1498-1554), who worked for Froben besides studying : Allen, vi, 1702, 8; *Sax-Onom.*, 9, 164-65; *CrenFasc.*, iv, 491-503, 591, 684; &c.

³⁾ Allen, vi, pp 504, 33-34, 60-68.

lum argenteum quod in summo habet imaginem fortunæ' ¹⁾). Those dispositions confirmed two deeds of April 8, 1534 ²⁾, by which Erasmus, after having been cruelly visited by illness, entrusted to Boniface Amerbach ³⁾ and to Goclenius considerable amounts of money to be used for certain purposes, which he had indicated to them; those acts were written out and sealed by himself, and he wanted to invest them with the value of a testament. In the deed about the sum entrusted to the Louvain professor, Erasmus declares that, unless he decides otherwise before his death, Goclenius is to take four hundred coins for himself, and use the rest 'in pios usus': if not, the money goes to the heir or heirs, or to the executor whom he, Erasmus, will himself appoint ⁴⁾. He wanted even his friend to employ part or the whole of the hoard entrusted to his care in case of need: when Goclenius was entangled in the lawsuit about the Antwerp canonry, Erasmus wrote to him: Si quæ te urget necessitas, scito meam pecuniam esse tuam ⁵⁾.

That was one of the last sentences Erasmus penned, and like all his letters to his φιλική καὶ ἀγαθή Goclenius, they show how intimate was the mutual affection that united the two men. The old Humanist related to his Louvain *alter ego* all the annoyance caused to him by the criticisms of Julius Cæsar Scaliger and Dolet, of Merula and Cursius, in all of which he

¹⁾ Allen, XI, pp 364-65, 35, sq, 43, sq; EOO, I, ****2, v; Hoynck, II, i, 223-25: Viglius communicated to John Choler and to Matthias Held, Imperial Vice-Chancellor (cp. II, 591), the decease of Erasmus and the dispositions of his will, on October 18 and 31, 1536; to John Choler he mentions that Goclenius was enjoined to distribute 'mille aureos'.

²⁾ P. S. Allen, *Erasmus's Money and Rings in 1534*, in *Bodleian Quart. Rec.*, II: Oxford, July 1918: 142.

³⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VIa. 71: 97, r, 98, r: Erasmus bequeathed to Amerbach 1600 gold florins, one third for personal use, the rest *in pios usus*: 'in alendos adolescentes bonæ spei, et in elocandas virgines, quarum pudicitia videretur affectura paupertas, aut in alios pios usus'.

⁴⁾ GoclE, 34, v: Erasmus counts 450 gold florins, 6 simple ducats, 130 *philippeos*, 346 $\frac{1}{2}$ Brabant florins, less 4 *coronati* paid by his order to Martin Lips; besides 42 *coronatos solatos*, 909 gold *philippeos* and one stiver: the document is a copy, authenticated by Giles Martin, notary accepted by the University. Cp. for Lips' philippeï, Allen, VI, 1547, 30.

⁵⁾ Basle, June 28, 1536: Allen, XI, 3130, 14-15.

obstinately would see the hand of the man whom he considered as his 'evil spirit', Aleander ¹⁾; he informed him of Paul III's offer of the dignity of Cardinal ²⁾; but he also gave him the benefit of his rich experience, suggesting advice which only a loving father imparts to a most dutiful and responsive son ³⁾. That close friendship had since long become a byword, and most of the friends and admirers corresponded with Erasmus through his *alter ego* of the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾, who, on his side, took care that the acquaintances were not remiss in writing; he looked carefully after his friend's reputation as well as after his interests; he consequently was regularly consulted whenever the saddening report of his death swept over Western Europe, or every time that the long promised return to Brabant was once more rumoured amongst the large number of his eager admirers and favourers.

2. ERASMUS' DEATH

A. GOCLENIUS, HEIR AND EXECUTOR

The last letter, by which Erasmus states how he has helped Goclenius in his lawsuit, and offers to him the free use of his money in case of need ⁵⁾, was probably brought to Brabant along with the sad news of his decease by his last amanuensis Lambert Coomans ⁶⁾. He probably had also the mission to advise the Antwerp friends, and especially the banker Erasmus Schets, and to return to Basle with an answer; for the executors of the will — Boniface Amerbach with Jerome Froben and Nicolas Episcopius, — had taken in hand the management of the rather valuable estate. Through the two booksellers, the seventh amongst the bequests, the high silver cup with Fortuna, 'ein hoher stouff mit Fortuna' ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ Allen, ix, 2564, 2, x, 2644, 9, sq, 2845, 3, sq, xi, 3019, 43, sq, 3052, 26, sq, 3085, 10, sq, 3104, 56, sq, 3130, 16, sq.

²⁾ Allen, xi, 3052, 31-35.

³⁾ Cp. Allen, x, 2644, 1, sq, xi, 3052, 1, sq, 3130, 1, sq, 5, sq, 20, sq.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 95, e; Allen, v, 1303, 35, sq, vi, 1778, 6, sq.

⁵⁾ Allen, xi, 3130, 5-15.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, pp 394-400.

⁷⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VIa. 71 : 47.

was sent to Louvain for Goclenius, who, in the beginning of September, wrote the receipt ¹⁾ :

Ego Conradus Goclenius hoc chirographo testor me accepisse ab honestissimis viris DD. Hieronymo Frobenio et Nicolao Episcopio executoribus testamentj q[uondam] dominj Erasmi Roterodamj poculum argenteum, quod in summo imaginem habet fortunæ mihj ab eodem Erasmo ex beneuolentia legatum, et nunc per eosdem executores meo iussu e Francofordia ad me transmissum. Actum principio Septembris Anno Dnj. Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo sexto.

Ita scripsi et subscripsi meapte manu
Conradus Goclenius.

Amerbach had entrusted Coomans, on his journey to Brabant in July, with the request to Goclenius to contribute with part of Erasmus' money under his care, towards the founding of some scholarships and institutions in Basle, as, according to the bonds, the deposits amounted to nineteen hundred and sixty florins. On August 19, 1536, Goclenius answered to that request ²⁾ :

Ceterum quod adiungis non ingratum fore, si institutum vestrum aliqua summa penes me deposita adiuuare non grauarer, haud scio an id satis salua fide efficere possim, propterea quod ipse testator sua legata certo adstrinxit loco ex verbis testamenti, cum velit me illa in Brabantia dispensare, et ante conditum testamentum iam aliquot annis mihi etiam ex mandato, cuius in vltima quoque voluntate meminit, quid in quos conferre debeam, plane preiuerit : — alioqui non grauatim hoc onus cederem melioribus et maiori præditi prudentia : si mihi aliud licere putas, non diffugiam grauissimi viri auctoritatem.

The executors approved of his opinion that it would not be right to drain the money which Erasmus had specially wanted to be used in Brabant : so on September 1, 1536, Amerbach replied ³⁾ :

¹⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VIa. 71 : 74.

²⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VIa. 71 : 116, *r*, viz., a quotation from Goclenius' letter, written in Bon. Amerbach's crabbed, and almost undecipherable writing. Allen, x, pp 410-12, prints the text from Goclenius letter : ll 53-62.

³⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VIa. 71 : 117, *r* : in Amerbach's hard to be deciphered writing.

Quod autem τοῦ σπουδαιοτροφείου ἕνεκα pecuniæ a te distribuendæ portionem nobis communicari petieram, spuriam huiusmodi cogitationem boni consules. Re diligentius perpensa sic existimo in vltimis voluntatibus, nisi alia testatoris mens appareat a scripto, non temere recedendum esse. Eam ob causam quo liberius instituto tuo ex præscripto satisfacere possis, chirographa siue confessiones vt appellant, tuas quotquot inuenimus in fasciculum collectas Frobenij ductu mitto ¹⁾.

¹ pecuniæ] before it quottam is crossed off
is crossed off

⁸ inuenimus] after it simul

Consequently the act of execution of the will mentions that the executors had decided abstaining from all interference with the gestion of the Louvain professor, to whom they merely communicated the wish to fulfil Erasmus' orders ²⁾. That did not remain a secret, and on October 18, 1536, Viglius announced to John Choler that Goclenius had to distribute one thousand gold coins of their great Friend's fortune ³⁾. The legacy with which he was entrusted, comprised an amount which was destined to himself, and probably to some other particular friends, such as, maybe, Cornelius Grapheus, who had been mentioned for some gift of money about the time of the first will ⁴⁾. The part destined to provide subsidies to poor students, was so very important that, after attending most generously the cases which had come to Goclenius'

¹⁾ Allen, x, pp 423, sq : A 13 : 12-19.

²⁾ 'Zum Elften, die Summa so hinder Conrado Goclenio ligt / diewil die Im / vnd nit vns ze verwalten stot, wellen wir Im noch sinem beuelen / vszetheilen beuolhen haben' : account of the execution of Erasmus' will : *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 47, v. The same account mentions on f 62, v-63, r : Jtem ettlich handtgschriften hñn Conradi Goclenij zu lofen / wisent vff die nunzehn hundert vnd sechszig guldin die vnguorlich überschlagen dwil sij zeuerwalten nit herren Bonifacio dem erben noch sinen Executoribus beuelhen / sonder dem herren Conrado Goclenio vszerichten gwalt geben / So beuelhente dieselben herren / Erb vnd Executores Im / dem beuelh nochzekummen.

³⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 223. Viglius adds that there would be left in Basle, when all is paid, what would secure a yearly rent of three hundred gold pieces.

⁴⁾ In his letter of April 2, 1524, Erasmus asked to pay Grapheus some money from what he then had at Antwerp : Allen, v, 1437, 156 ; Ullmann, I, 390, sq.

knowledge, there was still a very large quantity found in his possession at his untimely death ¹⁾). For certain as priest he had been entrusted with the exoneration of Masses and prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased Erudite ²⁾), and it was, no doubt, on that account that Erasmus had insisted on the full liberty which should be granted to Goclenius for the use of the money in his hands; indeed, it was hardly possible to expect any help for the safety of his soul in the Protestant town, where, against his will, his last days were spent. It entitled Ruard Tapper to claim in 1539 the payment of a legacy of two hundred florins, stipulated for memorial masses and the obituary services in the Church of which he was Dean ³⁾). Of the remainder of the money each Faculty received eighty Rhine florins to be distributed to needy students ⁴⁾).

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXI.

²⁾ In his letter of April 2, 1524, Erasmus demanded Goclenius' help for a complete edition of his writings, and declares: *Non onerabo psalteriis et anniversariis*: evidently the stress is on *onerabo*: there is quite a difference between a moderate use and the excess, which was customary in those times, judging by the colloquy *Funus*: Allen, v, 1437, 141.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXI.

⁴⁾ Cp. Ch. XXI; Mol., 605; *EraLouv.*, 98-99; Campbell, 271-79; H. de Vocht, *Le dernier 'Amanuensis' d'Érasme*, in *RHE*, xlv, 174-86; — and for the evidently wrong views, *ErasDrum.*, II, 338, sq; Jourdan, 313; &c. — Baumgartner, 588, relates that Erasmus died piously and repentantly: 'ob mit priesterlichem Beistand und nach formeller Aussöhnung mit der Kirche, ist nicht ausdrücklich berichtet'; he mentions Paul III's offer of the cardinalship, so that he 'in seiner letzten Periode unbedenklich den katholischen Humanisten beizuzählen [ist]' (he wrongly attributes to him the *Nænia in Mortem Thomæ Mori*, 589-90, which is evidently by Janus Secundus: *ActaMori*, 196-201). — Luther, on the contrary, refused to believe that Erasmus, in his agony, had invoked the Son of God, stating 'that he died as he had lived, without God, with a quiet conscience: for ten thousand guilders he would not take, in the other life, the place of [Saint] Jerome, and for far more, not that of Erasmus'. A few days before his own decease, he said to his guests: 'Vos omnes oro, quibus Christi gloria et Evangelii propagatio cordi est, ut sitis inimici Erasmi. Est enim vastator religionis': H. Humbertclaude, *Érasme et Luther*: Paris, 1909: 266, sq; *Cordatus*, 488, sq, 501, 346, 348, sq, 392, 445, 453, sq; Köstlin, II, 320-21.

B. LAMBERT COOMANS

Erasmus' death brought to Louvain his last amanuensis, Lambert Coomans, of Turnhout, who had decided to become a student of the University, and in particular of Goclenius and the *Trilingue*; it seems quite a natural thing after having heard, no doubt, on many an occasion, what his late Master thought of the most brilliant professor of his own great School, and it is even most likely that, in doing so, he fulfilled one of the wishes which the ailing man had been forming for the most devoted youth. He had served faithfully, although for a short period, Cardinal van Enckenvoirt, in Rome, and after his death, July 19, 1534 ¹⁾, he had returned to Brabant, where, on Andrew Balenus' recommendation ²⁾, he had been engaged provisionally by Goclenius to enter Erasmus' *familia* ³⁾. The latter had been looking out for a young man to replace John Clauthus, who, after a short service, had died at Rochester on September 10, 1534 ⁴⁾, so much the more as Gilbert Cousin, of Nozeroy, contemplated accepting a prebend ⁵⁾, so that he soon would be without any help. Instead of writing again to Grapheus, who had dispatched to Basle that Clauthus, known to him only from hearsay, as he owned on September 2, 1535 ⁶⁾, Erasmus had probably applied to

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 141, k-n; *Anima*, 214-16, 264-72, &c.

²⁾ GoclE, 15; Allen, xi, 3037, 14, sq. — Statements about Coomans in E. Rottier, *La Vie et les Travaux d'Érasme dans leurs Rapports avec la Belgique*: Brussels, 1854: 169, are evidently unwarranted.

³⁾ He was sent to Basle with the letter dated August 10, 1535: Allen, xi, 3037, 10-25, 34.

⁴⁾ *LatCont.*, 381; Ent., 140; Allen, xi, 2955, 13, 2981, 8-15, 2997, 5-60.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, x, 2870, 25, sq (to Désiré Morel, October 12, 1533), xi, 3052, 20 (to Goclenius, September 2, 1535), 3076, 15 (Gilbertus me reliquit. Iam Canonicus, cantabit Missam: December 15, 1535), 3095 (February 12, 1536, to Gilbert Cognatus). Cp. Lucien Febvre, *Un Secrétaire d'Érasme, et la Réforme en Franche-Comté*: Extrait du Parlement de Dôle concernant les Hérétiques et Gilbert Cousin, 1536-1570, in *Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Hist. du Protestantisme*, LXI: Paris, 1907, 97-158; *LatCont.*, 379, 381; *MonHL*, 49-51, and references quoted; Allen, ix, 2381, pr.

⁶⁾ Allen, xi, 3053, 5-22: his informant was John Huysman, who, from 'pastor majoris ecclesiæ Antuerpiensis', had become 'Angiensis ecclesiæ præfectus'. Clauthus had applied to Olah for a recommendation: OlaE, 514. Erasmus had particularly requested some one free from

his shrewd and wide-awake Antwerp banker ¹⁾; at any rate in the letter of the same date, September 2, 1535, in which he announces to Goclenius the arrival and the good initial impression of the Coomans he had sent, he also mentions that a candidate from Antwerp had reached Basle: 'Placet Lambertus, quem misisti; iam alterum eram nactus, Antuerpiensem. Tres habebo, donec Gilbertus abeat' ²⁾).

The Antwerp youth, who is not further known, did only stay a few weeks: he evidently is not the *Augustinus* sent, in April 1536, to Besançon, who seems to be quite familiar with Erasmus, the country and the language, and thus would have filled in a large measure the great gap which Cognatus had left on his departure ³⁾. The latter had been for several years a familiar companion, who had made himself indispensable by his acquaintance with the idiom and the people. In vain Erasmus had appealed to his affection to make him stay, and had proposed ample bequests, besides flattering schemes, if the intended removal to Besançon were to be realized; in March 1536, he even offered to take him back in his *familia*, in reply to some regrets and complaints ⁴⁾: for it seems as if he became involved in lawsuits and difficulties ⁵⁾. It all made Coomans the dearer and the more agreeable to his old Master, whom he served with patient affection, even if he ignored French ⁶⁾. On that account, he already inscribed him in his will of the first days of February 1536, provided he remained in his service, for a bequest of two hundred gold florins ⁷⁾. He may not have been as clever as his predecessors: he certainly was as patient, as thoughtful and as true as any

moral and physical diseases: 'addictos sectis non fero': Allen, x, 2916, 8-19; it did not last long before he was disillusioned: Allen, xi, 2981, 8-15, 2997, 5-60.

¹⁾ Cp. Allen, xi, 2981, 2997, — although no proper request is expressed.

²⁾ Allen, xi, 3052, 19-21.

³⁾ Cp. Allen, xi, 3115, 5, sq, 37, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. Erasmus' letter to his old amanuensis, March 11, 1536: Allen, xi, 3104, 25-54, also 3122, 12-17.

⁵⁾ Letter of May 17, 1536, to Francis Bonvalot: Allen, xi, 3122, 6-11.

⁶⁾ Allen, xi, 3122, 14-15.

⁷⁾ Lambertus famulo, si mihi morienti adfuerit, ducentos florenos aureos, nisi ego viuis ei hanc summam numeraro: will of February 12, 1536: Allen, xi, p 364, 19-20.

one ¹⁾ : he stayed by his side when the growing infirmities and their consequent discomforts created a painful solitude about the Father of Humanism, whose house had always been crowded with friends and acquaintances. It was in his arms that the Great Man rendered his last breath with the words which had been constantly on his lips : 'O Mater Dei, memento mei !'

After his master's death, he went to Antwerp and returned to Basle at the executors' request, which took him a full month. He afterwards came to Louvain, and started studying under Goclenius, for he requested Jerome Froben on March 11, 1537, to pay him in books, or to order an Antwerp or a Louvain bookseller to provide him at a reduction with works of Erasmus, Cicero, Pliny, &c ²⁾. He lived in the house of Andreas Balenus, which was most fortunate ; for during the winter of 1536-37, he was very ill, suffering from a malignant *febris quartana*. His legacy had been offered to him in Basle, but he preferred being paid in Brabant on account of the danger of being robbed on the way ; so Schets was requested to give him two hundred gold florins for his bequest and thirty-two for his wages, which were still due ³⁾. That payment did not quite satisfy him, for on March 11, 1537, he wrote to Amerbach that the gold florins had been paid at the value of the Brabant money, 28 stivers, and not, as Erasmus had prescribed, at that of the German florin, 29 stivers ⁴⁾ ; moreover, he requested the stipend for the month's service he had done after his master's death, at the rate of a gold

¹⁾ To Cousin, Erasmus wrote on March 11, 1536 : 'Nullum acciui præter Lambertum, optimis moribus iuuenem, mihique ad obsequia cubicularia commodissimum'. Some of the letters of that period suggest the amanuensis' constant work in making lists of books and furniture ; one, at least, gives a humorous vista of their life about February 1536, when Erasmus thanked Boniface Amerbach, *Pultificum optim(us)*, for a porridge offered, which he did not taste, but which Lambert greatly enjoyed : Allen, XI, 3097, 3104, 27-29.

²⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a, 71 : 87, v.

³⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a, 71 : 47, r.

⁴⁾ He wrote : quoniam aureus germanicus iusti ponderis, apud Brabantos valet viginti nouem stuferos brabanticos, et valuit dum D. Erasmus Roterodamus supradictam summam legabat... : *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a, 71 : 89, r.

florin a week, besides board and lodging, as had been the usual rate. Finally, he wanted a reconsideration of the wages which came to twenty 'blappardi', *blaffards*, or one gold florin for each week he had been Erasmus' convictor : the reckoning was easily made, he said, beginning from September to the last day of the Humanist's life : whether September was to be counted, he wrote, he did not quite know, 'propterea quod hoc mense semel tantum numeravit <Erasmus> viginti plappardos quum tot singulis hebdomadis promiserat' ¹⁾. From that statement it appears that the 32 Rh. fl. were not an adequate payment ²⁾; and the executors, who seem to have been intent on saving as much as possible for the Basle foundation ³⁾, could not but agree to the righteous demand of the poor young man : he claimed eight Rh. fl. for what was still owing, both for the difference in money and the shortage in wages ; probably in view of the most reasonable demand, they granted him ten gold coins, — two above the eight requested in payment for his journey in their service ; they were handed to Rutger Rescius by Nicolas Episcopius at the Frankfurt 'Herbstmesse', on September 15, 1537 ⁴⁾, although a receipt for four Rhine florins due according to him for the month he spent in going to and returning from Antwerp in behalf of the succession, had already been written out ⁵⁾ : a receipt may have been given for the larger sum ⁶⁾,

¹⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 91, r, v.

²⁾ Counting for September 1535, 30—7, viz., 21 days, there were from October 1 to December 31, 1535, 92 days, and from January 1 to July 11, 1536, 193 days, together 306 days, equivalent to 43 weeks and 5 days, compared to which total, 32 Rh. fl., were only the three fourths of what was due, — except, as seems to have been the case, the money differed in value in Coomans' disadvantage.

³⁾ It results from the attempt to make Goclenius contribute to it : cp. *sup.*, p 391.

⁴⁾ The receipt by Rutger Rescius of those 'decem aureos... reddendos Lamberto Comannio' is preserved in *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 90.

⁵⁾ The receipt is worded : Jtem ego Lambertus comannus fateor me accepisse, pro itu, et reditu Basileam, post mortem D: Erasmi Roterdami, in negotijs tamen eiusdem summam quatuor librarum Basiliensium ab ipsis executoribus D. Erasmi Rot: predictis Anno millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo septimo vndecima Martij. Ita testor Lambertus comannus propria manu.

⁶⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 47, r (mentions : 'zwey hundert guldin /

but seems to have gone astray, so that Coomans was requested to write out another, which he did on March 11, 1537, adding quittances for the 8 and 4 *aurei* on the day on which he requested the increase thus already acknowledged in the receipt ¹⁾).

It also seems that, instead of giving Coomans the full sum for his four weeks' wages due for the journey, they only paid half, although in his letter to Jerome Froben of March 11, 1537, he urgently requested the four *libræ* : he owned that it looked as if it was ingratitude to the executors, yet he hoped they would not pay less than would have done his master, who had treated him most generously. He highly praised the 'liberalita(s) optimj et sanctissimi Erasmi, a quo mihi', he wrote, 'hominj sane nihij, tanta bona præter meritum ac spem, tam vberè prouenerunt' ²⁾). The same gratitude to Erasmus and promise to pray for him is expressed more at large in the letter to Amerbach of the same date : he adds that he is pleased to be allowed to study, — and the Latin of his letters, in which several mistakes are corrected at a second reading, shows that he wanted it ; and he is fully aware that he can do so 'solius beneficio optimi nostri Erasmi', as long as the money will last, when he hopes to be able to gain his living by what he has learned ³⁾).

After his studies he managed to secure a competence, probably by tutoring and teaching ; and, as time went on, he was appointed to a canonry in his native town Turnhout ; in 1559, he became Dean of the Chapter of St. Peter's there ⁴⁾, and remained in that office until he died a septuagenarian in 1583.

achtundzwanzig Brabantisch stuber für den guldin /... dennoch drissig zwen guldin', as well as the 'zehn guldin' sent by Nicolas Bischof and Rutger Rescius), 50, r (repeats the amount of money paid to Coomans, deducted from the amount due by Schets).

¹⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 89, r : quittance for 'summam ducentorum et triginta duorum aureorum pro singulis aureis computatis viginti octo stuferis brabantis', paid by Schets in August 1536, to which is added the attestation of having received 8 Rh. fl. due for the difference in the money : March 11, 1537.

²⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 87-88 : he sends his greetings to Froben's wife and children, and requests him to send all letters and messages for him to Goclenius. ³⁾ *RbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 91, r.

⁴⁾ Possibly by means of the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts, and in consideration of the time he served Enckenvoirt and Erasmus.

In the letter to Amerbach he expressed his feelings to his late master : 'gratias ago Deo optimo maximo cuius ductu ad eum virum peruenerim, qui ocium literarum abunde mihi et suppeditauerit et ornauerit' ¹⁾; he will, he assures, never forget the generosity of that 'optimi et sanctissimi viri'; if he could, he would still help him, even with the sacrifice of his life. Still Erasmus does not want his help any longer, 'quando in locum beatorum animam tulerit Deus, ubi optata fruitur requie'. Yet he is bound to regret this man's death; he shall pray for him, and, he adds, 'memoria illius laudibus a me celebretur pro viribus!' ²⁾).

Coomans faithfully kept his promise, and, when in 1639, a successor of his, the Turnhout Dean Charles Gevaert, *Gevartius* ³⁾, wrote a *Decanorum qui Insigni Ecclesiae Colleg. Divi Petri Turnouti prae fuerunt Brevis Catalogus* ⁴⁾, he attested that 'D. Lambertus Coomans, Turnouti natus, vir doctus et excellens', became dean in 1559 ⁵⁾; that 'multis iam annis Erasmo Roterodamo fuerat a litteris et epistolis : cui adeo in amoris fuit ac delicijs ut eidem adhæserit ad extremum vitæ spiritum, quem in Lambertj brachijs moribundus quiescens Erasmus, illis in verbis Basileæ emisit : O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI, ANNO M. D. XXXVI, ut ex Collega nostro D. Carolo Viruli, qui cum Decano Coomans resedit, non simul intellexi alii que mecum' ⁶⁾).

¹⁾ Viz., by his legacy.

²⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VIa. 71 : 91.

³⁾ Dean on Sept. 21, 1632, he resigned, March 24, 1646, and died as dean of Lierre, 1654 : *Turnhout*, 84 ; *TurnJans.*, II, 124, sq ; *TurnOnd.*, 210.

⁴⁾ MS of St. Peter's Church (now in the Turnhout town archives): pp 8-9.

⁵⁾ When Coomans died, he bequeathed to St. Peter's the red silk trappings of the mule on which Adrian VI entered Rome : it had been given to him as a memento of Cardinal van Enckenvoirt ; it was worked up into a *pluviale* and was still in existence in 1789 : *Turnhout* : 82-83.

⁶⁾ That Charles Viruli was the grandson of the Founder of the Lily of the same name, probably the son of Robert († June 18, 1534) and Catherine van Vlaenderen († October 13, 1547 : cp. *sup.*, p 251 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 144, IV, 173). Being born about 1530, he studied philosophy and law, and became Canon at Turnhout about 1570, since at his death, on January 17, 1620, he was nonagenarian, and had celebrated his jubilee as canon : *Gevartii Catalogus*, 59 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 175. He consequently, for certain, had known Coomans from 1570 to 1583 ; also Charles Gevaert, a native of Turnhout, who was elected dean in 1632.

It was the very deed of generosity towards the young man, granting him the means to study and become a priest, which, after three centuries, brought light about Erasmus' pious decease in the Catholic faith ¹⁾; whereas his burial in the Basle *Münster*, — though at that period the religious quarrel had subsided ²⁾, — and the rumours spread by some of his friends amongst the Reformers, had given to it quite a different signification ³⁾, — which several biographers, even Catholic ones, were only too ready to adopt, and make the very most of, in their senseless prepossession and antipathy ⁴⁾.

C. CLENARDUS AND MUSIUS

In the sadness of the bereavement, humanists and literators all over the world expressed their feelings in elegies and epitaphs, in *nænia* and *encomia*, in so far that it roused the ill will, not only of lifelong opponents of the great man, but of some who should have been expected to be most gratified with the seemingly endless praise, even although it might have appeared to be either a formality or a fashion, not to mention a kind of self-advertisement. The abundance of

¹⁾ P. F.-X. de Ram : *Notice sur Lambert Coomans de Turnhout*, in *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 251-55; *Corsend.*, 65; *EraCat.*, G 2, r; *TurnJans.*, II, 103, sq; *Turnhout*, 82; *Gran.*, 277, 1; *JSecOp.*, 227; *Friedensburg*, 7, 8.

²⁾ A few weeks before, on May 17, 1536, Erasmus had assured to the treasurer Francis Bonvalot, probably to tranquillize him about sending Gilbert Cousin to Basle : *Hic, mihi crede, a sectis nihil est periculi. Nemo nobis verbo molestus est, nec vellem habere domi qui nous dogmatibus esset infectus* : Allen, XI, 3122, 11-13 (the last letter of Erasmus but one). — The absence of any mention of the visit of a Roman priest in the reports of his illness and death, does not imply that nobody assisted him or supplied him with the 'last Sacraments', as it is the secular custom in the Catholic Church to help sick and dying people, even in times of dire persecution : with the same right might it be said that he died without the help of a physician, — for not any mention is made of him.

³⁾ Seck., III, 137-38; A. Müller, *Leven van Des. Erasmus (transl.)* : Rotterdam, 1831 : 375; H. Martin, *Erasmus en zijn Tijd* : Amsterdam, 1870 : 172; *ErasDrum.*, II, 337; *ErasPen.*, 365; *ErasEm.*, 458-59; &c.

⁴⁾ H. de Vocht, *Deken L. Coomans en zijne Getuigenis*, in *Taxandria*, 1949 : 1-19; id., *Le Dernier 'Amanuensis' d'Érasme*, in *RHE*, xlv (1950) : 174-86.

mourning verse produced in the latter half of 1536, made Nicolas Beken Clenardus write a particularly harsh and grating criticism, in the form of the long-drawn, scornfully joking letter of December 27, 1536 to Joachim Polites. It happened that his friend had recently praised him as orator; he now got the occasion to mention that he had also become, not an indifferent poet, but straight away, a *coryphæus*, thanks to Erasmus' death, which inspired him with a new metrical form ¹). The jest about the *canoris nugis*, although extending over about three hundred lines, might be excused as a transient whim of envy or ill humour, if there were not in his correspondence of that period several similar references to the tears which he could not refrain when he heard of the Great Man's death ²), or to his longing to have round him several witnesses of his sadness ³), which shows that it was hardly more than heartless scoffing ⁴). In fact, the only thing which might be taken seriously is his disappointment in the absence of an expurgated edition of his works by Erasmus ⁵). Such solicitude had never been expressed by so earnest and holy a man as Thomas More, and, for certain, there was not a shadow of such regret in the numerous poems which, according to custom at funerals or at the time of the decease of great or popular men, the students and friends of the *Trilingue* affixed at the church doors, and spread throughout the Christian world, when the news of Erasmus' death reached Brabant. That outburst of grief evidently grated most harshly on the ears of Clenardus, the disciple of the invidious hater

¹) *ClénCorr.*, 1, 97-111; *ClenHum.*, 4-6.

²) Clenardus announces to Polites that, having heard from Damian a Goës that Erasmus was dead, he wept: '*totus in lacrymas solutus sum*': *ClénCorr.*, 1, 99, 62; he mentions his 'formal' tears in the same letter in three other passages: *ibid.*, 101, 138, 103, 198, 104, 230; and also in his letter to Francis de Houwer, Christmas 1536: '*Lacrymas tenere non potui cum... Damianus Erasmi mortem obnunciaret*': *ibid.*, 91, 10.

³) *ClénCorr.*, 1, 99, 62-64: *nec me tenere potui, quin multos doloris testes adhiberem.*

⁴) He wrote to Polites, December 27, 1536: *ridiculo conclusi luctum, et seria in iocum conuerti* &c: *ClénCorr.*, 106, 297-312.

⁵) *Vtinam licuisset tantisper viuere, donec operibus limam adhibuisset; nam ea gratia senem concessisse intellexeram Basileam*: letter to Francis de Houwer, December 25, 1536: *ClénCorr.*, 1, 91, 11-13.

of languages and literature, especially in all connection with Erasmus, James Latomus ¹⁾).

The abundance of elegies, however, even if they were not all of sterling value, was a most comforting sign of the intense life radiating from the *Trilingue*, as well as of the growing sympathy with the great schemes of humanism that had inspired Erasmus to plan and realize Busleyden's grand College. It was even as if the loss of the great Patron called forth some condolence with the Institute from all those who enjoyed or had enjoyed the benefit of its teaching; or who, at least, appreciated the work that was going on there.

A first manifestation of that feeling of gratitude and admiration, came from the old *Trilinguist* Cornelius Musius, of Delft, who, in 1536, had left Poitiers, and had journeyed up to the Netherlands, where he stayed for some time at the Abbey of St. Bertin, near Saint-Omer. He there wrote an elegy on Erasmus, addressed to his pupil and friend James Sanctaragundus, whose studies he had led and directed ²⁾, and who most probably saw to its publication, in September 1536, by Rutger Rescius, in Louvain, under the title ³⁾ :

✠ CORNE / LII MVSI DELPHI / Ad Iacobum Sancta-
ragundum / Tumulorum D. Erasmi / Roterodami, / Libel-
lus. / Ecclesiastæ .7. / Hoc (vltra diuitias) plus habent eruditio
& sapien- / tia, quod vitam tribuunt possessori suo. // *Louanii*
ex Officina Rutgeri Rescij, / Mense Sep. / 1536.

In that *Tumulorum Libellus* Musius tempers his sadness at the death of his great countryman, considering that erudition and wisdom, showing the inanity of all things, and strengthening the power of transcendent thought, greatly help the faith in the Lord, as it did to the Deceased ⁴⁾. A final elegy reminds Sanctaragundus that neither Popes nor Kings are spared, as recent events prove ⁵⁾. As stated already ⁶⁾, Musius wrote this distich :

Siccine pro studiis cœlo donatur Erasmus
Quinto post Nonas, Cæsar Iule, tuas.

¹⁾ Cp. II, 250-53, 286, and, for Latomus' influence on Glenardus, II, 221-22, 507-8.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 196-202.

³⁾ In 4°, sign. A⁴-B²; NijKron., 1, 1582.

⁴⁾ Pp A 2, r-B 1, r.

⁵⁾ Pp B 1, v-2, r.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 200.

Whilst still residing in the hospitable St. Bertin's Abbey, — where St. Thomas a Becket found a short shelter in October 1164 ¹⁾, — his friends praised it as terse; he humbly owned that he had been beaten in that respect by this distich :

Fatalis series nobis invidit Erasmus,

Sed Desiderium tollere non potuit.

It was found afterwards that it had been composed by Masius — no doubt Andrew ²⁾, for the Christian name *Ludovicus*, which is generally given, is otherwise unknown ³⁾.

3. MOURNING OF FRIENDS

A. CRANEVELT, OLAH & NANNIUS

Several of the nearest and dearest friends, keeping in close contact with Erasmus' grand activity and his seasonable foundation, had also expressed their grief at his decease in elegies and epitaphs : the appropriateness of that regret suggested giving to those transitory expressions of admiration at the great work and beneficent influence of the Humanist a more lasting character in a joint issue : if it did not go out in the beginning from the *Trilingue*, it was there, however, that the scheme was practically worked out. It seems to have started by Francis de Cranevelt, who, on September 10, 1536, mailed from Mechlin to Nicolas Olah, in Brussels, two epitaphs ⁴⁾; in reply Queen Mary of Hungary's secretary sent him, on September 16, a long elegy with three epitaphs ⁵⁾, which were gratefully received and highly praised ⁶⁾. A few days later ⁷⁾, Olah also communicated to his friend poems on the same subject by Cornelius Grapheus, the Antwerp town-clerk ⁸⁾, and Francis of Burgundy, Lord of Fallais, the

¹⁾ Laplane, I, 230-31; Sanderson, 136.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 282-90, and further, p 428.

³⁾ OpMBoek, 118; Opmeer, I, 476; EraCat., P 4, r; EOI, 70, a; Acta-Mori, 201-2.

⁴⁾ OlaE, 580-81; Cran., 277.

⁵⁾ OlaE, 582-85; Cran., 278.

⁶⁾ Cranevelt's letter of September 22: OlaE, 585-86; Cran., 279.

⁷⁾ Letter of October 4, 1536, by which Cranevelt acknowledges the receipt of Grapheus' and Burgundy's poems: OlaE, 588-89; Cran., 280.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 53; also I, 438, &c; Cran., 179, b-d.

Court poet ¹⁾. No further development would have been effected, if Nannius, who corresponded regularly with Olah, and corrected his verses and his compositions ²⁾, had not, on a visit which he paid to him in Brussels in the first days of March 1537 ³⁾, suggested their publishing. He was at once entrusted with the mission of arranging the printing with Rescius, and on the very day of his arrival in Louvain, an agreement for the speedy taking in hand was reached ; the small size of the leaves, 'in parua forma', and the type were decided upon according to Olah's wishes, whereas some further improvements were proposed for the text ⁴⁾. That is the genesis of the booklet issued under the title ⁵⁾ :

D ► ERASMI / ROTERODAMI EPI / taphia, per Clarissimos
ali- / quot viros con- / scripta. // *Louanij ex officina*
Rutgeri Rescij, / Men Mart. / .1537.

It brought to the public three epitaphs by Francis de Cranevelt : in one of them is mentioned the sadness caused by the ruthless execution of his friend More : it relates that Erasmus

fatigatus studiorum mole perenni

Horruit ad Mori non pia fata sui.

It adds that, freed from the uncertain state of the road, both now enjoy the happiness of the 'summus Olympus' ; and it also points out that, as Erasmus died when Charles had to go to war again, he, a preacher of Peace, was thus spared witnessing the fight of two brothers. In the second, Cranevelt remarks that, if to the utter sadness of all wise men, and to the prejudice of art and literature, great erudites die, whereas worthless people remain alive, their works will last as long as the earth ; in the third is said that, if a small

¹⁾ Cp. *inf.*, pp 406-11 ; and II, 437, 470 ; *Cran.*, 121, d, 280.

²⁾ Cp. letter of October 18, 1536 : OlaE, 592-93.

³⁾ The letter in which Nannius describes the return home from that visit, has only as date : 'Eodem die, quo Bruxellas reliqui 1537' : OlaE, 595-97 ; since it mentions that Rescius was sending a man 'satis mature' to the Frankfurt Spring Fair, it probably belongs to the first days of March.

⁴⁾ OlaE, 596-97.

⁵⁾ In 8°, sign. A⁸-B⁴ : it contains twelve leaves : *NijKron.*, II, 2842 ; *EraCat.*, O 3, r, sq.

urn keeps his ashes, the world can hardly hold his books and his fame. A distich added tells that the portrait of the old Erasmus represents, not the man, but his *exuvium* ¹⁾).

In an *elegia*, Olah sketches Erasmus' life, busy with studies from his early youth to his old age, which made him *primum sydus in orbe*; he describes how, in Mary of Hungary's name, he himself had done what he could to make the Old Erudite return to Brabant, and voices his deep regret that, although the journey was decided on, he never met the Great Man :

O nimium foelix essem, si fata dedissent,
Cernere viuientis lumina chara uiri !

In another elegy, Olah praises Erasmus' great intelligence, right judgment and vast erudition ²⁾); a third, a quatrain in Greek, translated into Latin verses by Cranevelt, contrasts the tears of the earth where the body is buried, with the joys of heaven that welcome the soul ³⁾). A fourth points out how Erasmus was urged by Paul III to take part in the Council, whereas God made him live for ever in the meetings of the Saints; a fifth brings a pun on his name and surname ⁴⁾ :

Non desyderium, sed mors subduxit Erasmum,
Et tamen amborum nomine nunc gemimus.

To Olah's poems Peter Nannius paid the compliment of praise in a hendecasyllabon, contrasting the sad bereavement and the fine verses composed in his memory ⁵⁾ :

Vt gratum ingenium est disertis amici,
Sic chari capitis dolor dolori est.

He added several of his own : in one of them, he develops the idea that the soul and the mind of Erasmus are still kept available to mankind in his *uiuidis scriptis*, as Mercury replies to Æacus, who had ordered him to fetch Erasmus' *umbra* that was missing, being still in his books ⁶⁾). Another

¹⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, A 2, v-A 3, r; *OlaE*, 581; *EraCat.*, O 3, r, v, O 5, v, P 7, r; *Cran.*, lxxv-lxxvi, 277; *EOI*, 24, b, 64, b-65, a, 79, a.

²⁾ *OlaE*, 582-85; *EraCat.*, O 4, r-O 5, v; *Cran.*, lxxv, 278, 279, 280.

³⁾ *OlaE*, 595 : letter of Cranevelt, November 20, 1536, referring to the translation : *EraCat.*, O 5, v; *Cran.*, lxxvi, 278-81.

⁴⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, A 3, v-A 6, r; *OlaCar.*, 34-37; *OlaE*, 585, 595; *EraCat.*, O 7, v; *EOI*, 18, 78, b-79, a.

⁵⁾ *EraCat.*, O 5, v-O 6, r; *EpiClaVir.*, A 7, r; Olah praises Erasmus by his praises, but not by the sadness at his death : *OlaCar.*, 37.

⁶⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, A 8, v; *EraCat.*, O 7, r; *EOI*, 79, a.

shows Erasmus at a loss to choose between the heaven of *his* theologians, or the Elysium of *his* authors of Antiquity, as he emended their writings alike ¹⁾. A third elegy points out the contrast between the great Man's fecundity, and the frequency of being a *felix pater*, whereas he was '*fæminarum purus a consortio*', and even suffered from *calculus renibus*; in a fourth is stated that, if Jupiter brought forth only one Pallas, Erasmus' brain produced as many Pallida as he wrote books ²⁾. A fifth says that, if he is not bewailed by fickle Luna or Vesta, Delia or Ceres, Aurora or Cybele, he is by the Muses :

studijs operata sacris pia turba Camenæ,
Quæ nunc immenso victa dolore gemit. ³⁾

In five other poems, large or small, the praise of Erasmus is repeated thanks to allusions to his native country, or to his residence near the Rhine, or to the feelings shown to him by erudites of all lands ⁴⁾. In an eleventh poem, *De Moro & Erasmo*, he explains how the souls of the two men had lived since a long time in each other's life, and how it was almost impossible for Erasmus to survive his great *alter ego* ⁵⁾ :

Viuebat in pectusculo Mori sui
Erasmus ille sæculi nostri decus.
Viuebat in præcordijs Erasmicis
Morus, Britannix vnicum lumen suæ.
Vitamque mutuabat alter alteri,
Aliena vterque non sua vixit anima.
Mirum nihil si mortuo Moro, mori
Voluit Erasmus, nequijt vltra viuere.

B. FRANCIS OF FALLAIS OF BURGUNDY

Towards that bundle of elegies, Olah had provided one which he had received from a friend at Court, Francis of Burgundy of Fallais, and which he had communicated, with others by Cornelius Grapheus, the Antwerp town-clerk, to Francis de Cranevelt, who, on October 4, 1536, expressed the

¹⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, A 8, v-B 1, r; *EraCat.*, O 7, v.

²⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, B 2, r; *EraCat.*, O 8, v.

³⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, B 2, v; *EraCat.*, O 8, v.

⁴⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, B 1, r, v; *EraCat.*, O 8, r.

⁵⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, B 2, r; *EraCat.*, O 8, r, v; cp. EOI, 18, a-19, a, 79.

wish that they should be published with Olah's ¹⁾ : for they would show, he said, how many men are admiring our Erasmus and his great qualities ; it would prevent Ἐρρασιμουόστιγες, if there should be any left, even from murmuring, seeing that he is praised by all praiseworthy men ; still, since his death, ill will has subsided, now that through his excellence all spite has been overcome ²⁾

That Francis of Fallais, *Falesius*, of Burgundy, was one of the sons of Baldwin of Burgundy, natural child of Philip the Good ³⁾, who, in 1502, had been endowed, besides others, with the lordship of Fallais, which provided his family name ⁴⁾. On an embassy to Spain, Baldwin had married, in 1488, a daughter of Don Juan Manuel de la Cerda ⁵⁾, Doña Marina, who, at Eleanor of Austria's birth, tried in vain to become the Lady of honour of the young Princess ⁶⁾. From

¹⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, A 7, r-A 8, r ; *EraCat.*, O 6, r-O 7, r. On March 10, 1537, Nannius announced to Olah that as the poems by Grapheus could not be had, Rescius had decided on taking some by Nannius and by Cellarius — no doubt to fill up the space : Ego, he wrote, iubente Rutgero, quædam ex meis vestris carminibus addidi, hoc est holosericeis pannos. Danus me audacem fecit... nam Graphæi carmina habere non potuimus : OlaE, 598.

²⁾ OlaE, 586-89 : five epitaphs and a quatrain '*In Erasmi Imaginem*' were sent to Olah by Cornelius Grapheus on Sept. 24, 1536 : *inf.*, 5, c.

³⁾ He was born at Lille about 1445, and died in Brussels in 1508 : Fallo, 158-60.

⁴⁾ He was lord of Manilly, Breedam, Zomersdyck, Zouteland and St. Adolfsland ; the emperor Maximilian granted him the lordship of Fallais in 1502 : Henne, I, 157.

⁵⁾ His son Don Juan Manuel, — Doña Marina's brother, — Lord of Belmonte, Campos and Zebrico de la Torre, was ambassador of King Ferdinand of Aragon at Maximilian's Court. He entered the service, and took the part, of Philip the Fair, whom he helped by his influence and his advice, in so far that, in November 1505, he was rewarded with the Order of the Golden Fleece. On January 19, 1514, Margaret of Austria arrested him at the request of the King of Spain, who bore him a grudge for rousing Philip the Fair against him. That measure was protested against by his son Diego, by his nephew Philip of Fallais and by the Order of the Golden Fleece. He was sent, in the summer of 1522, to congratulate Adrian VI on his election, with the Vice-King of Naples, Charles de Lannoy : Henne, I, 78, 82, 84, 320, *sq.*, II, 172, *sq.*, III, 285 ; Moeller, 27, 157-61, 168 ; Gachard, 503 ; Bergh, I, 345 ; Juste, 16, *sq.*

⁶⁾ She had assisted the Archduchess Jane in her confinement, but the office was given to Lady Jane, dowager of Halewyn and Comines,

her, Baldwin had five children ¹⁾; he, besides, had three from Jacqueline de Gavre, who died on December 16, 1544, and is mentioned on her epitaph as her son Philip's '*parens*', without being called the wife of his father ²⁾). Philip's brother was Francis, the poet, and their sister Mary, after having been Margaret of Austria's '*fille d'honneur*' for some time, married William de Vergy, Lord of Autrey, Saint-Dizier and Champlite ³⁾). Francis wrote an epitaph for his father Baldwin of Burgundy, Lord of Fallais ⁴⁾, in which he mentions his marriage with Doña Marina Manuel, who had preceded him in death, and whom he joined in her grave at Fallais; no word is said about Jacqueline de Gavre, who was buried,

who had been the Lady of honour for Philip the Fair and his sister Margaret : Moeller, 11-13; Thibaut, 33, *sq.*

¹⁾ Philip died childless : Henne, I, 157, 322; Maximilian, Lord of Fromont, became Abbot of Middelburg Abbey, in Zeeland, in 1518, and died in 1535 : Fallo, 218; *cp.* before, II, 366, 461, 464; Charles, Lord of Breedam, left several children : Henne, III, 283, v, 166, ix, 74, 82; Paquot, I, 395; *BibBelg.*, 225; before, II, 470. — There were also two daughters, Ann, and Mary Magdalen, who married Philip de Lannoy : Fallo, 158-60.

²⁾ *Hic sepultus est / Philippus a Burgundia / Dominus de Falais, / Filius Balduini a Burgundia, / cum Parente sua D. Iacoba de Gavre, / quæ obiit xvi. Decembris anno M. D. XLIV. / ætatis LXXXIV. / Ille vero xxii Februarii anno M. D. XLI. / ætatis XL : BruxBas.*, I, 123; *SweMon.*, 287-88, quotes the epitaph only partly, not mentioning the name Philip : '*Hic sepultus est D. Falesius Balduinvs, a Burgundia, cum parente sua D. Iacoba de Gavris...*'; the dates of the decease also vary : for the mother (aged 84), September 26, 1558, and for the son (aged 40), February 22, 1547. The epitaph in *BruxBas.* is noted as '*Emendatum ex Epitaphiis M. SS.*', but it hardly merits more credence : it is most extraordinary that the father's name is not mentioned — which, through a slip in the lines, was taken for that of the son. — At all events the birth-date 1507 (of the eldest child), leaves hardly any time for his sister Mary to marry already in April 1524 : Henne, IV, 361-62.

³⁾ She is mentioned in the account of Jean de Marnix amongst the *filles d'honneur* of Margaret of Austria, who at her marriage gave her a complete outfit, and paid her twelve hundred pounds by her patent letters of April 25, 1524, as she was then the wife of the '*sieur d'Aultacy*' (no doubt Aultrey, Autrey) : Henne, IV, 358, 361, 362, I, 58, 331; Fallo, 159-60. — William de Vergy died on July 26, 1531; Mary, on March 2, 1567; they left a son, Francis, Count of Champlite, Lord of Autrey, who became Knight of the Golden Fleece : Fallo, 160.

⁴⁾ Fallo, 217-18.

not at Fallais, but in St. Gudula's, Brussels, with her eldest son Philip ¹⁾).

Francis de Fallais had studied at the University, and in his description of the journey in which he accompanied Philip, the Emperor's son, in 1549, he mentions the joy caused by the Prince's visit, July 4-7, to 'Brabantiae metropolis Lovanium, academia illa et domicilium literarum omnium. Etenim cum huic musarum sedi primos vagitus debeam, non abs re, Illustrissime Princeps, ut tui cupidissimam in summa virtutum tuarum expectatione sic tecum disserentem statuam, ut intelligas res quoque mutas tuam ambivisse gratiam... :

Hospes gratus ades : tua quævis omnia sunt :

Tantum parva tuo numine tecta subi. ²⁾

Most probably he had spent some time in the University town by 1515 or 1516 ; at any rate before the founding of the *Trilingue*, for he does not mention the Institute which he, as a poet, would certainly have praised if he had ever been into contact with it. He, no doubt, entered court service, and when Mary of Hungary became governess, he was acquainted with several of the leading spirits amongst those who composed her retinue. He knew Nicolas Grudius ³⁾, with his kindred taste ; he became a friend of Nicolas Olah ⁴⁾, who, like himself, was fond of poetry ; for several years he was tutored in Greek by his secretary James Jespersen ⁵⁾, who, apparently, introduced him to Nannius and to the professors of the *Trilingue* ⁶⁾).

Francis de Fallais married the natural daughter of Philibert of Châlons, Prince of Orange, who bore him a son, John of Burgundy of Fallais. Meanwhile he acquired the lordship of

¹⁾ Cp. FallO, 159.

²⁾ FallO, 166 ; Gachard, 382 ; LouvBoon, 84-91 ; LouvEven, 61-62.

³⁾ Cp. II, 451-52. Francis de Fallais contributed an *Epigramma in Statuam Bacchi* to those made *In aduentu Caroli V... in Valentianas*, by Nicolas Grudius (Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, 1540 : NijKron., II, 3129) : f a 3, r.

⁴⁾ OlaE, 588, 603 ; OlaCar., 4.

⁵⁾ In the dedicatory letter of *Anactobiblion* (Antwerp, 1544), addressed to Ferdinand of Austria, October 4, 1544, Jespersen declares that he taught Greek to Falesius and Rutger Pathius, *quæstor Lisiniæ*, whilst serving Olah ; the three tried to surpass one another in Latin verses whilst studying Greek : f A 3, v, sq : BB, I, 29, 7.

⁶⁾ *Ad eruditum virum P. Nannium, Ode* : FallO, 220-21 ; OlaE, 603.

Nevers ¹⁾, and was occasionally entrusted with missions by his royal Mistress ; — about September 14, 1538, he was sent to express her concern to Henry of Nassau, who had fallen dangerously ill after entertaining her royally at Breda ²⁾. He contributed by his poems to the festivities celebrated in honour of the Emperor ³⁾, and, as already mentioned, he was during the larger part of 1549 in the retinue of Prince Philip, whose journey he described ⁴⁾. When, on October 1, 1555, Mary of Hungary dismissed her household, she kept, amongst the very few officials, Francis de Fallais as one of her 'maistres d'hostel' ⁵⁾.

About his further history there is little information, and although his writings were known to exist in the xviith century ⁶⁾, it was only in the second half of the xixth that they were first published ⁷⁾. They comprise, besides the *Epistola Congratulatoria* to Prince Philip, in prose, dating from about 1550, already referred to, *Senarii Proverbiales* translated from Greek into Latin verse ⁸⁾; *Aurea Pythagoræ Carmina*, also translated from Greek ⁹⁾; epigrams about the Roman Kings ¹⁰⁾; a relation in verse of the Tunis expedition, and an exhortation to study addressed to Prince Philip ¹¹⁾,

¹⁾ FallO, 158-60 ; Moeller, 256 ; Bergh, II, 139.

²⁾ Henne, VII, 304.

³⁾ Thus he wrote an '*epigramma sub Bacchi statua, vinum e dolio profundentis ad forum*' at Valenciennes when on Wednesday, January 21, 1540, Charles V solemnly entered that town with the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans and other noblemen, on his way to Ghent ; he thus contributed to Nicolas Grudius' *Epigrammata*, celebrating that entry in Valenciennes, February 1540 : *Sparge mero plateas* &c. Cp. Gachard, 159 ; and before, II, 451 (where the place is misnamed *Valencia*).

⁴⁾ FallO, 162-84 : the *Itinerarium Philippi Principis* in Belgium is followed by two epigrams to the Prince.

⁵⁾ Henne, x, 250 ; *BibBelg.*, 225 ; Paquot, I, 395 ; *Cran.*, *lvij*, 121, *b, d*, 277, 280, 281.

⁶⁾ Valerius Andreas saw the *Opera Poetica* of de Fallais in a codex of vellum belonging to a Lille jurispudent, Luke de la Torre : *BibBelg.*, 225 ; that information is repeated by Foppens, 288, and Paquot, I, 395 ; cp. FallO, 155-56.

⁷⁾ The document, now part of the Uffenbach Collection in the Hamburg Town Library (*CollUffWolf.*, MSS. clxxiv), was published in 1862 by F. L. Hoffmann in *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, xvii : 153-225.

⁸⁾ FallO, 185-201.

⁹⁾ FallO, 201-203.

¹⁰⁾ FallO, 203-204.

¹¹⁾ FallO, 204-208.

besides a series of *Epigrammata* ¹⁾; amongst them are epitaphs on his grandfather Philip the Good and his father Baldwin ²⁾; on his step-brother the Abbot of Middelburg Maximilian of Burgundy ³⁾, and on Maximilian of Egmont, Count of Buren ⁴⁾; poems to his friends Peter Nannius ⁵⁾ and Louis de Zuniga ⁶⁾; also — the second poem which was published before, — the elegy on Erasmus' death.

When the plan of editing a small volume of epitaphs on Erasmus was ripening in Olaus' mind, he wrote four lines to his friend and fellow-poet at the Court :

Te, Francisce, petit felix Hollandia Erasmi
Extremam scriptis concelebrare diem...

The answer, in sixteen verses, pretexted the extreme praise that was needed and the little he himself could give. Olaus replied with twenty lines, declaring that a sincere admiration inspires most effectively the elegy due to so great a man, — which will not even lack a good result for the author; for, he urges,

ipse tuum cunctis memorabile reddes
Nomen, dum Erasmum garrula canes lyra. ⁷⁾

In compliance with Olah's request Francis of Fallais wrote an elegy ⁸⁾, in which, besides the obvious laments, he expresses the deep regret of Erasmus' country where the Old Scholar had wished to spend his last days :

Belgica lugubri nunc tota dolore fatiscit,
Condere dum nescit, quem peperisse iuuat.

He dwells on the deep disappointment as well of the Great Erudite in his fast decline, as of his native country, to which he had longed to return, and which, unfortunately, was prevented from offering the home of rest which he fully deserved after his unceasing labour, especially since the evils that beset him had grown a real burden as age advanced.

¹⁾ FallO, 208-25.

²⁾ FallO, 215-18.

³⁾ FallO, 218; cp. before, II, 336, 461-64, and *Cran.*, 121, *b-d*.

⁴⁾ He died in Brussels in great state on September 23, 1548 : FallO, 219-20; cp. II, 125, *sq*, and before, p 332.

⁵⁾ FallO, 220-21.

⁶⁾ FallO, 221-25 : probably Louis d'Avila y Zuniga, historian and diplomatist.

⁷⁾ *OlaCar.*, 4.

⁸⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, A 7, r-A 8, r; *EraCat.*, O 6, r-O 7, r; *EOI*, 62, b; FallO, 218-19.

C. CELLARIUS AND JESPERSEN

In the little bundle of elegies, hospitality was given to the *carmina* of the poet Christianus Kellenaer, Cellarius, of Furnes, an old student of the *Trilingue*, who taught Greek and Latin in the Lily ¹). He contributed a Greek two-lined *Epitaphion*, of which he also provided the Latin translation, pointing out that Erasmus, who was as a god in his life, would be so much the more so, now he has expired. In another, in Latin, he states that the Great Humanist had managed to vanquish barbarism, and had even succeeded in preventing some difficulties between monarchs : who was to be the 'Erasmus' in the growing trouble, now that he had been laid still by the Fates ? In a third, also in Latin, Nature is represented having created in Erasmus an *ingens miraculum* : because she had been reviled for not having produced anything good, she took that model of all virtues, the peer of the heroes of yore, away from the world to spare him the sight of so much evil ²). Just before Cellarius' three epitaphs, there is, just filling an open space, a sepulchral inscription by Livinus Panagathus : it counts only two lines, but forms a chronogram ³).

The last of the contributors to that little book was also an old student of the *Trilingue*, the lecturer, and also private secretary, of Olah, the Dane James Jespersen, of Aarhus ⁴). He added an Epitaphium in which he describes how Erasmus extirpated barbarism, and gave beauty and purity back to Arts ; how he corrected books, interpreted and translated others, working for the education and instruction of youth. He praises him for having helped towards founding the *Trilingue* :

Author hic impulsorque trilinguis Buslidiani

Gymnasij extracti Louaniensis erat.

Ex quo linguarum mox euasere periti

Inque breue docti, tempore rite trium.

Vt Troianus equus procures, sic plurima nobis

Clarum hoc Gymnasium, nomina docta dedit ⁵)

¹) Cp. *sup.*, p 291. ²) *EpiClaVir.*, B 3, r ; *EraCat.*, P 1, r, v ; EOI, 66.

³) *EpiClaVir.*, B 2, v : orbls gLorla totIVS deCVsqVe, / noC qVlesClt
erasMVs In sepVLChro (v evidently does not count) : cp. *EraCat.*, A 1, v ;
EOI, 79, b ; and II, 136-39.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 244-47.

⁵) It appears from this epitaph that the comparison with the Trojan

Finally Erasmus issued such an amount of learned books that only a Suffenus, or a ridiculous Thraso, or an ambitious Ardelio might aspire at equalling the fame which will last as long as there are stars in the sky or waves on the sea ¹).

A letter, in Jespersen's name ²), is also added to the booklet : it explains the occasion which caused it to be composed and edited ; it takes up the two pages following on the title ³) ; it is dated *Bruxellis Cal. Mar. 1537*, and is addressed to his former professor Rescius, the printer and also the corrector of the text ⁴).

EpiClaVir., A 1, v-A 2, r

Brussels, March 1, 1537

ERV DITISS. VIRO RVTGERO RESCIO

Græcarum literarum apud Louanienfes publico profeffori
Iacobus Danus Arhufienfis S. D.

Q VVM menfibus fuperioribus accepto nuncio de morte
D. Erafmi Roterodami, vidiffem Reuerendum D. Nico-
laum Olahum patronum meum ob eam, quæ inter ipfos
arctiffima fuit familiaritas, in magno effe mœrore, & fe
5 continere non poffe, quin arrepto mox calamo animi fui
in morte tanti amici acceptam trifiticiam numeris flebilibus
effunderet, cœpi eum rogare fummis precibus, vt quemad-
modum aliarum fuarum rerum lætarum, fic huius quoque
fui luctus me participem faceret, & τὴν ἐλεγείαν ἣν περὶ τοῦ
10 θανάτου τοῦ ἐράσμου αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐγγράφει, mihi
communicaret. Quod licet ægre, tamen ab eo tandem
impetraui. Non putabat enim ea quæ intra domesticos
fuos parietes ageret, in vulgum prodire debere. Eodem fere
tempore Francifcus Craneueldius & Francifcus a Burgundia

horse started by Erasmus (cp. before, p 280, and II, 247), had become as an ascription naturally connected with the *Trilingue* : Allen, VI, 1554, 41.

¹) *EpiClaVir.*, B 3, v-B 4, r ; *EraCat.*, P 1, v-P 2, r ; EOI, 66, b.

²) In the first days of March 1537, Nannius, returning from Olah, mentioned in the letter announcing the agreement with Rescius : *Epistola Dani nunc melius placet. Sentio enim non omnino esse ipsius pectoris, et illi regium Thesea adfuisse* : *OlaE*, 597.

³) *EpiClaVir.*, A 1, v-A 2, r.

⁴) *Cp. OlaE*, 597.

Ll 6 numeris] cp. before, p 405.

10 θανάτου] corr. from -θου

14 Craneueldius] cp. before, pp 404-5.

14 a Burgundia] cp. before, pp 406, sq.

15 amici vtriusque nostrum amantissimi miserunt ad me con-
scripta nuper a se in mortem Erasmi epitaphia, quæ cum
his diebus inter aliam meam papyraceam supellectilem
fitu fere marcida reperissem, nolui tantorum virorum
lucubrationes perire. Quod igitur ipfi ex sua modestia
20 nolebant, id ego amicitiae iure fretus, ausus sum facere,
sperans huius meae temeritatis veniam me ab eis aliquo
modo impetraturum, maxime quum huic meo facto pro-
pensus in Erasmus fauor causam dederit, et semel factum,
infectum reddi nequeat. Mitto igitur eadem & nonnulla
25 aliorum epitaphia per hunc Petrum Nannium nostrum
communem amicum ad te διδασκαλέ μου φίλτατε, meo etiam
carmine illis adiuncto, vt si tibi ita visum fuerit, ea in
publicum mittas, ne Erasmi Manes amicorum suorum
lachrymis caruisse videantur.

30

Vale Bruxellis

Cal. Mar.

.1537.

The little booklet was not long in the printer's hands : already on March 10, only a few days after Nannius had brought the text to Louvain, he could announce to Olah that it would reach him on the following day, damp from the press, as from its birth. He explained how on the order of Rescius and the advice of Jespersen, he and Cellarius had added their poems, since it was not possible to secure those of Grapheus ¹⁾. It is certain that it was chiefly devised as an undertaking of Olah's, who had sent to Rescius an *argenteus nummus*, in return of which one hundred copies of the *Epitaphia* were dispatched by special messenger on March 11, 1537, with a letter of the same date ²⁾. It was even in Nannius' conception as a personal work of Olah ³⁾; for when

15 -strum &c] on f A 2 r.

25 Nannium] cp. before, pp 405-6.

¹⁾ OlaE, 597-98; Grapheus' epitaphia are extant in Olaus' correspondence : OlaE, 586-88; they were probably published by his brother John; they are reproduced in *EraCat.*, L 8, v-M 1, v; EOI, 68, b.

²⁾ OlaE, 598-99. There are, moreover, two epitaphs, which interest only Olah, namely those he wrote on 'D. Thomas, Episcopus Vespri-
miensis, Cancellarius Hungar.': *EpiClaVir.*, A 6, r, v.


³⁾ OlaE, 598; Ladisl. Juhász, *De Carminibus N. Olahi in Mortem Erasmi*, in *Gedenkschr. zum 400. Todestage des Er.*: Basle, 1936 : 316-25.

it was known amongst the many sincere admirers of Erasmus that a collection of poems in his memory was printing, several offered their collaboration, which was rather proudly refused: 'for', as he flatteringly related to the Queen's Secretary, 'it did not seem fit to hamper your good poems by a multitude of bad ones, which would have made the book less salable, whereas now Rescius expects large returns' ¹⁾).

4. EPITAPHS BY TRILINGUE STUDENTS

A. THOMAS LINEUS

Rescius was not at all disappointed in his expectations: the little book must have been most welcome, for in the same month, he issued a similar collection in the same size and after the same fashion. It has as title ²⁾:

D ◀ ERASMI / ROTERODAMI EPITAPHIA, / PER ERVDITISS.
ALIQVOT / viros Academiae Louanieñ. / edita. //  //
LOVANIÆ ex officina Rutgeri Rescij, / AN. M. D. XXXVII. /
Men. Mart.

Of the preceding *Epitaphia* some had been composed by friends and protectors of the *Trilingue*, the others by old students; in this collection were only taken those by young men still at study there, or in intimate connection with it. The printer Rutger Rescius supervised both the choice of the poems and their text, and thus made it into a proper tribute of Busleyden College to its great Patron ³⁾).

The first contribution to that gathering was made by Thomas Vlas, Lineus ⁴⁾. He was born at Bommel in Holland

¹⁾ OlaE, 598: Multi sua addere voluerunt, sed non visum est vestra bona carmina multitudine malorum obruere et librum minus venalem reddere, de cuius vendibilitate optime sperat Rutgerus.

²⁾ In 8°, *sign.* A⁸; it contains eight leaves: NijKron., II, 2843.

³⁾ The epitaphs by Lineus appear on f A 2, r, after a repetition of the general title; on the reverse of the proper title are two poems, one by John Lacteus, another by Didacus Pyrrhus: no doubt they were added after ff A 2 to A 8 were taken up; the printer then wanted to make use of the *verso* of the title-page, which had been left blank, since he could not place all his poems.

⁴⁾ A Levinus Linius, of Ghent, was hypodidasculus at Antwerp in 1519, when he wrote a recommendatory poem for Godschalk Rose-

about 1505 ¹), but, as his family probably fled to Hertogenbosch on account of the war with which his native village was scourged in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, he took the name of Busciumducis, Buscumducensis ²). After his first studies in that town, he came to Louvain, where he matriculated on August 27, 1522 ³). By 1527, he had accepted the post of preceptor of the two sons of Philippa of Laterdam, Philip and Volsard, at St.-Omer, with whom he paid a visit to Italy. On the occasion of the Peace of Cambrai, concluded in 1529 by Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy, he wrote an *Oratio in Lavdem Belli ab ipso Marte, in postremo Cameracensi Concilio, ad conciliandam pacem conuocato, postridie calendas græcas* ⁴). It was an imitation of Erasmus' *Laus Stultitiæ*, and had the evident aim of pleading the cause of peace by showing the inanity of the arguments urged in favour of war. He afterwards returned to Louvain, and, probably to help his pupils, he started studying law. He apparently had entered thoroughly the spirit of the Great Humanist, not only sharing his opinions about learning and about the aberrations of some monks and priests, which he echoed in his *Oratio*, but applying himself to the thorough study of languages, attending the lectures in the *Trilingue* founded by his grand Model. With all that, he most eagerly studied law, which, about that time, had become particularly interesting through the edition of Theophilus Anticensor's Greek text of the *Institutes* by Viglius ⁵), of which Rescius

mond't's *Confessionale* (Antwerp, March 1, 1519 : Mich. Hillen) : Nij-Kron., 1, 1820, 1821, 1822 (1525); in 1521, he wrote verses for Lucian's *Dialogi* (Antwerp, M. Hillen, 1521-1524) : NijKron., 1, 1400-1402; when those dialogues were issued for the third time, in 1536, Linius was *Rector Scholæ Middelburgensis*, and he added to the book a letter *ad studiosam iuventutem*. Cp. *GandErVir.*, 87.

¹) In his dedication of *Oratio in Laudem Belli* to Adolph of Burgundy, on October 31, 1530, he mentions that he has not yet accomplished his twenty-fifth year.

²) NijKron., 1, 1374.

³) FUL, 23 : 291, v.

⁴) It was printed by Christian Wechelus in Paris for Gaspard a Lapide, van den Steen, of Ypres, in 1531 : it was dedicated to Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Beveren, by a letter, dated from St.-Omer on the eve of All Hallows 1530 : NijKron., 1, 1374.

⁵) Basle, Jerome Froben, 1534; cp. Stintzing, 1, 220, sq; and before, II, 149, sq.

and Nannius edited a new issue with comments and presumable corrections ¹⁾, which James de Corte, Curtius, of Bruges, criticized rather sharply ²⁾. It follows that circumstances almost imposed that subject about the end of 1535 or in 1536 ³⁾ for public exercises prescribed to the *Licentiandi* or for his private lessons. At any rate, one of Lineus' hearers, a Josephus Lorichius, of Hadamar⁴⁾, took down notes during his explanation of the *Institutes*, first in Louvain and afterwards in Paris, as subsequently was mentioned in the dedicatory letter of the edition of the comments: 'partim Louanii, partim in Gallia' ⁵⁾; to Louvain for certain refers the example of power entrusted not so much to a person as to an office,

¹⁾ *Institutiones Iuris Civilis, in Græcam Linguam per Theophilum Anticensorem traductæ, ac fusissime, planissimeque explicatæ, cura & studio Viglii Zuichemi primum in lucem æditæ, nunc denuo a Rutgero Rescio recognitæ, adjectis etiam aliquot Petri Nannii annotatiunculis*: Louvain, R. Rescius, January 5, 1536: cp. II, 150, sq; NijKron., I, 2002; Polet, 128, sq.

²⁾ *Institutionem Iuris Civilis Libri Quatuor*. Olim a Theophilo Antecessore, in Græcum e Latino huberius diffusiusque translati, & nunc... e Græco in Latinum per Iac. Curtium Brugensem Iurisconsultum conuersi...: Antwerp, (John Grapheus, for) Joan. Steels, September 1536; a second edition by and for the same printers, 1539: NijKron., II, 3938, I, 2003; cp. II, 150; Paquot, XI, 419; *Cran.*, 274, 5; Polet, 129. Against that edition was directed *Petri Nannii Alemariani Apologia super Annotatiunculis in Theophilum aduersus quendam Iacobum Curtium*: Louvain, R. Rescius, November 1536: NijKron., I, 1583; Polet, 130, sq.

³⁾ In his comments Lineus referred to the conquest of Tunis by the Emperor, June-July 1535, as to a recent event: Pastor, v, 160, sq.

⁴⁾ To him the printer Christian Egenolph, Agenolphus, dedicated the *Explicationes et annotationes* of Lineus on the four books of the *Institutes* by a letter addressed *Honesto viro D. Josepho Lorichio Hadamario, amico et fratri meo*. From that dedication it follows that Joseph Lorichius had attended the lectures of 'Thomas Lineus' and was an able jurisprudent: still no information is given about the office or standing of the *amicus et frater* as late as 1553. He is mentioned in the Marburg 'matricula' as 'Lorichius Josephus (Hadamar.)' 1527: *Matr. Marb.*, 99, a.

⁵⁾ It follows that Lineus was not at all appointed as professor of laws in Louvain; as professor of the *Institutes* is recorded Hermes de Winghe to 1536-7, when Gabriel Mudæus succeeded him: VAnd., 156, 186-87; *Anal.*, xxxix, 301-4.

such as is given to the Abbot of St. Gertrude's ¹⁾ or to the Town Mayor. Those comments were edited and published as '*In Quatuor Institutionum Juris Principis Justiniani Libros Explicationes et Annotationes ex Prælectionibus Dn. Thomæ Linii Jureconsulti Clarissimi fideliter et diligenter collectæ*'; the book was printed and issued at Frankfurt, in March 1553, by Christian Egenolph ²⁾, and dedicated by him to his 'frater', the Josephus Lorichius, who is praised as a most experienced jurisprudent. Unfortunately little seems to be known of Lorichius' further career, so much the more as there were several outstanding men at the time of that name also originary from Hadamar ³⁾.

After having accompanied some of his students to France, Lineus returned to the Netherlands; by 1543, he was active as advocate in the Brabant Council; in that quality he helped his town, Hertogenbosch, with his advice and his offices, in so far that in that very year, their envoy, 'G. van Vlenderacken', Lord of Geffen, acted as godfather to his son, possibly James.

¹⁾ E. g., the function of *Conservator Privilegiorum* of the University and the presidency of a Court of justice, inherent to the dignity of Abbot of St. Gertrude's : *ULDoc.*, I, 442, sq, 515, sq.

²⁾ Bibliothèque Mazarine, rés. 2824.

³⁾ 'Reinhard Lorichius Hadamar.' is referred to in the 'matricula', *MatriMarb.*, 99, a (for 1527 and 1539) and 271; he was professor of eloquence; he wrote an *Encomium Marburg. Academiæ* (Frankfurt, 1536), as well as comments on *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, which were often reprinted : *SaxOnom.*, 191, 620; *Hessus*, II, 197, 200, 201, 241, 262; *Rommel*, I, 195, 205, II, 186, 195. There were further a Johannes Lorichius, of Hadamar, 'Reinhardi filius', matriculating in 1539 : cp. *SaxOnom.*, 257 (for 1545), 'jurisconsultus, poeta et philologus', who died in 1569 or 1570 (*EllLyr.*, xxiv; *CorvE*, II, 91). Also, for the same period, Christopher, 1539, 1543, Fridericus, 1543, George, 1537, 1553, & Matthias, 1543, — all from Hadamar : *MatriMarb.*, 99, a. They seem to be brothers, or at any rate relations, which is suggested by the fact that, when Reinhard Lorichius succeeded John Dryander as Rector, 1540, he began the list of matriculations with Christian Egenolph, who had just started a branch-establishment at Marburg : *MatriMarb.*, 271. — There was, besides, a 'M. Gerardus Lorichius, Hadamarius', who wrote verses for Cochlæus' *Speculum Antiquæ Devotionis circa Missam* (Mayence, 1549 : dedicated to George of Austria, coadjutor of Liège), as well as for his edition of *Optatus Afer, Milevitanus Episcopus* (Mayence, 1549 : dedicated to Arnold Streysters, Abbot of Tongerlo) : *CochlHum.*, 176, 185; *WiedVarr.*, II, 120; cp. before, II, 220-21.

He entered the service of Prince William of Orange, Lord of Breda, as his juridical adviser, and in that capacity he was succeeded by his son James by 1579; the last references to himself are of 1559, when Hertogenbosch tendered him presents, and of 1560, when he was offered a banquet by that town in gratitude for the service rendered as councillor of 'his Excellence the Prince of Orange' ¹⁾).

In one of the three epitaphs which he contributed to the collection printed by Rescius, Lineus points out that a little urn contains Erasmus' 'perparvum corpus', whereas the whole world is too small for his mind, — thus repeating the idea already expressed in one of Cranevelt's poems ²⁾). In a second, Lineus declares that Erasmus was unable to live without Thomas More: so he died, and, whereas the world kept the two friends separated, Heaven joins them ³⁾). A third epitaph, in Greek, with the Latin rendering, states that Erasmus, already considered as a god in his life, will be more like one now that he is dead, — an echo of the Greek distich by Christian Cellarius ⁴⁾).

B. PYRRHUS AND FRIAS

On the epitaphs by Lineus follow several poems by a Portuguese student ⁵⁾, **Didacus Pyrrhus**, who attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*. He probably belonged to the Pirez, or Piris, family, Portuguese merchants, who had settled at Antwerp ⁶⁾); on January 28, 1536, he matriculated as 'Jacobus

¹⁾ P. Verhaegen, *Thomas Vlas, dit Lineus, Humaniste et Jurisconsulte Belge du XVI^e siècle*, in *Bull. de la Comm. des Anciennes Lois et Ordonnances de Belgique*: Brussels, 1922; *SweABelg.*, 694; *BibBelg.*, 838; Coppens, III, 16.

²⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 2, r; *EraCat.*, N 6, v; cp. before, p 405.

³⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 2, r; *EraCat.*, N 6, v, O 8, v; *EOI*, 70, a.

⁴⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 2, r; *EraCat.*, N 6, v; *EOI*, 70, a; cp. before, p 412.

⁵⁾ To Portuguese students in Louvain, reference is made by de Reiffenberg, in his *Relations... de la Belgique et du Portugal (Mém. de l'Acad. Roy., Brussels, 1841: xiv)*: 43, sq, 66, sq.

⁶⁾ The Portuguese ambassador at Antwerp, in 1548, was Lourenço Pirez de Tavira, with whose consent King John III practically abolished the *Feitoria de Flandres*, so as to make the trade of the Indian produce free: Goris, 236. — Amongst the Portuguese at Antwerp on November

Pyrrus Lusitanus', together with two countrymen, 'D. Petrus' and 'Henricus Ferdinandi' ¹⁾. He proved most active as literator and poet : to his master Rescius' edition of the Greek text of Euripides' *Andromache*, August 1537, he added commendatory verses and an elegiac poem inscribed to 'Hieronymum Franciscum' ²⁾. Didacus Pyrrhus was also acquainted with Gemma Phrysius, whose lessons he probably attended : at any rate, when that erudite published at Antwerp in 1539 a new issue of Apianus' *Cosmographia*, he wrote a 'carmen' for it, which precedes the colophon ³⁾ ; he similarly added a poem to Gemma's *Arithmeticae Practicae Methodus Facilis*, printed at Antwerp in 1540, which also precedes the colophon ⁴⁾.

In one of the two longer epitaphs, Pyrrhus regrets that the glory of literature of Erasmus' native country and of Latin language is now laid to rest in a foreign soil ; he is consoled by the assurance that the Humanist is dear to the Father, to Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, and left the world for Heaven, since he saw Europe in wars, as the bold French had been called into battle by the Emperor ⁵⁾. In the second he describes Erasmus' tomb, on which he sees the goddess of the language of Latium, the Muses, Venus, mother of all dutiful love and of innocent jests, together with Amor, or Desyderius, as well as the winged Fame, who greatly favoured the Scholar during his life, and now makes his tomb as famous as his erudition does his books ⁶⁾. There are moreover two shorter epitaphs in Greek, and another in which a Latin verse alternates with

3, 1572, there were Manuel Pirez, and Diego Pirez : Goris, 614, 615 ; amongst the Iberian merchants who imported goods in 1553 were Alfonso, Gonsalo, John and Hans Piris : Goris, 250. No doubt, Didacus Pyrrhus belonged to either of those families, and gave to his name the classic appearance of Pyrrhus.

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 83, r.

²⁾ *NijKron.*, II, 2987 ; the poem addressed to 'Franciscum' is entitled 'De Remedijs aduersus Fortunæ Impetus e Tragoedia petendis, Carmen elegiacum' : ff A 2, r-A 4, r.

³⁾ Antwerp, Egide Coppens for Arn. Birckman : *NijKron.*, I, 125.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, Egide Coppens, for Greg. de Bonte : *NijKron.*, I, 970 ; cp. before, II, 544, 557.

⁵⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 2, v-A 3, r ; *EraCat.*, N 7, r ; EOI, 79, b-80, a.

⁶⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 3, r-A 4, r ; *EraCat.*, N 7, v ; EOI, 80, a.

one in Greek ¹⁾). There is even, by the same poet, an epitaph on John Varennius, van der Varen, an able teacher of languages, who probably had tutored him ²⁾). Finally, when the space of the seven leaves was taken up, the very last poems were printed on the reverse of the title : there was amongst them one by Pyrrhus, in which he deploras that, through the death of Erasmus, witty and gentle sayings, grace and pleasure have ceased, and the nine Muses with the wise Pallas are no more ³⁾).

Another contributor to the collection is the Spaniard Ditijs **Fernandus** of **Frias**, who probably belonged to a family of Antwerp merchants or financiers ⁴⁾). He may have been identical with the Don Fernando Frias who was one of the foremost protectors and promoters of the Latin School of the Jesuits at Antwerp about 1570 ⁵⁾).

¹⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 3, r, A 4, r; *EraCat.*, N 7, v, N 8, r; EOI, 80, a.

²⁾ That tutor of languages, who had been secured as lecturer in the Abbey of Parc, died on October 11, 1536, leaving several books, which were often reprinted : cp. I, 274; *EpiVirLov.*, A 4, r.

³⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 1, r; *EraCat.*, N 6, r; EOI, 79, b.

⁴⁾ A Fernando de Frias was one of the insuring agents of Antwerp, in 1566, for the life of one Hans Brudegom, who was said to be bound on a journey to Jerusalem, but was starved in a cellar. With his partners, he applied to the Courts of Justice, and the Duke of Alva recommended their request in 1568 to the Court of Brussels : Goris, 392. The name of *Friatis, de Frias*, was not uncommon : a Martin de Frias († 1528) was professor of Exegesis in Salamanca in the first quarter of the century, and a Francisco de Frias was amongst the twelve monks condemned in 1557 at Sevilla for their Calvinistic opinions : *EraSpain*, 260, 749.

⁵⁾ Don Fernando de Frias insisted on changing the 'residential house' of the Jesuits into a Latin School ; he requested the help of the Duke of Alva, and greatly contributed to the purchase of the famous '*Huys van Aecken*', belonging to Gaspar Schets, near the Antwerp Town Hall ; it was bought in 1498 from the family van de Werve by Nicolas von Rechterghem, originally from Aix, who became father-in-law to Erasmus Schets : cp. II, 474, and before, p 358. The latter acquired the house in 1534, and changed it, in 1539, into a magnificent mansion, in which he welcomed Charles V in November 1545, and entertained him for several days as a guest in September 1549, with his son Philip and Mary of Hungary ; it is now used in part as the Town Library. Don Fernando paid for the building of a Church for the Jesuits — St. Charles' — in August 1574 ; when it was consecrated, on February 13, 1575, he had left for Spain : *JesHist.*, I, 225-27, 231-35, 275.

Judging from the poems he contributed to the collection, he was very well acquainted with Vives : for besides a *Lamentatio* about the death of Erasmus, which ends up in the assurance that his *fama* will never suffer from time ¹⁾, he adds a complaint made in Vives' name :

Inuida cur me sic o nex disiungis amantem,

Quem bene colludens conciliauit amor :

which evidently expresses the sincere friendship which the son of Valencia always felt for the Great Humanist, notwithstanding the lack of encouragement he experienced in the later years. The two remaining lines of the quatrain are equally significative : about 1536, Vives was suffering most acutely from illness and from scarcity of means, as well as from the sense of bereavement of his great friends at More's tragic death and at Erasmus' growing estrangement ²⁾ : it is clearly expressed in the last line of the quatrain :

Hei mihi, quod tantis subdita uita malis ³⁾.

Another poem, a *consolatio ad Ludouicum Viuem grauitur Erasmi morte perturbatum* ⁴⁾, highly praises Vives, the glorious son of the glorious Valencia, as an orator famous throughout the world, as another immortal light of Latin literature, as a glory of the Spanish nation, and as the honour of humanity. It reminds him that Erasmus as a phoenix is alive in heaven, whereas his mind and his fame are immortal. He prays that God may console him in his bereavement, and, he states that, not having completed his forty-fourth year, Vives, by force, will be the model and the leader of all :

Ad quater undenos qui nondum ueneris annos,

Quem omnes suspiciant, atque sequantur eris.

It follows from the fact that Frias was well acquainted with Vives' age ⁵⁾, as well as from the details in the first poem, that he knew very well his countryman, which suggests that

¹⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 4, r-A 5, r ; *EraCat.*, N 8, r, v ; EOI, 67, b.

²⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 51-53, 58.

³⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 5, r ; *EraCat.*, N 8, v ; EOI, 67, b.

⁴⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 5, r, v ; *EraCat.*, N 8, v-O 1, r ; EOI, 68, a.

⁵⁾ Vives was born on March 6, 1492, so he had completed his forty-fourth year in March 1536 : still the exactness of the statement is only slightly impaired, as Vives had hardly finished his four *undeni* when Erasmus died.

he was his pupil, and probably had spent some time as a boarder in his house at Bruges. It was no doubt from him that he derived that deep admiration for the Great Humanist, whose memory he vindicates in a third poem against the slander of *quendam petulantem*, no doubt one of the enemies, who, incensed at the eulogistic poems affixed at the doors of St. Peter's Church, had added a notice declaring that Erasmus' soul was cruelly tormented ¹⁾. Frias pours out his indignation, and asks ironically whether that reckless condemnation is the result of a visit to the place of eternal torture; he advises to deserve rather name and fame by extolling Erasmus to the skies, and to pray God to be allowed to join him in heaven ²⁾.

C. HELYAR AND FELLOW-STUDENTS

Another of Vives' old pupils contributed to this little poetical memorial of Erasmus, namely, **John Helyar**, a native of Hampshire, possibly of East Meon, England, who was a student of Corpus Christi, Oxford, when Vives came there in August 1523 ³⁾; the young man took a great interest in the lectures of the Spanish erudite, to whom he wrote a letter on December 19, 1524, when the rumour of an epidemic reigning in the University town kept the favourite Master in London ⁴⁾. Having promoted B. A., July 27, 1524, and M. A., February 12, 1525, he followed the courses of divinity, of which he became Bachelor on December 7, 1532 ⁵⁾; still all the time he was very zealous at studying Latin and Greek literature: he wrote comments on Cicero's *Oratio pro Marco Marcello*, on Ovid's *Epistolæ*, and Scholia on Sophocles ⁶⁾; it implies that he was tutoring or reading on those subjects, no doubt in the College of Cardinal Wolsey, whose favourite he was.

He had been fellow-student under Vives with Reginald Pole, and, possibly through him and his family, he received

¹⁾ Eiusdem in quendam petulantem, qui ualuis templi D. Petri asscripsit, animam Erasmi diris manibus cruciari, responsum.

²⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 5, v-A 6, r; *EraCat.*, O 1, r, v; EOI, 68, a.

³⁾ *VivAngl.*, 269; *MonHL*, 14-16.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 14-16.

⁵⁾ Wood, 1, 41, 42, 669, 683.

⁶⁾ Bale, 216.

the vicariate of East Meon and the rectorate of Warblington, where Pole's mother, the Countess of Salisbury, had her estate. He seems to have tutored for a time her children, and thus became a staunch upholder of her family. When Henry VIII started his religious innovations, Helyar left for Paris, where he wished to continue his studies. That reason of his leave was not a mere pretence, for he zealously applied himself to exegesis and divinity, as well as to languages. The fame of the *Trilingue* soon attracted him to Louvain, where he arrived in the last months of 1535, or in the beginning of 1536; at any rate a good while before Francis I started war once more (in 1537) with Charles V for the duchy of Milan, where Francis Sforza, husband of Christina of Denmark, had died on November 2, 1535 ¹). Helyar lived at the house of John Lobel, Lobellius, of Boulogne, professor of Canon Law ²). He probably eked out his limited means with the tutoring of some young countrymen, who had sought a refuge in Louvain, whilst being zealously engaged in his own studies, as results from a note-book which he had in daily use from 1534 to 1537 ³). It contains the oldest manuscript of the *Exercitia* of Ignatius of Loyala, whom he became acquainted with in Paris ⁴), besides several jottings about his material life in Louvain, but chiefly about his intellectual pursuits there. It brings the rough draught of a letter to his *Præceptor*, Vives, dated March 18, 1537, in which he declares that he has devoted one whole year to the study of Hebrew, which he not only found useful for the intelligence of Scripture according to St. Jerome's comment, but even indispensable for the right understanding of the Bible text ⁵).

There is also a time-table, according to Ignatius' advice, for his work during the day, in which he mentions the Greek lecture, as well as those on Horatius, and on the Greek of the

¹) Cp. *sup.*, p 371 ; Cartwright, 107-15, 137, *sq* ; CMH, II, 71, *sq*.

²) Cp. before, p 128 ; II, 73, 425 ; VAnd., 187, 189.

³) It now belongs to the Vatican Library : *RbVal.*, *MS Regina Lat.*, 2004.

⁴) *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* : 2nd series : *Exercitia Spiritualia* : Madrid, 1919 : 207-9, 569-73 ; cp. *EraSpain*, 632, 853.

⁵) *MonHL*, 593, 29-34.

Institutiones ¹⁾. From what is known about that lecture, given on Sundays, which Rescius had started in the beginning of March 1536, and which he only continued for a few weeks on account of the vehement protestations of the Faculties of both Laws, causing it to be prohibited by the University on pain of excommunication ²⁾, it follows that his time-table was made up in the first days of March 1536 ³⁾.

By then Helyar was already a regular attendant at the lectures of the *Trilingue*, for the *Horatiana lectio audienda... ad dimidium duodecimæ* was without doubt that by Goclenius, and the *greca lectura*, *Ad ij^{am} <horam>*, as well as the *lectio grecorum Institutionum*, *Ad decimam <diebus> quibus non legitur*, were, for certain, those of Rescius ⁴⁾. As in the time-table he does not mention any Hebrew, it is evident that in that very month, March 1536, he started studying the sacred language under Andrew van Gennep, since, on March 18, 1537, he had devoted one year to it and had mastered the greatest difficulties of that idiom ⁵⁾. Even before he had started that study, Helyar proved a most eager pupil of Busleyden College : not only were given there two of the four lectures to which he bound himself every day according to his time-table, besides the reading on Theophilus on Sundays : but he had even set apart four more hours every day to be devoted to practising Greek and Latin, to which afterwards was added the lesson and the zealous study of Hebrew. He also mentions private teaching to be given to an 'Adrian', with whom he was to read alternately Erasmus' *Adagia* and Rudolph Agricola's *Dialectica*.

¹⁾ *Ad decimam... <diebus> quibus non legitur <viz., on Sundays> lectio grecorum Institutionum interessenda... Ad dimidium duodecimæ Horatiana lectio audienda est... Ad ij^{am}, greca lectura audienda : MonHL, 597, 10-15.*

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 125-29.

³⁾ The first lesson on the *Institutes* was announced for Sunday, March 5, and, at once, the *Priores* of the Faculties of Law protested ; on March 8, the University prohibited it ; as Helyar boarded at the house of John Lobel, who was then Rector, he must have heard of that prohibition, which was enforced by a committee convened on March 13 : cp. before, pp 125-26.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 597, 10-15.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 593, 29-36 : hunc annum pene totum Hebraicæ Linguae impendi... Eius sermonis maximam molestiam existimo me deuorasse.

No wonder that such a zealous linguist and admirer of Erasmus contributed to the collection that was intended to be a memorial of gratitude of the *Trilingue* students. In his Latin *Carmen* ¹⁾, he compared each of the works of Hercules with those of the Great Humanist : they are alike grand and powerful, beneficent and continuous, but Erasmus' tasks are so much the more eminent, as they are not concerned with the body and with material dangers, but with the soul and with intellectual and spiritual evil ; those did good at the time, but have completely ceased ; these will continue to benefit humanity as long as it exists. Hercules, thus he addresses Erasmus, although the subduer of monsters, was mastered by shameful lust and suffered Omphale's servitude :

At tu, perpetuo macerata carne labore,

Fœda voluptatum sub pede regna teris.

Hercules, though an Olympian god, burns in eternal fire :

Te uero ad summi diuina palatia Christi

Euexit sancta cum pietate fides.

Besides that *Carmen*, Helyar brought to the collection three small poems in Greek. One declares that the glory of Erasmus' erudition surpasses the brilliancy of fire amongst the elements, that of gold amongst the metals, that of Lucifer amongst the stars ; it is such indeed that, as another Phœbus, it illuminates the whole world. In a second, he states that, though Erasmus' body returns to dust, his soul lives with God whom it always aspired after ; so his fame lives and will live until the body will be once more united to the soul : even now, the loss of the body is small, since the better part of Erasmus is alive, and will remain alive till the last day ²⁾. A third, of two lines, praises the Great Man for doing to the whole world what some do only to one town : Helyar must have liked that distich, for it also is found in his notebook — with variants, due, no doubt, to the printers' mistake ³⁾ :

Εἰς Ἑρασμον.

Κἂν μίαν οἱ πολλοὶ κοσμεῖν πόλιν ἀδυνατοῦσιν,

Εἰς δὲ μέγας κόσμου κόσμος Ἑρασμος ὅλου.

¹⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 6, v-A 7, r ; *EraCat.*, O 2, r, v ; EOI, 69, a.

²⁾ *EpiVirLov.*, A 7, v ; *EraCat.*, O 2, v ; EOI, 69, a, b.

³⁾ *MonHL*, 598 ; *EpiVirLov.*, A 7, v ; *EraCat.*, O 2, v (the second line reads... Ἑρασμον ὅλου) ; EOI, 69, a (Ἑρασμον ὅλον).

That unconditional praise of Erasmus derives a very great signification from the man who expressed it : for it implies the force of evidence which he must have gathered from Vives and from several of the inmates of *Corpus Christi*, Oxford ; later on, from more than one of the members of Wolsey's *familia*, and, finally, from the staff of the *Trilingue* and some of the Louvain professors, such as his host, John Lobel, who had known Erasmus most intimately throughout a considerable space of time. His own character lends a particular significance to his appreciation : for, in the few years that he lived after leaving Louvain, he gave the most indubitable proof of his staunch faith. He went to Reginald Pole in Italy soon after having met him at St. Amand's, near Tournai, or at Liège, in the summer of 1537. On December 3, 1538, he was indicted as traitor along with Reginald Pole, and condemned by the Attainder of April 28, 1539. By the end of that year, he was in Rome, where he was entrusted with the management of the English Hospital, and was appointed penitentiary on account of his erudition and his noble character. He died before December, 23, 1541, when Pole recommended a successor to the Pope ¹).

The little collection of epitaphs by students of the *Trilingue* comprises one by **Andrew Maes, Masius**, of Lennick-St. Quentin, Liniacensis, who, although teaching himself in the Lily since 1533, and attending the lectures of the Laws, was still most zealously applied to the three languages ²). He added a reply : *Ad eos qui acerbe nimis Erasmi mortem ferunt Carmen* ³). It starts with the two very fine lines which have often been quoted :

Viuit, qui vixit, quid vos lugetis ? Erasmus

Viuit apud superos, qui modo vixit homo.

These verses are followed by four others, which are an answer to those who complain that the Great Man had died, whereas his many writings are immortal. Masius returns the statement, and contends that his many works will be neglected and forgotten, so that *they* rather are dead, and the toil devoted

¹) Cp. *DNB* ; Wood, I, 41-42 ; Pits, 706 ; Gillow, II, 264-65 ; *MonHL*, 14-16, 587-608.

²) Cp. before, pp 282-90.

³) *EpiVirLov.*, A 8, r.

to them is lost, whereas *he himself* now rests for ever and lives in Heaven. Masius therefore addresses the writings :

Fœcundo nati ingenio lugete libelli,

Quosque situs perimit, quosque necant tenebræ.

Vestrum est exitium, vobis periire labores,

Ille laborum expers viuit apud superos.

The insistent *lugete libelli... vestrum... vobis...* evidently make it clear that the poet thinks far more of the Great Man himself than of his works, and does not want to deprive him of the happiness of Heaven, just for the sake of the few more *libelli* he might have conceived and seen through the press. Unfortunately the 'epitaph-fanciers' did not quite understand the poet : they left out the four last lines of the *Carmen*, and only kept the two first ¹⁾, — forgetting that the author clearly expresses his aim in the title : *Ad eos qui acerbe nimis Erasmi mortem ferunt*.

There is moreover a set of three epitaphs ascribed to *Ludovicum Masium*, — which is most evidently a mistake in the Christian name, as the three distichs are quite in Andrew's style, whereas of 'Ludovicus' not any further mention is made by any of the numerous scholars and lovers of literature who formed as an actual pleiad at the time ²⁾. Each of those three epitaphs is addressed to one of the three Fates : to Clotho is remarked that cutting Erasmus' life, is touching a *Semideum uirum*, *Semiuirumque deum* ; to Lachesis is declared that she does not know of what good things she deprives us by invidiously breaking the thread ; and to Atropos is hurled the challenge : by taking Erasmus away, you make him even dearer to us :

Fatalis series nobis inuidit Erasmum,

Sed Desiderium tollere non potuit ³⁾.

As already mentioned, the last distich made the poet Cornelius Musius own his being worsted : 'Agnosco Magistrum !' ⁴⁾

¹⁾ So *EraCat.*, A 1, v ; also *EOI*, 70, a ; the editor of *MasE*, 46, calls it a 'nicht glückliches Epitaph', not knowing that it is mutilated.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 403.

³⁾ *EraCat.*, P 4, r ; *EOI*, 70, a.

⁴⁾ Cp. *BataoMart.*, 69 ; *OpMBoek.*, 118 (cp. *Opmeer*, 476, a) : they mention Rescius' collection (*EpiVirLov.*), but are wrong in dating it : 'Anno 1536... sub hyemem' ; *Opmeer* did not know the name of the author of the epitaph

Finally the collection brings an '*Epitaphium per Leonardum Falesium Leodiensem*', probably a de Falais, or Fallais, a student, about whom there seems to be no further information; his poem invites every reader to deplore the decease of Erasmus, and to extol him who was the best-spoken man of his time, rather than listen to a Zoilus and backbite him whom everybody bewails ¹).

When the text was thus quite ready, and the seven leaves, following on that of the title, were taken up as far as the FINIS on the last page, a friend, and, no doubt, an old student, John Lacteus, of Ghent, sent in his contribution, which Rescius printed on the reverse side of the title-page along with an epitaph by Didacus Pyrrhus, the Portuguese ²). Lacteus' poem has as title *De Desiderio Desiderii Erasmi Carmen*; alluding to his Christian name, it describes the longing of the whole world for Erasmus: not, however, as the envious crowd does, hating a man when he is alive, and wanting him back when he is dead, as it lacks both heart and judgment; but rather admiring him, and seeing him go with pain, nourished and comforted by the living monuments he left in two languages. It is that way that Erasmus, although deceased, still continues to live, like the image of the father lives in his sons ³).

That John Lacteus, probably van der Biest ⁴), a native of Ghent, had no doubt studied in the Lily, and had known very well Martin van Dorp and John de Spouter. He may have been still at study in Louvain when the *Trilingue* started. He became *hypodidascalus* of Hoeckaert, in his School on 'Sandy Mound', Zandberg, opposite the St. George Court, at Ghent; then taught there a time for himself ⁵), until he was appointed as head of the Latin School at Lille. He wrote a poem of twelve verses in recommendation of John de Spouter's

praised by Musius, adding that it was known afterwards to have been written by '*Ludouicum Masium*', — probably reproducing the wrong statement of *EraCat.*, P 4, r.

¹) *EpiVirLov.*, A 8, r; *EraCat.*, O 3, r; EOI, 67, b.

²) Cp. before, p 419.

³) *EpiVirLov.*, A 1, v; *EraCat.*, N 6, r; EOI, 69, b; in the title and the poem, *Desiderium* is repeated four times, *desiderare* twice.

⁴) *GandSJo.*, 43, 146, 303.

⁵) *BB*, II, 76; Roersch, I, 59.

Syntaxis, printed on September 3, 1518, by Michael Hillen, at Antwerp ¹⁾. He was known as a poet already when he took up the direction of the Lille School, for James de Meyere, of Bailleul, author of the *Annales Rerum Flandricarum* ²⁾ in his *Monodia* on the death of Erasmus ³⁾, mentions him amongst the lovers of Latin literature in Flanders bewailing the Master's decease :

Vates Lacteus, Insulensis urbis,
... Chori magister.

When in 1514, Eligius Hoeckaert published a series of poems, chiefly moralizing, under the title ¶ *In hoc opusculo contenta*. ¶ *Tractatus de penitentia tersioribus versibus quam prius fuerat* &c, Lacteus added an *ad inuidum hexastichon* ⁴⁾, besides a letter, dated *Gandaui ex vertice montis harenosi, 6. nonas martias 1513* <1514>, addressed to the : 'Circumspectis viris tum moribus tum scientia inprimis conspicuis fratri Guidoni Croceo & fratri Dionisio Angiano fratribus in mera <Meire, near Ghent> Joannes Lacteus Gandauius salutem' ⁵⁾. He also wrote a laudatory poem for John Carpentarius Iliensis' *Decalogica Enarratio* ⁶⁾, dated 'Ex gymnasio nostro Insulensi ad tertium Idus Nouembres Anno 1532' ⁷⁾. In 1536, a poem by him was added to Cornelius Grapheus' *ad... Mariam, Hungariæ Reginam, sacrorum Bucolicorum Æglogæ tres* ⁸⁾, and in 1537 another, to a bundle published by James de Meyere ⁹⁾. Lacteus is also mentioned about 1525, as being, in the school of Lille, the master of Andrew Gheeraerts, of Ypres, Hyperius, who became professor in the University of Marburg ¹⁰⁾; as well as afterwards one of the friends of the poet Francis Heeme, Hæmus, of Lille,

¹⁾ *BB*, D, 272, 2-3; *NijKron.*, II, 2770.

²⁾ Cp. further, p 439.

³⁾ *EraCat.*, M 5, v; *EOI*, 71, b.

⁴⁾ Ghent, <Robert de Keysere> for Victor van Crombrugghen & Peter de Keysere : *NijKron.*, II, 3217.

⁵⁾ On the reverse side of the title.

⁶⁾ Printed by Michael Hillen, Antwerp, 1533 : *NijKron.*, I, 525.

⁷⁾ *Ff C* 5, v.

⁸⁾ Printed in 1536 at Antwerp by John Graphæus, for John Steels : *NijKron.*, I, 1021. The poem by Lacteus is entitled : 'In Cornelij Graphæi Panagne', and starts on D 8, v.

⁹⁾ Cp. further, pp 443, 448.


¹⁰⁾ Paquot, XVII, 185.

who was a teacher and a canon of Courtrai ¹⁾). A Judocus Lacteus Gandavensis, perhaps his brother, promoted Master of Arts in Louvain, on March 19, 1528, being classed the eighth on 113 applicants ²⁾).

5. EPITAPHS BY ADMIRERS

A. GUIELMUS PISCIS

The two little collections of poems in honour of Erasmus must have found a very hearty welcome, and not the least with those who took an active interest in literature. From all sides contributions were sent to Rescius, who, in his second bundle, had to fill up the reverse side of the title-page, originally intended to be left blank, by two poems, which, evidently, reached him after the little book was completed and composed. The size and arrangement of the two collections of *Epitaphia* were used as the model for ³⁾ :

D ► ERASMI / ROTERODAMI ENCOMIVM, / Per Guielmum
Piscem Atrebatem, / Poetam Laureatum. //  //
LOVANIJ ex officina Rutgeri Rescij, / AN. M. D. XXXVII. /
Men. Mart.

Little seems to be known of the author, William Piscis, probably Pisson or Poisson, who gained in Italy the title of *poeta laureatus* ⁴⁾). He may have been an official at Court, and he was no doubt related to, if not identical with, the 'Gisbertus Piscis, siue Pisson, Atrebas', 'caussarum Patro-

¹⁾ Paquot, VI, 293.

²⁾ *ULPromLv.*, 10; *ULPromRs.*, 76.

³⁾ In 8°; *sign.* A⁸; the reverse side of the title, A 1, v, and the last page, A 8, v, are blank: NijKron., II, 3731.

⁴⁾ *BibBelg.*, 332; Foppens, 419, quotes as evidence the *Chronicon Belgicum* reaching from 258 to 1600, especially connected with Arras, for which the materials were gathered by Ferry de Locre, Ferreolus Locrius, of St. Paul (1571-1614), parish priest of St. Nicolas, Arras (*BibBelg.*, 217), and which was published for the first time at Arras, 1616; it provides a list of authors of the town and the surroundings, which is judged to be 'very superficial': it was not available for these notes: Paquot, II, 357-60.

nus' ¹⁾ in his native town, who left a clear and learned *Commentarium in Consuetudines Artesiæ* ²⁾).

In his *Encomium*, the poet starts by declaring that nobody but Erasmus himself would be able to describe him, although he left materials enough for praise, both as erudite and as literator; indeed, he excelled so much in either quality that in his life he was as a *Terrenum Numen* and a *Præsul Maximus*. Although born in Holland, he acquired a style which is as good as any of the Old Roman authors: it may fitly be compared to a cataract, or to a tiger, for its irresistible power; that style was used to promote right and truth, virtue and learning, and to vanquish all evil and barbarism. No wonder that all poets bewail his death, as before was done when Cicero, another *Pater Patriæ*, died. The author sketches the long series of Erasmus' most erudite works, and, excusing his attempt, since he is only a *piscis*, he highly praises as a beneficent innovation, almost as a new revelation, the remarkable writings on the Bible text. From all that he concludes that there is less reason to bewail the decease of Erasmus, than the loss it causes to humanity; for, he addresses him ³⁾,

Non quicquam aduersi pateris, nos damna subimus,
Non tibi, sed nobis illachrymare decet ⁴⁾.

B. JAMES DE MEYERE

A few weeks before he published William Piscis' *Encomium*, Rescius had printed *Hymni Aliquot et Carmina*, a bundle of poems and hymns by James de Meyere, Jacobus Meyerus, or Villicus, Bellovacius, Balliolanus, issued 'Mense

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 291.

²⁾ Foppens, 419, suggests that *Gisbertus Piscis* may have been identical with *Gulielmus*. — There was, in the first decads of the fifteenth century, a John Piscis, an Austin Hermit, bishop of Eglise, *Æginensis*, appointed as suffragan to the Bishop of Thérouanne on August 31, 1411, who consecrated the chapels of the new choir in St. Bertin's Abbey, but who was replaced already by 1420: Laplane, 1, 378; Berlière, 126-27. — A 'Guillaume Poissenet' was, in August 1555, Official and Vicar General of Cardinal Louis de Bourbon-Vendôme, Archbishop of Sens: *Givry* 1, 281.

³⁾ *P A 7, r.*

⁴⁾ *Pp A 2, r-A 8, r; EraCat.*, N 1, r-N 5, v; *EOI*, 15, a-17, a.

Januar. 1537' ¹⁾. The author was born at Vleteren, a village near Bailleul, on January 17, 1491; he studied in Paris, and, on his return to Flanders, he took orders and, whilst serving as chaplain in St. Donatian's, he started a *ludus literarius* at Bruges which became most flourishing ²⁾. He was greatly interested in the new turn which the studies of linguistics and literature had taken: when John de Spouter issued his *Introductorium Juuenum in Grammaticam*, Antwerp, 1515, he provided it with a recommendation in verse ³⁾, and he protected its author in the same year against the incriminations of Stephen Comes, as results from the *Ars Versificatoria* ⁴⁾. He evidently was aware of some inexact readings in the poems by Aurelius Prudentius on the Martyrs Hemeterius and Chelidonius, also on Christ's miracles, as well as on the *Pange lingua* and other hymns: he proposed emendations which, with some verses on Erasmus, were published, as just mentioned, by Rescius, in January 1537. He further adorned with some lines of praise the *Methodus vniuersæ Artis Medicæ formulis expressa*, issued by his friend the Court physician Cornelius a Baersdorp, on July 4, 1538 ⁵⁾, although since several years his attention had been directed towards history.

He had been gathering from chronicles and old histories all possible information about the past of Flanders and about her oldest inhabitants, in so far that, with the lists of Kings of France and Counts of Flanders and their genealogy, he could produce, at least, the ten series of notes: *Flandricarum Rerum Tomi X*, which were printed in July 1531 ⁶⁾. He began collecting chronicles, and thus, by 1534, he issued an emended edition of William Brito's *Bellum quod Philippus*

¹⁾ NijKron., II, 3527.

²⁾ According to *BrugHist.*, 293, Meyere lived in the large house called *Chaufour*, and, since he started teaching there, the *Latin School*: it is now the Convent of the *Theresian Sisters*.

³⁾ BB, D, 297, 2.

⁴⁾ BB D, 297, 3.

⁵⁾ Bruges, Hubert de Croock: NijKron., I, 163; cp. before, pp 297, 334 for van Baersdorp.

⁶⁾ Bruges, Hubert de Croock; the book, which extended over about 60 4° leaves, was reprinted in the same year at Antwerp by William Vorsterman: NijKron., I, 1517-18.

Francorum Rex cum Othone Augusto, Anglis Flandrisque gessit ¹⁾).

Still he aimed at much more than editing emendations of old texts : he planned a full history of his country by means of documents collected from far and near, of which he published one part in 1538 as *Chronicorum Flandriæ, Opus nunc recens æditum* : it comprised the history from 445 to 1278 ²⁾. He continued gathering information, and brought up his annals to the death of Charles the Bold and the accession of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria, in 1477 : it was printed at Antwerp by John Grapheus for John Steels in 1561 as *Commentarii sive Annales Rerum Flandricarum Libri septendecim* ³⁾. That monumental work bears testimony to the conscientious exactitude of the author in reproducing the enormous amount of chronicles and relations of all form and extent, many of which have been lost since then ⁴⁾ ; the happy influence he has exercised by his work on his nation can hardly be gauged : he is not only a faithful guardian of the documents of the great past, when his nation was amongst the leading powers of the world, but he has communicated his enthusiasm by his spirited reports and vivid representation, which even prove most suggestive nowadays, although historical criticism has taken the place of the over-respectful cult of the traditions of former ages.

Unfortunately he has not had himself the satisfaction of issuing the labour of a long and industrious life. When

¹⁾ Antwerp, Martin de Keyser : NijKron., I, 1035 : de Meyere had found a fragment of Brito's *Philippidos libri XII*, a poem celebrating the war of 1214 : Paquot, VII, 140 ; Hudson, 111, sq.

²⁾ Nuremberg, John Petreius : Paquot, VII, 141-42.

³⁾ The dedicatory epistle of the editor Antony de Meyere to Maximilian de Berghes, Bishop-Duke of Cambrai, Christmas 1561 (*f* a 2, r, v), explains the history of the edition. Cp. Paquot, VI, 293, XI, 363, XII, 103, XVI, 445 ; *GandErVir.*, 72 ; *FlandScript.*, 12.

⁴⁾ The sources of Meyerus have been studied in the first part of V. Fris, *Essai d'une Analyse des Commentarii de J. de Meyere* : Ghent, 1908. That study attests the soundness and relative reliability of Meyerus : for complete absence of personal opinion in an historian is an ideal that the most famous of our modern historici are far from reaching ; moreover, before throwing a stone at Meyerus, it should be made out *exactly* in what shape and condition his sources were available to him : cp. Fris, *Essai* &c, x-xii.

teaching turned too hard, he became parish priest of Blankenberghe, and continued his researches there until the end came, after a few days of suffering from fever, at Bruges on February 5, 1552. He was buried in St. Donatian's, in front of St. Anna's chapel ¹⁾. His precious papers and books were bequeathed to Antony, son of his brother Henry de Meyere, who edited his *Annales* in 1561 ²⁾.

Amongst the choice friends which de Meyere had, Erasmus keeps the place of honour : he enjoyed several times his society in company with his old friend and countryman Peter Zuetpene, Zutpenius, of Cassel, Adolphus of Burgundy's juridical adviser ³⁾. No wonder that, at his death, he expressed the admiring affection which he had felt for the great man in his *De Obitu Erasmi Epænos* ⁴⁾ : he sketches in those lines his great merit as well as his admirable work, which provides him a welcome and an eternity of happiness in heaven ; he contrasts it with the general sadness felt by all good men in all ranks and all countries, and adds that it is allayed by the numerous writings, which, like the group of children bearing the name, and continuing the character, of their late father, alleviate the loss felt by the wailing widow.

Along with that *Epænos*, de Meyere had composed another poem, *Monodia de Obitu Erasmi* ⁵⁾, which he addressed to all his friends in literature, as well as to colleagues and old pupils in the educational profession : it had reached his beloved Eligius Hoeckaert at Ghent ⁶⁾ who, with his hypodidascalus George Cassander ⁷⁾, edited Erasmus' autobiographical letter to Servatius Rogerus of July 8, 1514, and added epitaphs (to which he joined de Meyere's *Epænos* and *Monodia*) at Ghent in 1536 ⁸⁾. In his *Monodia* the Bruges *Ludi Magister* deploras

¹⁾ *BrugInscr.*, I, 131 ; cp. *FlandAnn.*, a 3, r ; *Opmeer*, I, 481, a, 488, b ; *BibBelg.*, 421-22 ; Paquot, VII, 136-44 ; *FlandIll.*, II, 412, b, sq ; Schrevel, I, 56, sq, 264, 399, 411, 428 ; *FlandScript.*, 84, 19, 108, 139, sq ; *BrugSDon.*, 244, sq ; *BrugErVir.*, 19.

²⁾ *BrugErVir.*, 19.

³⁾ *FlandScript.*, 139-40 ; Allen, IV, 1005, pr.

⁴⁾ *Hymni Aliquot Et Carmina Iacobi Meyeri* : (NijKron., II, 3527), ff I 7, v-K 2, v ; *EraCat.*, M 2, v-M 4 v ; *EOI*, 70, a-71, a.

⁵⁾ *Hymni... Iacobi Meyeri* (NijKron., II, 3527) : ff K 2, v-K 4, r ; *EraCat.*, M 4, v-M 6, r ; *EOI*, 71, a, b.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, pp. 442-44.

⁷⁾ Cp. sup. pp 296, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. next section, c.

that students and scholars are now deprived of the literary riches and the vast erudition of Erasmus, who, besides being the *princeps studii elegantioris* and the *instaurator honosque literarum*, was

Vitæ semita, pulchritudo morum,
Virtutum schola, laus & omnis æui,
Thesaurus probitatis ac decoris,
Præsignis quoque gemma castitatis,
Lex & norma piæ eruditionis,
Suavis regula paginæ sacratæ,
Lux quæ promicat omnibus diebus...

On that account de Meyere invites all the great lovers of literature in Flanders to join him in his complaint :

Mecum melliflui fleant amici,
Decantentque Monodiam sodales,
Quos tutela fouet sacræ Mineruæ :
Ploret Pourtius, Hantsamusque charus,
Laurinus uetus hospes alti Erasmi,
Insignis Comes, atque papa Hypranus...

He thus invites his literary acquaintances to share his sadness in Erasmus' decease : namely Pourbus, either Peter, the painter, a native of Gouda, who had settled at Bruges, or his son Francis ¹⁾. Also his intimate friend John van Handtsame, who, at least since 1532, was *ludi magister* at Courtrai ; de Meyere, who had recently become godfather of his son John, dedicated to him the *Hymni aliquot* by a letter dated from Bruges, September 27, 1536 ²⁾, whereas, in return, Handtsame wrote a poem in praise of his colleague's *Bellum*, 1534 ³⁾ ; he published some work on grammar, and, at his death, on January 15, 1561, he was warmly praised by the poet Francis de Heeme, Hæmus ⁴⁾.

Quite naturally de Meyere mentions the chief Mæcenas Mark Laurin, the venerable Dean of St. Donatian's, who had often had the great honour of receiving Erasmus as his

¹⁾ *BrugErVir.*, 31, 68, 55.

²⁾ *Hymni* &c, A 2, r, C 1, r, sq, in which John's wife Isabella is mentioned.

³⁾ *NijKron.*, I, 1035 ; and before, p 433, sq.

⁴⁾ *FlandScript.*, 98 ; *Caullet*, 65, 79, 83-4, 149 ; *Paquot*, VI, 291.

guest ¹⁾; as well as the poet Stephen de Grave, Comes, of Belle, Bailleul, near Cassel, secretary of St. Donatian's Chapter ²⁾, and the not less famous literator James de Pape, Papa, of Ypres. From that town, where he was born, James went to be trained in Louvain, in the Lily; he there contracted a hearty friendship with John de Spouter, Martin van Dorp and John Leupe, which had the happy result of a mutual encouragement in studies and publications, of which several of their editions bear testimony ³⁾. Meanwhile he had become head of the Latin School of Lille by 1510, and later on, by 1523, at least for a time, of that of Warneton ⁴⁾, from where he returned to his native town, where he settled as priest and as scholar by 1530; he took an interest in the question whether begging should be allowed, — as was then stirring towns and populations suffering from the thorough changes in commercial and economic life. For Ypres, about that time, had been as deeply disturbed in its trade and industry as Bruges: a solution was anxiously looked out for, and in 1530 James was sent by the town authorities to Paris with John de Croock to gather the advice of the theologians: the Faculty concluded, from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, that begging was admissible and perfectly natural. That reply of December 28, 1530 failed to give satisfaction, as, in fact, it did not solve the question, but rather represented the morbid state as natural, whereas the solution proposed by Vives for Bruges was much more encouraging and beneficent ⁵⁾. It explains how, of the *Elegiarum Libri*

¹⁾ Cp. before I, 516, II, 68, &c.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 210, *sq.*, II, 180-81.

³⁾ He wrote a recommendation to de Spouter's *Ars Versificatoria*, which, on May 7, 1511, was dedicated to him and to Dorp: *MonHL*, 357-8; *BB*, D, 294, 4, 295-97, 307, 311, 317; also to de Spouter's *Syntaxis*, 1516: *BB*, D, 268, 272, 280, 287, 292, 371; *NijKron.*, I, 702, II, 2767, 2770-72. On November 22 <, 1512>, Dorp dedicated to him, to de Spouter and to Leupe the edition of *Æsop's Fabulæ* printed by Th. Martens, Antwerp, Oct. 1513, and often reprinted: *MonHL*, 335, 361-64; *NijKron.*, I, 27, 32, 34, 36, 38, II, 2243, 2245-46, 4108.

⁴⁾ He there had as pupil Andrew Gheeraerds, a townsman: cp. *sup.*, 253; Paquot, xvii, 185.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 291-93; *FlandScript.*, 136, wrongly attributes this mission of James, to Peter de Pape, of Menin: cp. *inf.*, p 444.

Duo ¹⁾, which Pape published in 1534, and dedicated to the Ypres Official Francis Nigro, the first is in favour of begging, and the second, — thanks no doubt to Vives' influence, as in Cellarius' case ²⁾, — advises prohibiting it and replacing it by official foresight. In the same year de Pape published some satirical verses, *De Alba Febre Carmen*, followed by *De Podagra Diuitis* ³⁾, whereas in another collection of elegies, he bitterly comments, in *De Certamine Galli cum Aquila*, on the miserable wars between the Empire and France, which entail ruin and disaster for 'borderers' ⁴⁾. Of his death no information seems available.

Then follow in the list of those to whom de Meyere applies in memory of their Great Friend Erasmus :

Edingus, Spetebrodus, Megangus,
Vates Lacteus, Insulensis urbis,
Bergami Curius chori magister,
Et Schonouius integer sacerdos :
Lybbus candidus Hantsami sodalis,
Cornusenus in urbe Cassilana,
Leuinus Crucius, Reuelliusque....

Edingus is, no doubt, the very popular secretary to the Council of Flanders, Omer of Edingen, Lord of Op-Hasselt, the commentator of Ph. Wielant; he was one of Erasmus' old friends, and often had received him as host at Ghent ⁵⁾. Spetebrodus is evidently Daniel Spetebroot, son of John, born about 1489 at Eecke, who was canon and scholaster of Our Lady's, Bruges, and who, at his death, on May 16, 1553, left several foundations in that Church ⁶⁾. The Peter Megang,

¹⁾ *D. Iacobi Papæ, sacerdotis Hyperii elegiarum libri duo* Quorum prior mendicabulum publicum tuetur. Posterior vero melioribus consilijs, præsidijisque tollendum docet : Antwerp, Simon Cock, 1534 : NijKron, I, 1673; BB, p, 114. There is an 'Argumentum totius operis' by John Placentius : cp. before, 41, 234, 246-47.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 291, sq.

³⁾ Antwerp, Simon Cock, 1534 : NijKron., I, 1674; BB, p, 113 : it has on the last page, B 3, r : '*Sylua Angeli Andreæ Resendi Lusitani*' : cp. II, 395-403.

⁴⁾ BB, p, 115 (proposing 1552 as date) : Bruges, Hub. Crocus; reprinted at Bruges, 1847 : BB, p, 116; cp. *FlandOHR*, II, 85-90; *FlandScript.*, 85.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 189-90; *GandErVir.*, 24, 92.

⁶⁾ *BrugInscr.*, II, xiv, 50, b; Schrevel, I, 148.

who is named next, had opened a prosperous Latin and Greek School at Ninove, possibly his birth-place; he wrote a laudatory poem for Livinus Crucius' *Viridarium*, 1548 ¹⁾, and published a Latin *Grammatica* and a *Syntaxis*, both in rhymes, with tabular synopses, printed in Paris by Christ. Wechel for Michael Vascosanus in 1549 ²⁾. He also taught at Comines, and at Lille, where he seems to have been on friendly terms with the poet Jerome du Mortier, as he also was with Francis Hæmus ³⁾. Another acquaintance, both of the latter and of de Meyere, was John Lacteus ⁴⁾, who, as the *Monodia* mentions, was *ludi magister* at Lille, where he had as pupil Andrew Gheeraerds ⁵⁾. The poem further records the gymnasiarchus of Bergues-St. Winoc, the Peter van den Hove, Curius, who composed a Greek-Latin-Flemish vocabulary, and wrote verses to recommend the works of his friends William van den Steene and Adrian Chilius; he died in the late summer of 1541 ⁶⁾. Another poet follows him in the series, namely Antony de Schoonhoven, canon of St. Donatian's, an old student of the *Trilingue*, who, in after years, made a glorious name as erudite editor of old texts found in St. Bertin's and St. Bavo's Abbeys ⁷⁾. The series then evokes 'Lybbus, sodalis Hantsami', no doubt the Courtrai *ludi magister* Peter Libbin, recorded for having in his house an organ that belonged to Roger van Ooteghem, when he made his last will, on August 1, 1543; it seems to point him out as the Courtrai *phonascus* and assistant master of John van Handtsame ⁸⁾. Next comes Cornusenius, no doubt a Corenhusius, who succeeded Stephen Comes as master of the School at Cassel ⁹⁾: he may be the father of the erudite jurisprudent Gulielmus Cornhuse, van Coorenhuyse, a native of Bailleul, who had been member of the Council of Flanders since several

¹⁾ *BB*, c, 268; and further, p 440-41.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 748; *FlandScript.*, 135; Paquot, ix, 16-17.

³⁾ Paquot, ix, 16-17, ii, 21, *sq.*, vi, 291, *sq.*; Henne, v, 44.

⁴⁾ Paquot, vi, 293. A Judocus Lacteus, of Ghent, promoted the eighth as M. A. in 1528: *ULPromRs.*, 76.

⁵⁾ Paquot, xvii, 185: Lacteus is described as eloquent and as a good teacher, from whom Gheeraerds learned French; cp. before, pp 253, 429.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 114, 259, 262, 295; *BibBelg.*, 734; *FlandScript.*, 132; Henne, v, 44.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 179-81, &c.

⁸⁾ Caullet, 70-71.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, p 437.

years when, in 1584, it returned to Ghent; he became President in 1605 and died about 1617 ¹⁾. Then follow in the list Crucius and Revellius: the latter is no doubt Balduinus Revellius, *scriba*, secretary of Ypres, as results from his letter to de Meyere which is reproduced in the *Hymni Aliquot* of 1537 ²⁾.

As to Leuinus Crucius, Lieven van den Cruyce, he was one of the most remarkable personages of his time. He was a native of Eename, near Audenarde, and had studied first at Nieuport, with Jerome Clichtove ³⁾, under Baldwin Lamsanus ⁴⁾, and, later on, in Louvain. He took the lead of the Latin school of Bailleul until, by 1528, he became parish priest of Boeschepe, near Poperinghe, where he continued teaching and tutoring, in which he was helped for a time by James Jespersen for the lessons of Greek ⁵⁾. He formed several clever pupils, although accomplishing a large amount of erudite work. He edited a *Collectanea... in Syntaxim Badianam*, 1521 ⁶⁾, de Spouter's *Orthographia*, 1529 ⁷⁾, Catonis *Disticha Moralia*, 1541 ⁸⁾, and a *Viridarium Florum*, 1548 ⁹⁾, which is a collection of proverbs, sayings and extracts of Latin and (in translation) Greek authors, with explanations in Latin,

¹⁾ *FlandCon.*, 71-73, 184; *GandErVir.*, 52; cp. Paquot, XII, 298; *Cran.*, 249, f.

²⁾ *F H* 8, v.

³⁾ Jerome Clichtove, of Nieuport, studied in Paris, where he gained the title of Licentiate in theology and was famous as debater. He became chief sacristan and *pastor laicorum* of St. Donatian's, Bruges, and died there on November 5, 1555: *BrugSDon.*, 197-98; Schrevel, I, 7, 22, 370; *FlandScript.*, 77, 29. He wrote a letter of praise to Crucius for his *Parænests*, January 1542. — He was related to Judocus Clichtove, also of Nieuport, who promoted D. S. T. in Paris on Dec. 4, 1506, and served, as theological adviser, Louis Guillard, from 1513 Bishop of Tournai, and from 1524, of Chartres; he died on Sept. 22, 1534: cp. *BB*, c, 472 (with bibliogr.); Clerval, *De J. Clichtovei, Vita et Operibus*: Paris, 1894; Polain, IV, p 482, b; *HuMünst.*, 107, sq; — *AntwDiercx.*, VI, 55; *FlandScript.*, 110-11.

⁴⁾ Cp. *FlandScript.*, 29 (Lamsamius); he became parish priest at Messines, where he died.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 244, 246.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, M. Hillen: *NijKron.*, I, 663; *BB*, c, 317.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, J. Grapheus: *NijKron.*, II, 2767; *BB*, c, 269, d, 361-62.

⁸⁾ Ghent, J. Lambrecht: *BB*, c, 269.

⁹⁾ Antwerp, S. Cock: *BB*, c, 268.

Flemish or French. He also wrote *Parænesis*, 1543 ¹⁾, so as to encourage Christian Princes to start a war against the advancing Turks, and *Threnodia*, 1548, a criticism on the literary taste just then prevailing ²⁾. Crucius' neat and witty verses ³⁾ were generally admired : they express his generous and sympathetic character, which secured him many friends ready to recommend, by their poems, his books when they were issued ⁴⁾. He died in 1557 ⁵⁾. He was a great admirer of Erasmus, as well for his fine works, as for his principles, although he put them to the test ; thus he inquired about the value of 'sophistry', which was vehemently criticized by the great Humanist, as it was by More and Dorp ; his Louvain friend Gerard Morinck replied by condemning the excess of arguing, and, especially, its tendency to state fallacies so cleverly that they might pass for truth ; justifying, however, the moderate exercise of reasoning as means, not as end ⁶⁾.

The *Monodia* continues with these lines :

Alopecius, in Steuertiaco,
Fratres Eucharij iugum uenustum,
Et portu Leoperdus in nouello,
Et Laurentius, atque Meninorum
Papa, & Becius in Virouiaco,
Necnon Zoutero, quem colit Popringa,
Et Basconius arua qui benigni
Gaudet pulchra mei uidere patris,
Cum multis alijs scijs probisque
Quos longum foret hac citare charta,
Nobiscum eximium fleant Erasmus.

¹⁾ Edited by J. Jespersen : Giles Coppens, Antwerp : *BB*, c, 267 : Crucius also translated some of the poems by Anna Byns : *AntvDiercx.*, iv, 55 ; *AntvAnn.*, II, 399, sq. ²⁾ Cp. *BB*, c, 269, 2.

³⁾ He added some verses to de Spouter's *Ars Versificatoria*, 1512, and to John Royaerd's *Homeliæ*, 1538 : *NijKron.*, I, 1836, II, 2772 ; *BB*, D, 294-97, 307, 311, 317.

⁴⁾ The *Parænesis* and the *Viridarium* were adorned with verses by Cranevelt, Jespersen and Francis de Vos ; to the former Placentius added a poem ; so did Peter Megang and others, to the latter : *BB*, c, 267-268 ; Henne, v, 44.

⁵⁾ Cp. *MonHL.*, 500 ; *Gran.*, 288, a, b ; *BibBelg.*, 607-8 ; *FlandScript.*, 116-17 : the two latter notices mention that he had collected remedies against malefic arts, which Martin Antony Delrio advises not to use.

⁶⁾ Cp. *MonHL.*, 500-508.

Amongst the series of *ludi magistri* mentioned in that passage the first is, no doubt, Francis de Vos, Vulpes, Alopecius ; he had been, at Cassel, a pupil of Stephen Comes, who addressed to him and to his fellow pupils his *Primitie* in 1513 ¹⁾. By 1536, Vos was, no doubt, master of the Latin School of *Stevertiaccum*, probably Steenvoorde, near Cassel ; a few years later, when he wrote the recommendatory poems for Crucius' *Parænesis* and *Viridarium*, he was at the head of the *Ludus* of Bailleul ²⁾. To him and to those referred to in the following verses, no doubt, applies the fine epitheton *iugum uenustum, fratres Eucharij*. Indeed the first place amongst the *Magistri* of Flanders is due to the Great schoolmaster of Ghent, Eligius Hoeckaert, Houcarius, or Eucharis, a native of that town, where he got his first lessons from Robert de Keysere ³⁾. He went to study in Montague College, Paris, under Luis Coronello ⁴⁾, and promoted M. A. in 1504. On his return to Ghent he started a school on Sandy Mound ⁵⁾, which soon became famous. He formed there many fine pupils and wrote several works in verse : the lives of St. Livinus, of St. Coleta and of St. Bertulph, 1511 ⁶⁾ ; also a poem on the Resurrection, 1511 ⁷⁾ ; others of his writings have a moral aim : his treatise *De Penitentia*, 1514 ⁸⁾ ; *Super Conflictu*

¹⁾ Ghent, Peter de Keysere (1513) : NijKron., I, 268 : on the title-page is a *Prosopopeia*, inviting to pay the small price for sublime truths adorned with flowers. The book was dedicated on May 1, 1513 to the Cassel Chapter, and a poem was addressed to the author's hearers 'Nicolao Brvyreo, Francisco Vvlpī' and their fellows. Cp. before, II, 180-81.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 441 ; BB, c, 267, 268. He is possibly identical with the *Henricus Vulpes*, also a schoolmaster, to whom in Nov. 1514, de Spouter appealed in his quarrel with Stephen Comes : BB, D, 297, 3.

³⁾ Cp. I, 279-81, 521-23, II, 179, 349 ; Henne, v, 45.

⁴⁾ Renaudet, 457, 592, sq.

⁵⁾ Mons Arenosus, Zandberg : cp. before, pp 296, 429.

⁶⁾ *In hoc opusculo contenta | Liuini... Vita... | Bertulphi... vita... | In Colletam... Pæan elegiacus* : Paris, J. Badius, for V. v. Crombrugghe and G. Zweemere, Ghent ; January 13, 1511 : NijKron., II, 3219 : with verses by Peter Reschotus, and letters from Badius and Hoeckaert to Antony Clava, Colve, of Ghent : cp. before, I, 280, II, 138, 491.

⁷⁾ *In laudem Saluatoris a morte resurgentis... Carmen* : Paris, Judocus Badius for V. van Crombrugghe, 5 April 1511 (the only known copy was destroyed in the Louvain fire, August 1914) : NijKron., II, 3214.

⁸⁾ *Tractatus de penitentia tersioribus versibus &c* (it treats the Ten Commandments, the sacraments, chief virtues and sins against them) :

Betvle et Iannvli Catone Ivdice Trilogvs, 1519 ¹⁾; about the same time he published his famous play *Grisellis* ²⁾, and a few weeks later, *Charitis et Gandæ super Obitu Maximiliani... Commentarius* ³⁾. In that work, for the very first time, he calls himself 'sacerdos Ludimagister Arenæmontanus Gandensis' ⁴⁾. Meanwhile he had edited the *Decem Æglogæ* to Archduke Charles by the blind Peter de Ponte ⁵⁾, with a letter of July 26, 1513, and a poem ⁶⁾, as well as, on April 24, 1516, the fine *Carmen de Passione Domini* ⁷⁾ of the saintly chaplain of Queen Eleanor of England, John of Hoveden, or Howden ⁸⁾, with a letter to the Ghent Carmelite Jerome Fontanus, and a poem by Petrus Tectorinus Donsacius ⁹⁾. A few years later he translated some of the *Refereynen* of the

Ghent, (Rob. de Keysere) for V. van Combrugghe and Peter de Keysere, March 28, 151[4] : NijKron., II, 3217. It contains verses by John Lacteus, Cornelius Grapeus, and a 'nenia de immatura morte Ioannis Dullardi' : Paquot, XII, 216.

¹⁾ Antwerp, M. Hillen, 1519 : NijKron., II, 3218 ; it brings, besides what the title announces, 'Inter Morionem Et Morvm Dialogvs' and an epitaph on Emperor Maximilian. As this book offers the correction of the misprints in *Grisellis*, it seems as if it was printed in the last months of 1519.

²⁾ *In Hoc Opere Contenta Grisellis tribus actibus Scenicis* : Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, 1519 : *BulBiB.*, XIX, 162 ; NijKron., II, 3216 ; *GandErVir.*, 40. The play is offered by a letter of Sept. 6, 1518, to Baldwin van Hulle, Gaiopolitanus, Rector of Paris University. The play was recommended by verses of Levinus Linius, of Ghent, Antwerp hypodidasculus (cp. before, p 415-16). Cp. *FlandScript.*, 119 ; *GandErVir.*, 87.

³⁾ Ghent, Peter de Keysere, December 1519 : NijKron., II, 3215 : the commentary brings a letter from Hoeckaert to Andrew Martin, monk of Cambron, Nov. 28, 1519, and another to Luis Coronello, professor of Scripture, preacher in the Spanish Court, December 1, 1519 ; 'Paschasius Zoutterius Cynopagita, hypodidasculus Arenemontanus' adds two poems.

⁴⁾ NijKron., II, 3215.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 210 ; *BrugErVir.*, 68.

⁶⁾ *Petri de ponte Ceci Brugensis decem Ægloge* : [1513] : NijKron., II, 3670.

⁷⁾ *Carmen rithmicum de passione dni... mgri Ioannis Houden Anglici* : Ghent, Peter de Keysere : NijKron., I, 1142.

⁸⁾ He was professor of theology and died in 1275 : the poem, first printed for Hoeckaert, was part of the *Philomela*, the chief poem of the holy man : *DNB*.

⁹⁾ Peter Tectorinus (Deckers ?), Donsacius (of Deynze ?) : *FlandScript.*, 138 ; *FlandAnn.*, 44, v.

Antwerp schoolmistress Anna Byns ¹⁾ against the Lutheran errors, which were published at Antwerp in 1529 ²⁾; later, in response to de Meyere's appeal, he added an Epitaph to the memorial volume published in honour of Erasmus in 1536 ³⁾, in which the trusty friend of the Great Humanist expressed his heartfelt and affectionate admiration, which he himself had communicated during long years to all his pupils and collaborators ⁴⁾.

One of those was the active and erudite 'Leoperdus in Novello Portu', as the verse has it, for : Paul Liebaert, Leopardus : from 1535 he was at work in the shool of Nieuport, before taking the lead of that of Hondshoote ⁵⁾. The 'Laurentius' who follows in the list was, no doubt, John de Spouter's friend, fellow-student of Louvain, his colleague at Bergues-St. Winoc, and also afterwards at Comines, 'John Laurentij', of Hazebroek. The Grammarian mentions him in the letter which, in 1509, he prefixed to his *Syntaxis*, and on December, 16, 1510, he dedicated to him his *Ars Versificatoria*, describing him as 'Joanni Laurentio hasebroucano musico nobili atque ingenuarum artium professori perdocto et suo amico primario' ⁶⁾. To him are joined two other *ludi magistri* : one, Peter de Pape, Papæus, had started a Latin school at Menin ; he became well acquainted with the poet Francis Hæmus ⁷⁾, and is especially known as the author of the Bible play *Samarites*, the story of the robbed Jew who is helped by a Samaritan, after having implored in vain the

¹⁾ Anna Byns was highly praised for her well-meant criticisms of Luther's errors : e. g., by Jerome Clichtove in his letter to Livinus Crucius in the *Parænesis*, 1543 (cp. *sup.*, p 441), and her poems were translated by Mary d'Entières, of Tournai, 1539, and by the Franciscan Henry Pippinck : *BibBelg.*, 59 ; *Miræus*, 36 ; *SweABelg.*, 129 ; *Paquot*, v, 406 ; *FlandScript.*, 119.

²⁾ *Iste est pulcher & syncerus libellus, continens in se plura loepida, artificiosa Cantica...* ab honesta & ingeniosa virgine Anna Byns Antverpiana : Antwerp, William Vorsterman, 1529 : *NijKron.*, I, 424.

³⁾ Cp. next section, c.

⁴⁾ Cp. *BibBelg.*, 201-2 ; *GandErVir.*, 39-40, 42, 87 ; *FlandScript.*, 119 ; *Paquot*, v, 408 ; and before, I, 221, 279, *sq.*, II, 179, 512.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 247-50.

⁶⁾ *BB*, D, 267-68, 292, 294, 296 ; and before, I, 207, 209, 211.

⁷⁾ *FlandIll.*, 136 ; *BibBelg.*, 754 ; *Paquot*, vi, 293.

assistance of a Levite and of a priest, who happened to come that way. It was dedicated on June 22, 1537, to John Falvellius, Fauvel, 'Præposito Formosellano', and printed at Antwerp in 1539 ¹⁾; it was reprinted four times in Germany, and once, with a commentary by Alexius Vanegas de Busto, at Toledo, 1542 ²⁾. The other *ludi magister*, Ægidius Becius, is Giles van Beek, head of the school of Wervicq, Viroviacum, Verviacensis, who was well known as poet : he contributed an epitaph on Erasmus to de Meyere's *Hymni*, 1537 ³⁾, as well as to the *Æglogæ Tres*, 1536, under the title *In Cornelium Graphei Theandrum* ⁴⁾ : especially through the latter, highly praised poem, his name is recorded ⁵⁾.

The next in the series, — marked as 'Zoutero' by mistake — is the Paschasius Zouterus, of Hondshoote, near Poperinghe, *Cynopagita*; he was Hoeckaert's hypodidascalus before he became the head of the school of Ypres. He contributed an explanatory *Prosopopeia* and a recommendatory elegy to *Theoandrathanatos*, — a representation of the Lord's passion, in which the Biblical truth is mixed with mediaeval legends, and proposed in pagan conceptions and figures by Gianfrancesco Conti, under the name of Quintianus Stoa ⁶⁾, — when it was reprinted, probably as class-book, at Ghent on November 15, 1518 ⁷⁾. He also added a παράκλησις and an ἐξάστιχον in *Eligiomastiga* to the *Charitis et Gandæ super Obitu Maximiliani Commentarius*, December 1519, of his master Hoeckaert ⁸⁾, as well as a φιλόμουσον δεκάστιχον to Stephen Comes' *Oratio Gratulatoria*, pronounced by Abbot Submontanus, of the Downs, one of the *legati* to the King of Spain,

¹⁾ Antwerp, William Montanus, 1539 : NijKron., I, 1676.

²⁾ Creizenach, II, 75, 95, 126-7; Bahlmann, II, 69-70; *FlandScript.*, 136.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 3527; cp. *inf.*, p 448.

⁴⁾ The *Æglogæ*, printed at Antwerp by John Grapheus for John Steels in 1536, were intended as homage to Mary of Hungary : NijKron., I, 1021; the poem by Becius takes up ff C 8, r-D 8, v.

⁵⁾ *FlandScript.*, 13.

⁶⁾ Creizenach, II, 372-74, 377, 425 : it seems to have been composed before, or early in, 1504, when the author came to France : Bahlmann, II, 29, sq, 47.

⁷⁾ *Tragedia de Passione Dñi nři Iesu Christi : que Theoandrathanatos inscribitur...* : Ghent, Peter de Keysere, 1518 : NijKron., I, 1958.

⁸⁾ Ghent, Peter de Keysere : NijKron., II, 3215; and before, p 443.

and other poems by de Grave, published on February 23, 1520 ¹⁾). The *Miscellanea Grammatices*, 1524, and the *Adolescentia, sive de contemnenda Voluptate et amplexanda Virtute*, carmine elegiaco, attributed to Zouterus by Val. Andreas, may have gone lost, if they ever existed ²⁾).

The list closes with Basconius, who apparently was the master of the school of Bailleul, the poet's birth-place, which allows him to conclude his *Monodia* by a last mention of his native town and a supreme prayer :

Sed tu Meyere quem creavit illud
Pulchrum Balliolum, modum dolori
Funesto statue & tuis querelis,
Atram pone chelym & precare Christum
Iungat coelicolum choris Erasmus
Cuius chare Deus suprema uox est.

C. VARIOUS SCHOLARS

James de Meyere's urging request found, not only a welcoming reception, but even an immediate reverberation in Ghent, where the head of the *Mons Arenosus* school answered the invitation without delay, by publishing a biographical letter of the Great Erasmus, which then only existed in manuscript. A copy had been made surreptitiously by a confrater of Gerard Geldenhouwer, when secretary to Bishop Philip of Utrecht, which reached Martin Lips ³⁾, and his transcription was most probably the model of the text which was edited in the last months of 1536 at Ghent ⁴⁾ :

¶ Epistola / qvædam D. Erasmi Rot. / nvñqvam
ante hac ædi- / ta, rationem fere totius vitæ eius /
continens. // ¶ Epitaphia nonnvlla in evn- / dem,
quorum censuram tibi o Le- / ctor relinquimus. ///
Gandavi / Excudebat Iodocus Lamber- / tvs e regione
domvs senatoriæ. / 1536.

¹⁾ Ghent, P. de Keyser : *NijKron.*, II, 2391 ; before, I, 210, II, 180-81.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 712 ; (the two books are said to be printed at Antwerp : the former in 1524, the latter by Mich. Hillen, 1521) ; *FlandScript.*, 129.

³⁾ Erasmus had communicated the letter 'sub fide' to Geldenhouwer ; Lips, in his *ms* codex, now in the Royal Library, Brussels, *MS.* 4850-7, f 143, notes, in the preface, that it was copied by a confrater noctu : Allen, I, 296, *pr.*

⁴⁾ *NijKron.*, I, 818 : in 8°, 12 leaves.

In the letter, dated from the Castle of Hammes, July 8, 1514 ¹⁾, Erasmus replies to his old confrater and intimate friend Servatius Rogerus, who, in 1504, had become eighth Prior of Stein, and as such urged the now famous erudite to return to their convent ²⁾. With full details, he states that he had been enticed to enter the order, in which he soon found in how far the life at Stein was, in fact, harmful to his health, and besides almost unbearable, as it did not suit at all his wish for study, which had been the chief motive of his entrance. He relates how, since long, with the approval of the authorities, he had begun an existence entirely devoted to erudition, so that he now is fully engaged in Biblical and Patristic research, for which he intends leaving soon for Germany and for Rome. He explains how, with Papal dispensation ³⁾, he had adapted himself to the conditions of life in Italy and England, and finishes up by declaring that he only wants to do what is best : ‘Cupio et hoc vitæ genus mutare, si quod videro melius. Sed in Hollandia quid agam non video’ ⁴⁾. That most important document, of which the Ghent edition gives the best text ⁵⁾, was, no doubt, published by Hoeckaert as a justification of the Great Erudite; for no other plausible objection could be raised against him, except his abandoning the monastery ⁶⁾. Hoeckaert evidently was excellently placed to judge about the advisability of the editing of the letter ⁷⁾, which must have always been irksome to Erasmus himself, even after he had obtained full dispensation in the matter from Leo X. It is more than probable, that at the announcement of his decease, Erasmus’ enemies

¹⁾ Allen, I, 296; the text is reproduced in *EraCat.*, I 2, r-I 6, v.

²⁾ Allen, I, 4.

³⁾ A dispensation about the *defectus natalium* was granted by Julius II on January 26, 1506 : Allen, I, 187^A; it allowed him to accept prebends; the final, definite dispensation was given by Leo X on January 26, 1517 : Vischer, 16-30; Allen, II, 517. By 1507, at the plague that broke out in Italy, Julius II had allowed him to wear, or not to wear, the dress of the order : Allen, I, 296, 186.

⁴⁾ Allen, I, 296, 206-7.

⁵⁾ Allen, I, 296, pr.

⁶⁾ Erasmus refers, when writing on Dec. 24, 1533 to Peter and Christopher Mexia, to the blame cast on him, for leaving the convent of Stein, by Augustine Steucher on July 25, 1531 : Allen, x, 2892, 105-10, ix, 2513, 445.

⁷⁾ Allen, I, 296, 186.

started harping on the annoying theme, since otherwise, there was little or no ground for blaming his way of living, whilst the offer of the Cardinal's dignity and the request to take part in the preparation of the contemplated Council, were proofs sufficient of the unobjectionableness of his doctrine. To any man of good faith the document was unexceptionable.

The arrival of the *Epænos* and the *Monodia* by Meyere was most welcome to the Ghent *Ludi magister*, for he was, no doubt, responsible for the little booklet. He added, to the text of Erasmus' apt autobiography, the two poems by his Bruges colleague ¹⁾, as well as an *Epitaphium* of his own composition ²⁾. He states in it that Erasmus, although deceased, is, in a sense, still alive : for by his writings he shows that he sees and hears what is going on, and provides true and healthy advice, so as to help man to live for Christ and for the glory and well-being of the Church. On the reverse of the title-page was added a poem *In Mortem Doctissimi et Sanctissimi uiri Erasmi*, by his hypodidascalus George Cassander ³⁾, remarking, in verses replete with erudite allusions ⁴⁾, that, though Death rejoices in her victory over the man who was considered to be immortal, she has only mastered his shadow, since he looks down in full happiness on earth and sea.

When, in January 1537, James de Meyere had his *Hymni aliquot* printed by Rutger Rescius ⁵⁾, he added to his hymnologic corrections, his poems on Erasmus, *Epænos* and *Monodia* ⁶⁾, as well as some of the verses which had been sent to him by colleagues in reply to his appeal. Thus, a *carmen iambicum* by the Ghent Dominican Nicolas Charellus Emerentius, *in Barbaros frustra sibi gratulantes ob Erasmi mortem* ⁷⁾; an epitaph by Stephen Comes ⁸⁾; one by Giles van Beek, the Wervicq master ⁹⁾, others by John Lacteus, of

¹⁾ Viz., the *Epænos* and the *Monodia* : *Epistola* &c, a 6, v, a 8 v.

²⁾ *Epistola* &c, b 2, r.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 296-303.

⁴⁾ *Epistola* &c, a 1, v.

⁵⁾ NijKron., II, 3527 : in 8°, 80 leaves.

⁶⁾ *Hymni* &c, I 7, v, K 4, v.

⁷⁾ *Hymni* &c, K 4, r ; *EraCat.*, M 6, v, sq ; EOI, 17.

⁸⁾ *Hymni* &c, K 5, v ; *EraCat.*, M 2, r ; EOI, 63, b : cp. before, p 437.

⁹⁾ *Hymni* &c, K 5, v ; cp. before, p 445.

Ghent ¹⁾ and, finally an elegy by John Cuvillon, who was then still one of his pupils ²⁾).

The great success of those commemorating poems suggested his eager friends, — most probably those centred in the *Trilingue*, — to gather all that literature of grateful admiration; they may have entrusted, or, at any rate, have recommended, to an Antwerp bookseller, John Coccius, the plan of realizing a complete collection of writings in memory of the Great Erudite: he had it printed by the widow of Martin de Keyser, who brought it out '*circiter Calē. Maias. Anno m. d. xxxvii.*', under a long title ³⁾, beginning with the words:

CATALO- / GI DVO OPERVM D. / ERASMI ROTERODAMI
AB IP- / so conscripti, & digesti. Cum præfatione D.
Boni- / facij Amerbachij Iurecons. ut omni deinceps
im- / posturæ uia intercludatur, ne pro Erasmico /
quispiam ædat, quod uir ille non / scripserit dum
uiueret. /// ACCESSIT &c.

The very interesting volume is, for as far as the documents indicated in the title, a reproduction of the one printed by J. Froben and N. Episcopius, in Basle, in April 1537 ⁴⁾: in fact, up to the term *Accessit* the wording of the two issues is identical: and the Antwerp editor just reproduced for that part of the book what was in his model. It is, first, a letter of Boniface Amerbach to John Paungartner, the rich merchant of Augsburg ⁵⁾, relating details about the death and the succes-

¹⁾ *Hymni* &c, K 6, r; cp before, pp 429-31, 439.

²⁾ *Hymni* &c, K 7, r. John Cuvillon, Cuvilloen, or Couvillon, of Lille, proceeded to Louvain, where as student of the Lily he promoted M. A. in 1540, being placed the 15th. He studied at the *Trilingue*; and taught at the Lily, until, after 1543, he entered the order of the Jesuits. He was entrusted with the teaching of divinity in Coimbra, Rome, Lyons and Ingolstadt, and attended the meetings of the Council of Trent as the theologian of the Duke of Bavaria. He died in Rome on August 17, 1581, as penitentiary. Cp. *ULPromRs.*, 103; *ULDoc.*, iv, 250; *JesRheinA*, 14, 16, 45, 291; *JésNécr.*, 2; *DébEnCo.*, 195.

³⁾ *NijKron.*, i, 787; it was reissued three months later, with the only change, on the title-page, of the month: '*circiter Calē. Augu.*': *NijKron.*, ii, 2858.

⁴⁾ Cp. *EraBib.*, i, 27: the edition, ascribed to 1536, must be a mistake, since the letter of Amerbach which it announces, is dated '*Calend. Febr.*' 1537.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, ix, 2603, pr.

sion of their friend ¹⁾). Then follows the interesting missive to John Botzheim, dated January 30, 1523, when Erasmus actually dispatched a letter with the list of books that had been issued at that date ²⁾; for the edition of February 1537, that list had been corrected and completed, and was thus reproduced at Antwerp ³⁾. The second catalogue is that which Erasmus made up, on March 11, 1530, for his old friend of the Paris days, Hector Boece, Boethius, of Dundee, historian, who helped Bishop Elphinstone in founding Aberdeen University, where he remained at work till his decease ⁴⁾; in reply to his letter of May 26, 1528 ⁵⁾, Erasmus sent him a list of all his writings ⁶⁾. Those lists are followed by Beatus Rhenanus' narrative of Erasmus' life and death to Herman of Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, August 15, 1536, placed as dedication in the edition of Origen, at which he worked at the last ⁷⁾; also by *Friderici Nauseæ, Invictissimi Ferdinandi Cæsaris, &c. a Concilijs, in Magnum Erasmus, nuper ulta functum, Monodia* ⁸⁾. After a page with Erasmus' portrait, and Gilbert Cousin's poem *in effigiem Erasmi* ⁹⁾, follows his *Epistola* to Servatius Rogerus, first edited in 1536 by Hoeckaert, at Ghent ¹⁰⁾.

To the *Catalogi duo*, edited in Basle about February 1537, was added what the title announces as : *Accessit in fine Epitaphiorum ac Tumulorum libellus quibus Erasmi mors defletur, cum elegantissima epistola ad clarissimum virum D. Guil. Bellaium Langæum* ¹¹⁾. Similar additions were made to those printed at Antwerp : the *Epitaphiorum ac Tumulorum Libellus* begins with the letter of Germanus Brixius to

¹⁾ *EraCat.*, A 2, r-A 5, v ; Allen, xi, 3141.

²⁾ Allen, i, I (pp 1-46), *pr.*

³⁾ *EraCat.*, A 6, r-F 1, v.

⁴⁾ *DNB* ; Allen, i, 47, *pr.*

⁵⁾ Allen, vii, 1996.

⁶⁾ *EraCat.*, F 1, v-F 7, r ; Allen, viii, 2283.

⁷⁾ *EraCat.*, F 7, v-G 2, r ; Allen, i, III (pp 53-56), 6-123 ; RhenE, 425-428.

⁸⁾ *EraCat.*, G 2, r-I 1, r ; EOI, 72, a-78, a. — It was printed by Gymnich, Cologne, with a dedication to Ferdinand from Mayence (Allen, xi, 3139), August 18, 1536. — Frederic Grawe, Nausea, had studied in Italy, and was Cochläus' faithful friend; he made Erasmus' acquaintance in 1525; great as preacher, he became Bishop of Vienna in 1541. He died at Trent during the Council, on February 6, 1552 : Allen, vi, 1577, *pr.*

⁹⁾ *EraCat.*, I 1, v.

¹⁰⁾ *EraCat.*, I 2, r-I 6, v ; *cp.* before, pp 446-8.

¹¹⁾ Allen, xi, 3141, *pr.*

Guilielmus Bellaius Langæus of September 29, 1536 ¹⁾, and one from Paul Volz to Beatus Rhenanus of December 1, 1536, followed by an *Apotheosis Erasmi* by John Sapidus, and poems by Volz, Vitus Cop, of Schlettstadt, Gilbert Cousin, and Frederic Nausea ²⁾. To them are added the five epitaphs with the verses on Erasmus' picture by Cornelius Grapheus, which had been communicated to Olah ³⁾, as well as de Meyere's *Epænos* and *Monodia*, and the epitaphs by Hoeckaert and Cassander, Stephen Comes and Nicolas Charellus, which had been published in the Bruges *Hymni* and the Ghent *Epistola* of that same year ⁴⁾. A poem by Andrew de Resende, in *Erasmomastigas* closes that series ⁵⁾. It is followed by another which reproduces the three booklets published by the friends and students of the *Trilingue*: the *Encomium* by William Piscis ⁶⁾, the *Epitaphia per viros Academicæ Louaniensis* ⁷⁾, and those *per Clarissimos aliquot viros conscripta* ⁸⁾: even the order of the various items is imitated, except where the space interfered with it, or the printer's convenience: the epitaph by Livinus Panagathus is placed on the back of the title with the letters which represent a number, in red ⁹⁾; it is joined to two others: non obIt DIVVs nerVenI, VIVIt ERASMVs; and: DIVVs reVIXIt (sI obIt) ERASMVs, composed and offered by Gerard Vorselman Megasonder [of Great Zundert], Antwerp physician, to John Nervenius, President of 'Dirixland' and glory of 'Suytuornia' ¹⁰⁾; a fourth distich is quoted from the contribution by Andrew Masius to the *Epitaphia* by the Louvain students ¹¹⁾.

A last section comprises contributions from various quarters:

¹⁾ Germain de Brie to the great general of Francis I, William du Bellay (1491-1543).

²⁾ *EraCat.*, I 7, r-L 8, r.

³⁾ *EraCat.*, L 8, v-M 1, v; cp. before, pp 407, 414.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 446-49.

⁵⁾ *EraCat.*, M 7, v-M 8, v; cp. before, II, 395-403.

⁶⁾ *EraCat.*, N 1, r-N 5 v; cp. before, pp 431-32.

⁷⁾ *EraCat.*, N 6, r-O 3, r; cp. before, pp 415-31.

⁸⁾ *EraCat.*, O 3, r-P 2, r; cp. before, pp 403-15.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, p 412.

¹⁰⁾ Dirksland, on the island Over-Flakkee, and Voorne, the South-Western corner of South Holland. Cp. *sup.*, p 262.

¹¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 427-28.

an *elegia* on the *felici in Christo obitu* of Erasmus by Godefredus Rhodus Stegrius ¹⁾, three distichs to the three Fates, by Ludouicus (= Andrew) Masius ²⁾, three epitaphs by Andrew Hyperius ³⁾, and two poems by George Cassander ⁴⁾; on a page by itself, Erasmus' *effigies* is printed with a two-lined carmen by Cranevelt ⁵⁾, and the list closes with two longer anonymous poems ⁶⁾. That the collection, issued about the beginning of May 1537, was very popular, results from the fact that it was reprinted three months later, about the beginning of August ⁷⁾, and most of the documents and verses it contains were reproduced as additional and introductional parts to the *Opera Omnia* of Leyden in 1703 ⁸⁾.

The large number of contributors to the memorial verses attests the great popularity both of Erasmus and of all the things which had become as welded into his activity, into his name and into his memory. A fortunate acknowledgment had come to him in the last months of his life, in the highly complimentary offer of the Deventer Provostry by Paul III, on August 1, 1535 ⁹⁾, of which the execution was secured by the most laudatory recommendation to Queen Mary of Hungary, on August 5, 1535 ¹⁰⁾. That offer and the subsequent sanctioning of that supreme approval by the projected nomination as Cardinal ¹¹⁾, though it caused bitter disappointment in some quarters ¹²⁾, was generally hailed as the right reward

¹⁾ *EraCat.*, P 2, v-P 4, r. ²⁾ *EraCat.*, P 4, r; cp. before, p 428.

³⁾ Andrew Gheeraerdt, of Ypres, later professor of Marburg: cp. before, pp 253-4; *EraCat.*, P 4, v-5, r.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 296-303; *EraCat.*, P 5, r, v. On N 5, v, Paul Scutomastix praises Erasmus for reforming St. Francis's Order.

⁵⁾ *EraCat.*, P 7, r; cp. before, pp 404-5.

⁶⁾ *EraCat.*, P 6, r, v, P 7, v-10, r.

⁷⁾ *NijKron.*, II, 2858.

⁸⁾ *EOI*, 15-86; the poems are placed there in series according to the matter, and, in each, in the alphabetical order of the authors.

⁹⁾ Vischer, 34; *FG*, 262-63; Allen, XI, 3033, 3061, 23-30: a duplicate was sent on September 2, to Goclenius, 3052, 35; the Imperial procurator Ambrose a Gumpfenberg took care of Erasmus' interests and promotion: Allen, XI, 3047, 1-36.

¹⁰⁾ Vischer, 35; Allen, XI, 3034.

¹¹⁾ Allen, XI, 3047, 47, sq, 3052, 31-35, 3064, 26-27; *ErasPort.*, 16, sq; *ErasLaur.*, I, 658, sq.

¹²⁾ On June 15, 1536, Hezius bitterly criticized the honour bestowed on Erasmus, in so far that he wrote that 'nemo jam sit bonus et oculatus qui non Erasmi nomen et scripta ex toto corde detestetur': and, even,

for his long, difficult, and thanklessly treated endeavours. Evidently the great services he had rendered to Biblical and Patristic studies, were highly valued from his very lifetime, although only from a select body of scholars. The veering of all human knowledge from the swamps of tradition to the sunlit expanse of Truth and Reality, was, on the contrary, benefiting at once to a large number of grateful mortals; so, for certain, was his transcendent method, leading straight to the intellectual renaissance. Indeed, through the sane and rational study of languages and literature, which he introduced, and placed within everybody's reach in the glorious *Trilingue*, he realized in less than two decads, a beneficial influence over an area of which the extent is suggested by the wealth of epitaphs, as well as by Meyere's *Monodia* ¹⁾; that influence was particularly deep and thorough: its result sounds with glorious gratitude from all the elegies offered in thankful acknowledgment by the host of remarkable men owing their formation to the Institute, for,

Vt Troianus equus proceres, sic plurima nobis
Clarum hoc Gymnasium, nomina docta dedit ²⁾.

6. COLLEGE LIFE

A. BOARDERS

Whilst that work of pious gratitude was devised and carried out for a considerable part in the *Trilingue*, its College life had been going on regularly, as far as the lectures and the care devoted to boarders were concerned. Goclenius, who had been a resident from the very first, continued the course of life and work that, up to then, had proved most prosperous. Of his regency, which extended over two years and four months, beginning at van der Hoeven's decease, September 10, 1536, and ending at his

that he considered the *Breve* to be a fake; in reply Aleander wrote soon after July 6, 1536: *περὶ δὲ ἐκείνου φίλου καὶ ἐκδοθέντος ἀποστολικοῦ διπλώματος consuevit hæc monstra Roma parere: AléaLiège*, 303-5, 306.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 435, sq.

²⁾ *EpiClaVir.*, B 3, v-B 4, r; cp. before, pp 412-13.

own death, January 25, 1539, only one account has been preserved, that of his second year, from September 10, 1537, to September 10, 1538 ¹⁾). It shows that, in the beginning of that period, four inmates were still residing in the College, who had started studying under the late president. Adrian Sandelin remained until April 8, 1538 ²⁾); Arnold Sasbout left on August 14, 1538 ³⁾); Francis le Sauvage went away on August 19, 1538, with his servant Stephen Faukurius ⁴⁾), whereas Peter Suys continued his residence until Edelheer's presidency ⁵⁾).

On July 23, 1537, **James Suys** entered the College as the fifth inmate ⁶⁾); he remained till 1540, at least : for in that year the accounts mention some repairs made in his room ⁷⁾). He may have been a distant relative to Cornelius Suys, and his son Peter ; still there is no allusion in the records to any family connection with his fellow-boarder ; nor is the name uncommon. He was born at Zierikzee, and afterwards became Lord of Grisenoord ; he is better known for his erudition than for his illustrious family, for he was highly esteemed in his time as numismatist, being the possessor of a collection which proved a great help to Mark Laurin and to Goltzius ⁸⁾). He even continued practising and studying literature, for in 1590, no doubt at the end of a busy career, he published a bundle of *Carmina*, printed by Francis Raphelengius, partly sacred, such as his metrical paraphrases of some psalms, partly profane, comprising satires and other poems ⁹⁾).

On September 7, 1537, a sixth inmate was accepted in the College, **John Sterck**, alias **Wolfaert**, Wolphardus, as Goclenius wrote down his name ¹⁰⁾). He probably was identical

¹⁾ *AccGocl.*, 1 r, 39, r.

²⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3bts, r : cp. before, pp 225-27.

³⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3bts, r : cp. before, pp 234-36.

⁴⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3bts, r : cp. before, pp 240-42.

⁵⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3bts, r ; *AccEdel.*, 4 ; cp. before, pp 226-27.

⁶⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3bts : as his payment went from July 23, 1537 till the same date of 1538, he probably entered the College on that day.

⁷⁾ *ManRorchI*, 30 ; he is also mentioned in the account of James Edelheer, from January 26 to June 22, 1539 : *AccEdel.*, 4.

⁸⁾ *Guicc.*, 217, 240.

⁹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 430 ; Foppens, 539 ; *PlantE*, v, 187-88.

¹⁰⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3bts, r : 'Joānis Sterck alias Wolphardj'.

with the 'Dominus Joannes Wolfaert, Knight', who was one of the two mayors of Antwerp in 1569 and 1570 ¹⁾, after having been repeatedly elected as alderman of his native town between 1550 and 1568 ²⁾. By his mother he was related to the most influential Antwerp family Sterck, which explains how Goclenius wrote him down under that name in his register, as he probably was thus called, being, apparently, connected with the Godfried Sterck, who, by the end of 1525, had been sent to be educated in the *Trilingue* ³⁾. John Wolfaert did not stay very long : he already took his final leave on July 12, 1538, seven weeks before the end of Goclenius' second account ⁴⁾.

B. LATER ARRIVAL

After the closing of that account, on September 10, 1538, there came into the College as a boarder Arnold de Merode : he was there when James Edelheer started his presidency ⁵⁾. He probably is identical with the Arnold de Merode, son of William, Knight, Lord of Fologne, and of Catherine Bauw, Lady of Gossoncourt, or Goetsenhoven, Muggenberg and Hollogne ; that William occupied the position of amman of Brussels from 1517 to 1525 ⁶⁾. Arnold, who was Lord of Royenborch, or Royenberg, and Vuelen, afterwards settled

¹⁾ *AntwHist.*, VIII, 235.

²⁾ *AntAnn.*, II, 361 (in this and several other instances, the name is written *Wolsaerd*), 367, 398, 408, 418, 440, 478 ; the James Wolfaert, who, in 1552, contributed 150 florins to the Antwerp free loan to the Emperor (*AntAnn.*, II, 389), was perhaps identical with him.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 368-70 ; it is difficult to define more exactly the relationship of this John Sterck Wolfaert : his mother may have been a daughter of John Sterck, controller of Maximilian of Austria at Antwerp : *GesSterck*, 13 ; possibly of Josse Sterck, so that she were the sister of Henry and John, both in the service of Philip the Fair and his son Charles : *GesSterck*, 16 ; cp. II, 370 ; or of any of the members of that distinguished family, which, however, did not include, probably, Joachim Fortis van Ringelberg, and certainly not John Stercke van Meerbeke, President of the *Trilingue* : *GesSterck*, 17, sq ; cp. II, 61-2, 238-41, &c, and 192-95.

⁴⁾ *AccGocl.*, 3bis, r.

⁵⁾ *AccEdel.*, 4.

⁶⁾ *BruxHist.*, II, 507 ; *NobPB*, II, 1352 ; Henne, III, 355, where he is said to have lacked order or character.

at Mechlin : besides being 'commune-meester', and head of the Guild of St. George, he was often elected mayor and alderman; he had married Catherine de Gotengyes, Gottignies, and died on June 1, 1553 : he was buried in St. Rombaut's, in front of St. Magdalen's altar, with his wife, who survived him some years ¹). They left a son, William de Merode, Lord of Royenborch, who, in 1580, was manager of the Royal domains and finances : he died in 1628 ²); also a daughter Margaret, who married John de Busleyden, Lord of Heembeek, Licentiate of both Laws, the fifth son of Giles de Busleyden ³), who died at Mechlin on November 3, 1556, and whom she survived until March 23, 1601 ⁴). There further was a son, Henry, who, from 1569 to 1597, was repeatedly mayor, alderman, and treasurer of Mechlin; and, finally, a daughter, Isabella, who died in 1571 ⁵).

C. BURSARS

In 1538 two bursars were accepted in the College : one was Nicolas Wary of Marville, no doubt a nephew of the

¹) *MalInscr.*, 63; *MalHist.*, I, 63; 375, II, 316, 319, 369, 371, 407; *NobPB.*, II, 1352-53.

²) *MalInscr.*, 358 : he offered to his parish a station of Our Lady's Sorrows, erected in the long New Street, which was restored by his family in 1841 : *MalHist.*, I, 262, II, 371.

³) Cp. *Busl.*, 25.

⁴) *MalInscr.*, 61, 230; *MalHist.*, I, 55; *ConPriT*, 221; Laenen, II, 238.

⁵) *NobPB.*, II, 1352-53; *MalInscr.*, 508; *MalGod.*, 428. In the matriculation register of Louvain of that period the names occur of 'Wernerus de Merode de Follonia leodiensis dioceseos', rich student of the Falcon, inscribed on August 30, 1519, who, judging by the name, was Arnold's eldest brother; and of William de Merode, of that same diocese, inscribed for the study of law, October 15, 1526 : *LibIntIII*, 257, v, 336, v. The 'Ricaleus Merodensis de leodio', a rich student of the Castle, inscribed on August 29, 1523, may possibly have been a relative; and so may the Wilhelmus de Vuelen, alias de merode, August 12, 1516, and the 'Ricaldus, filius Dominj de petersen de meroda', rich student of the Castle, August 30, 1519 : *LibIntIII*, 303, r, 222, v, 256, v, since the family possessed several estates like that of Vuelen, which was one of Arnold de Merode's titles : cp. Guicc., 278. A John de Merode is mentioned as Lord of Gheel and Westerloo : he died on January 18, 1569, but had lost his wife, Ann of Ghisteltes, already on March 28, 1533 : *SweMon.*, 375-76.

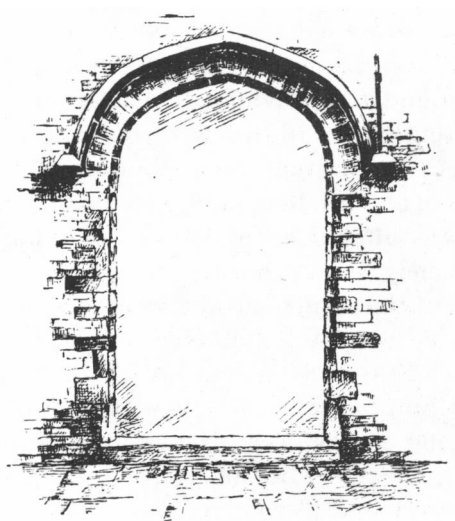
second president of the College : he entered the *Trilingue* on February 22, 1538 ; he matriculated on February 28, 1540, as '*dives*', rich student, of the Falcon ¹⁾. On May 14, 1538, Michael Meuchin (or Menchin), of Haarlem, was accepted ²⁾.

As for preceding periods, the names of the bursars, different of those of the boarders, are only known by some stray detail noted down in the accounts of the regular life at the *Trilingue* ; that very minimized chance of being recorded in the College accounts, was even denied to the students who attended the lectures, for their names were never taken down, so that only by accident almost they are preserved. Thus on March 27, 1534, Goclenius recommended a rather obtrusive Franciscan friar to Olah, who had not badly studied under him, nor under his two colleagues either ³⁾ : no further details are added : with hundreds of others, his name has fallen into oblivion.

¹⁾ Nicolaus Warricius de mernilla, dives <i. e. paying the full matriculation dues> falconis : *LibIntIV*, 130, r. — *AccGoel.*, 1, r.

²⁾ *AccGoel.*, 1, r.

³⁾ *OlaE*, 484.



Doorway
leading to
Lecture
Room

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
<i>Trilingue</i> : architectural detail	<i>pp 103</i>
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	178
Entrance to the <i>Wendelsteen</i> (cp. II, pp 48, 52)	382
Doorway leading to Lecture Room.	457
Corridor leading to the <i>Wendelsteen</i>	529
Goclenius' receipt of an Annuity, June 26, 1538	584
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	594

CORRIGENDA

On p 61, n 2, l 3,	<i>please read</i>	Peter	<i>instead of</i>	Cornelius
»		1530 to 1539		1527 to 1532
» 240, l 1		Spinelly		Spinelli
» 280, n 3, l 4,		Brimeu de Meghen		Brimere de Meghem
» 327, l 2		strengthened		strenghtened
» 457, l 12		March 28		March 27
» 605, n 21-22		Agricolæ		Agricola

CHAPTER XIX

PRESIDENCY OF CONRAD GOCLENIUS

II. STUDENTS

1. LINGUISTICS AS CULTURE

A. AFFLUENCE OF AUDITORS

The renown of the *Trilingue* and of the admirable means it provided, not only to intellectual development and scientific formation, but even as a most useful preparation to the public life which was entirely reshaping itself, brought, or caused to be sent, to Louvain many a young man who wished, or was wanted, to avail himself of the opportunity to become an apt and well fitted member, useful or ornamental, of the society which was modernizing fast. Part of the enormous care, attention and time, which in past centuries had been bestowed on big or small warfare, on fighting or hunting, was being turned to mutual understanding of nations, and to proper economic and intellectual development; towards those aims, languages offered an assistance of which the extent and the efficiency could hardly be gauged. It was the consciousness of that indispensable character of linguistics in the preparing of the growing civilization, which had inspired to the far-seeing Erasmus the grand plan of the new Institute: it had helped him to realize it, notwithstanding a stubborn and far-reaching opposition, thanks to the understanding generosity of Busleyden: he thus could direct groups of young men to Louvain, where the growing need that was so keenly felt was adequately answered. Members of families, who had already partaken of the grand benefit offered by the *Trilingue*, sent others to secure the same advantage: in August 1536, 'Dominus Michael gelis anthuerpiensis secretarius cæsaree

maiestätis', matriculated in Louvain ¹⁾, imitating his nephew Peter, son of Erasmus' friend and host, the Antwerp secretary ²⁾, who had come as one of the first inmates to Busleyden College on October 18, 1520 ³⁾. That Michael was probably a son, and the successor of Michael Gillis, of Antwerp, who had been for some time secretary to Emperor Maximilian, and had entered the service of his grandson; he followed the latter, in 1523, to Spain, from where he was sent in 1524 to attend Nuremberg Diet ⁴⁾; in that same year he also wrote to Spalatin ⁵⁾. If the mention added to his name in the matriculation register, of being the Emperor's *secretarius*, does not apply to his father, it is quite possible that the son had been appointed to that office with, perhaps, a leave granted in order to acquire the necessary acquaintance with the languages.

Other relatives of old students were the brothers 'Titus' and 'Menno de Cammingha de lewardia' ⁶⁾, most probably connected with the restless Haio Cammingha, Lord of Amnia ⁷⁾; they, for certain, will not have left Louvain without making a thorough acquaintance with Busleyden Institute. The same may be said of those connected with particular friends of Erasmus: such as 'Cono Vlatten Julia-censis' ⁸⁾, most probably a relative of his great patron, John von Vlatten ⁹⁾; and, for certain, of the nephew whom Damian a Goes wished to be accepted as boarding pupil at the College in June-July 1536 ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 37, v: August 21/22, 1536.

²⁾ Peter Gillis (1486-Nov. 6/11, 1533), chief Antwerp town-secretary since 1510: cp. II, 66, sq; Allen, I, 184, pr. ³⁾ Cp. II, 66-67.

⁴⁾ Henne, IV, 14. On February 24, 1525, Erasmus, writing to Maximilian Transsylvanus (cp. II, 441), mentions that he had sent him a letter to be taken to Spain by Gillis: Allen, VI, 1553, 7.

⁵⁾ Corn. Grapheus mentioned him in his preface to a poem celebrating Charles of Austria's return from Spain, inscribed to Gattinara, June 26, 1520: cp. Allen, V, 1432, 2.

⁶⁾ They matriculated on February 28, 1537, as 'divites Castrenses': *LibIntIV*, 93, v. ⁷⁾ Cp. before, II, 455-60.

⁸⁾ He matriculated on July 5, 1536: *LibIntIV*, 86, v.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, II, 144.

¹⁰⁾ GoesO, c 4, v-d 1, r: letter of Goclenius to Goes, July 12, 1536: cp. before, p 243.

If not apodictically certain, it is at least highly probable that most of the foreign young men who came to study in the Brabant *Studium Generale*, were prompted by their desire to avail themselves of those lectures whose renown was then spreading throughout Western Europe. Possibly it cannot be urged for members of some order, as for 'frater hyeronimus ab azambusa portugaliensis', or for 'frater felix ponce de Leon hispanus', who matriculated in September and on November 24, 1536 ¹⁾, since it was an old custom for friars and monks to try and see the world by visiting the outlandish Universities where their fraternity had at least a hostel. It seems, on the contrary, quite certain that young men from various countries were attracted to Louvain by the advantage of finding there what their own universities were unable to offer. That explains how the Brabant town under Goclenius' regency had amongst her guests the 'nobilis & generosus adulescens Johannes reuicomes' ²⁾; also the 'Valentinus de aurea ex regno poloniæ' ³⁾, the 'Martinus corenbechius viennensis ex austria' ⁴⁾; further the 'Johannes abercrummy, scotus, dioc. Sti andree' ⁵⁾, the 'Trudo Cahmayde de londino' ⁶⁾, the 'Christophorus Walterhoser ex comit. Tirol.' ⁷⁾, and the 'Dominicus de thorres lusitanus' ⁸⁾. On August 11, 1536, was inscribed 'Ruyzicus Fernandus Vyllegas dioceseos burgensis' ⁹⁾, which name covers that of the very renowned Spanish humanist, Hernán Ruyz de Villegas, who probably had been Vives' pupil at Bruges. Considering the great interest he evinced during his whole life for literature, it is as good as certain that he attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*. He was born, in 1510, a son of Doña Inés de la Cadena, and he married, in 1552, Doña María Ana de Lerma ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 91, v, 92, v.

²⁾ *LibIntIV*, 92, v : November 24, 1536.

³⁾ *LibIntIV*, 92, v : November 29, 1536.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 93, r : January 17, 1537; cp. Hoyneck, II, i, 168-69.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIV*, 92, r : November 3, 1536.

⁶⁾ *LibIntIV*, 98^{bis}, r : August 30, 1537.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV*, 109, r : March 27, 1538.

⁸⁾ *LibIntIV*, 109, r : April 26, 1538.

⁹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 37, v.

¹⁰⁾ M. Martínez Añibarro, *Intento de un Diccionario... de autores de la provincia de Burgos* : Madrid, 1889 : 433-36; *EraSpain*, 553.

He composed most interesting Latin poems, amongst which some are addressed to Erasmus. There is, moreover, an eclogue on the death of his well beloved Vives, dedicated to his great-hearted protectress and the pupil of his last years, Doña Menzía de Mendoza ¹⁾. Those poems, with their Louvain aroma, were reprinted as late as 1734, at Venice ²⁾.

B. MATTHEW HERMANN AND HIS FRIENDS

Without doubt the three students Erasmus Hadenreich von Innsbruck, of Berolzheim, Matthew Hermann, of Augsburg, and Jerome Crefeling, or Ciefeling, of Vienna, came to Louvain in the summer of 1536, with their preceptor Louis Carinus, to attend the lectures of the *Trilingue*, and especially those of Goclenius ³⁾. The fact is proved by the attestation of Viglius, who had been preceptor to Matthew Hermann's brother, John-George, and knew personally their father, George Hermann, an agent and '*a rationibus*', accountant, of the Fugger firm, who was also the supervisor of the silver- and coppermines of Schwaz, *Swotium*, between Munich and Innsbruck ⁴⁾. Born at Kaufburen on February 26, 1491, George Hermann had studied at Tübingen, and married Barbara Reihing; she was a niece of Regina Imhof, the wife of George Fugger (1453-1506) ⁵⁾, whose sons Raymond (1489-1535) and Antony (1493-1560) were directing, with their cousin Jerome (1499-1538), son of Ulrich (1441-1510), the

¹⁾ *VivVita*, 52, sq, 162, sq, 211, sq.

²⁾ The text was revised by Emmanuel Martini, and the book printed under the auspices of 'Janus Basilius Castelvinius, Comes Cervellionis': *VivVita*, 211.

³⁾ They matriculated on August 2, 1536: Ludouicus carinus de lucerna helueticus / Erasmus hadenreich oenipontanus ex ciuitate berolis / Matheus herman augustanus / Jheronimus Crefeling <or Ciefeling> Weenensis ex austria: *LibIntIV*, 37, v.

⁴⁾ 'Fodinas... argenti & æris ditissimas perlustravimus', Viglius wrote after his visit to Schwaz: Hoyneck, 1, i, 10: cp. *FugJac.*, 102, sq; *FugZAlt.*, 1, 95, sq; *FugBrief.*, 10; Fr. Dobel, *Über den Bergbau und Handel des Jacob und Anton Fugger in Kärnten und Tirol*: Augsburg, 1882; Al. Geiger, *Jacob Fugger (1459-1525)*, *Kulturhistorische Skizze*: Ratisbon, 1895: 11, sq, 35, sq; SchelAH, 1, 693-750.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, 1, i, 84, 11, i, 111; *FugJac.*, 54.

great concern which had been largely developed by James II Fugger, the Rich (1459-1525) ¹⁾. George Hermann had entrusted to Viglius the instruction of John-George, the eldest of his five sons; the boy accompanied his preceptor on his visit to Freiburg and Basle ²⁾, on their way to Italy. Viglius, who was also to tutor two sons of John Relinger, or Rehlinger, of Augsburg, Henry and Quirinus, was most heartily received both by George Hermann, at Schwaz, and by John Rehlinger, or Rechlinger, at Augsburg ³⁾. In that town he was moreover welcomed cordially by Jerome Fugger, as well as by his cousins Raymond and, especially, by Antony, who had married Anna Rehlinger, the sister of his two pupils ⁴⁾.

Those visits on his way to Padua, and the services rendered to the youths ⁵⁾ whom he trained for the study of law, greatly helped on Viglius in his career: when a *Vicariatus Judicialis* was offered to him in Cyprus, he was prevented from accepting it by Antony Fugger ⁶⁾; whereas, through George Hermann, he was so successfully recommended to John Ferenberg, or Ferenberger, secretary to Ferdinand of Austria, that he was appointed Assessor of the Imperial Chamber at Speyer ⁷⁾. He therefore showed deep gratitude to George Hermann ⁸⁾, whom he revisited on his return from Italy ⁹⁾, and whom he most heartily consoled in his disappointment about the failure of the education of his eldest son ¹⁰⁾. The boy did not prove a success in his studies, and Viglius took

¹⁾ *FugJac.*, 24, sq, 54, sq, 80-88, 130, 164, sq, &c; *FugZAlt.*, 1, 120, sq.

²⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 111: letter of September 8, 1532 to Erasmus (Allen, x, 2716, 179, sq).

³⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 10.

⁴⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 10, II, i, 111-12, 312-15; *FugJac.*, 54.

⁵⁾ In a letter of 1531 to George Hermann, Viglius describes the way of living and working in Padua; in that of September 8, 1532, he sends to Erasmus, with the urgent request of a reply, a letter from the boy, then studying law under his direction: Hoyneck, II, i, 34-38, 111-12; Allen, x, 2716, 197, sq.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 11, 89, 90, 94-95, II, i, 111-12.

⁷⁾ Viglius consequently wrote a letter of thanks to Ferenberg from Worms, on July 16, 1535: Hoyneck, II, i, 185, 186.

⁸⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 83-91, II, i, 111, 217-18 (announcing the death of Erasmus), 232-33, 240-44.

⁹⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 13.

¹⁰⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 85-90.

him for a time with him to Speyer, after he himself had accepted in 1534 the place of Official of the Bishop of Münster ¹). His efforts were of little avail : a few months later, the young man took to wild living ²), for which he was severely and earnestly reproved by Viglius ³), who finally advised the father to get his wayward son married : in 1539 he was godfather, at least vicariously, to his former pupil's child Jerome ⁴).

The chief consolation, which Viglius offered to his friend and protector, had always been a deep interest in his four other sons, who, as fine young men ⁵), deserved high praise; the letter which he wrote from Brussels, August 5, 1542, soon after his appointment as Imperial Councillor, under the impression of the first hostilities with France, samples the correspondence and the hearty affection which he continued throughout his life with George Hermann and his family ⁶).

George Hermann's third son Matthew ⁷), was sent by 1536, under the care of Louis Carinus, Lucerne pedagogue, to the *Trilingue* of Louvain, and so were his two companions, who, no doubt, were of families of friends or of good acquaintances. That mission was not exactly a cause of great pleasure to

¹) Letter to George Hermann, Speyer, December 11, 1535 : Hoyneck, II, i, 199-202.

²) Hoyneck, I, i, 85-87 (quoting a letter from Speyer, March 8, 1537), 87-89 (June 20, 1537), 89-90 (Sept. 10, 1538), II, i, 255-57 (June 25, 1538).

³) E. g., by the letters of August 16, 1534, March 8 and May 14, 1537 : Hoyneck, II, i, 161-64, 234-37, 242-44.

⁴) Hoyneck, II, i, 261-63 : Rain (about 37 km. west of Ingolstadt, near the joining of Lech and Donau), December 3, 1539.

⁵) Hoyneck, I, i, 84, 90 ; they afterwards entered the mighty concern of the Fuggers.

⁶) ViglEB, 39. In a letter to Joachim Hopper, May 19, 1569, Viglius mentions Christopher Hermann, who was then in Madrid as 'Fuggericorum negotiorum... administrator'; he hopes that through him a certain money matter will be satisfactorily settled, and he requests his correspondent, who was then in Spain, to hand a letter with his compliments to a man with whose parents and brothers he has always been most intimately and affectionately connected : Hoyneck, I, ii, 517. George Hermann died on December 10, 1552; his wife followed him, at the age of 65, on September 9, 1556 : SchelAH, I, 747, sq.

⁷) The second was Christopher, afterwards Fugger's agent in Spain; the 4th and 5th, Louis and Antony.

Carinus : although he had been one of the first students of Busleyden's *Institute* ¹⁾, he cannot have had personally anything like a welcome from Goclenius, who knew how miserably he had importuned for several years his great friend Erasmus by the cruel slander which he had spread wherever he could ²⁾).

It is only natural that Carinus was not at all pleased with Louvain, and, in particular, with Goclenius' reception there. He wrote to Viglius that the air of the place was not congenial to him, nor were the people and the circumstances ; he went as far even as to disapprove of the teaching there. He scoffed at the very limited number of *professores bonarum literarum*, and bitterly criticized the lectures of Goclenius, who, to his mind, repeated far too often *trita* and *vulgaria*. On account of the interest which Viglius took in George Hermann, Carinus may have expected to procure from him for himself and for the young men the permission, or, at least, the implicit approval, for leaving the Brabant University ; the great friend of Louvain, however, must have seen through the preceptor's device, for he took him to task very severely : it occasioned a most valuable piece of evidence about the quality of the lectures in the *Trilingue* in the teeth of Carinus and his invidious criticism ³⁾. For Viglius points out that Goclenius' audience is not composed of erudites, but of young men, who have to be taught difficult things by constant repetition ; he therefore brings homage to the lectures, which he himself attended with great profit during four years, declaring that every word used by the classic authors read, is thoroughly explained by that excellent Master, who, moreover, by regularly repeating the ideas enounced in the text in his own terms in varying forms, teaches the proper

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 392-93, II, 26-28, 114-15.

²⁾ Cp. Hoyneck, II, i, 228, *sq* ; *Micyllus*, 47, 51-52 ; RhenE, 377 (to Bon. Amerbach, September 24, 1528 : *Miror Carinum a petulantia sua non desistere. Timet is Erasmus et, ni fallor, minis hominem abstertere conatur*) ; Allen, VII, 2063, I, VIII, 2083, 5-18, 2101, 50-54, X, 2876, 17-19 : *Sentio Parisiis esse sodalitium Germanorum, cui præsidet Carinus, declamans quam atrociam commissa mihi condonarit ob Christum : Erasmus to Goclenius, Nov. 7, 1533*). Cp. II, 26-28, 147, 171-2, 302, 391-2.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 114-15, 391-92, 530, 616, and further, Ch. XX, 3.

way to understand an author and to reproduce his statements, — which could not but cause his pupils to make great and sound progress in the language. Viglius therefore concludes most significantly : ‘Quamobrem adolescentibus tuis tanti viri audiendi occasio nequiquam negligenda esse videtur’; adding : ‘neminem sane ego usquam audiivi, qui ea id [*viz.*, docere in explicanda verborum proprietate] faciat diligentia atque doctrina, qua Goclenius’ ¹⁾. In that same letter, dated from Speyer, on December 17, 1536, Viglius expressed his surprise at Carinus’ statement about the few ‘*professores*’ ²⁾ *linguarum*’ he found in Louvain, which he must have known to be inaccurate from more reliable quarters; he therefore rebuked him earnestly, though most gently. He further advises against learning astronomy and other arts, as Carinus had recommended for Matthew Hermann, considering it to be much wiser and more useful rather to devote the time necessary for all that, to the grammar and to the reading of classic authors, so as to enable the young man to speak and to write throughout his life a pure Latin with ease and grace, especially since it was not certain at all that his father could ever allow him to study long enough to start the law or any other branch ³⁾.

C. CHRIST. V. ZIMMERN & MATHIAS

Whatever may have been the impression of that letter on Carinus, it is averred that, notwithstanding his demurring, the fathers of his pupils, enlightened by Viglius, made them stay in Louvain, for certain in 1537, probably even until 1538. In fact, the tutor did not mind so much straightforwardness and erudition, as the money he could earn, nor was he very slow in availing himself of any opportunity which fell on his way.

In 1537 arrived in Louvain two more students for Goclenius, Christopher Froben, Baron of Zimmern, and Christopher Mathias, of Speyer diocese; they matriculated on September

¹⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 229-30; before, I, 393, II, 27, 114-15, and Ch. XX, 3.

²⁾ This is evidently meant for lecturers, or, at any rate, private tutors.

³⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 228-31.

12, 1537, and attended the Latin lectures ¹⁾. It happened that they took their rooms in the same house where Carinus resided with his pupils, and, as he saw that great profit could be secured, he attached himself to the Baron, afterwards Count, of Zimmern and his companion, so that he remained in Louvain until they left, when, with his Augsburg pupils, he returned and, through them, became preceptor of the sons of Antony Fugger. It explains how the 'Zimmern Chronicle' records with indignation that 'he realized so much from both families that he now lives at ease and in good state on his money at Basle' ²⁾.

2. NICOLAS MAMERANUS

A. CHRONICLES AND RECORDS

The chief, if not the only, aim of those transient students of the *Trilingue* was evidently the acquisition of a deft and florid manipulation of the Latin tongue, which had become as an indispensable qualification to any desirable rank or station in social or political life. Their aim was certainly not that of becoming erudites, nor well disciplined scholars; nor was that the ambition of Nicolas Mameranus, although he became a very prolific writer, and although he prided himself above all in passing for a Latin poet and orator. He was born in 1500 near Luxemburg, at Mamer, on a stream of that name after which he was called; his parents were country folk, who had the means to send their son to the Emmerich School ³⁾. He followed for a time Sickingen's army in the expeditions against the French and against the German Princes, 1522-23 ⁴⁾, in the wars which harried even his own

¹⁾ 'Christophorus frobenius baro de zymbern / Christophorus mathias dioc. Spirensis' : September 12, 1537 : *LibIntIV*, 103, r. In the accounts for the second half of 1537, is mentioned 'Phrobus Christophor.' for the matriculation fees paid : *LibRecI*, 205, r.

²⁾ 'Bei den er allen sovill fürgeschlagen, das er iesundt zu Basel wonnet, rüebig ist, von seinen gilden lept' : *Zimmerische Chronik*, edited by K. G. Barak (2nd edit.) : III, 164, 20, sq; FG, 321.

³⁾ Kuckhoff, 12, sq; *Weinsberg*, I, 72, sq, II, 285.

⁴⁾ *CMH*, II, 46, sq, 154, sq.

native country. On January 2, 1531, he matriculated in Cologne, and passed the licentiate in Arts on March 15, 1533 ¹⁾).

Long before that time even, he seems to have been quite a familiar and ordinary visitor at the offices of the Empire, and to have had a most welcome access to Chancery. He had there as friend and countryman the famous Matthias von Held, a native of Arlon, who, after having been appointed assessor of the Imperial Chamber at Speyer on August 23, 1527, had become Charles V's Vice-Chancellor in 1531. He played a prominent part in the repression of the Lutheran movement, advocating a clear-cut 'Catholic' policy, and brought about the 'Nuremberg League' on June 10, 1538, against the Schmalkalden one. He moreover was an influential protector of study and literature, and, on that account, he took a vivid interest in Mameranus, as he did in Bartholomew Latomus ²⁾), and especially in Viglius ³⁾), whom he helped for his appointment at Speyer. Unfortunately he could not continue long his beneficent influence, as his stern policy displeased Nicolas of Granvelle, and those who preferred a more lenient way of dealing with the problem ⁴⁾); they were influent enough to bring the Emperor to take a different course : Held was sacrificed and replaced by John von Naves ; he died in Cologne in 1563 ⁵⁾).

¹⁾ Keussen, 569, 5.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 591, sq, 599, sq.

³⁾ Cp. ViglEB, 13 (letter of July 1, 1535, thanking for his appointment at Speyer), 28 (Brussels, January 3, 1561 : renews expression of gratitude ; indicates a way to provide for his (illegal) children, and recommends to use part of his large fortune to the founding of a school at Arlon, as Busleyden and, in a way, Nicolas Ruterus did in Louvain : cp. *Mansfeld*, I, 76, sq). In a letter dated from Padua, June 1, 1533 (ViglEB, 31), he announces to Louis de Praet that, in accordance with his advice, he is preparing an edition of a juridical source, the *Institutiones*, of which he sent the preface to Held, requesting him to communicate it to the Emperor. Held was so favourably disposed towards Viglius that he even had proposed his sister to him as a bride.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 599, and references ; Laemmer, 276, &c.

⁵⁾ Cp. Hoyneck, I, i, 12, 18, 74, 97-102, 130, 191 ; II, i, 122, 165, 182 ; FG, 369 ; ADB ; Cardauns, 35, sq, 56 ; *Mameran.*, 31-38, &c ; *Mansfeld*, I, 13, 76, sq, II, 157 ; DantE, 143, 253, 294 (August 20, 1534) ; *PastReun.*, 101 ; L. Eunen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln* : Cologne, 1875 : IV, 540, sq ; J. Greving,

That John von Naves, Navius, Lord of Messancy through his wife Madeleine of Schauenburg (*Mansfeld*, II, 209), and Provost of Marville, where he was born in 1500, was the son of Nicolas, Senator, and first President of Luxemburg ¹⁾. He had entered public service in 1525 as secretary for Luxemburg Duchy, and had been entrusted, between 1531 and 1538, with several delicate missions by Mary of Hungary ²⁾, which he fulfilled with prudence and success, in so far that, in 1540, he was appointed as successor to Held as Vice-Chancellor of the Empire. More peace-loving and accommodating than his predecessor, he did what he could to dissolve the Schmalkalden League, fostering mutual understanding instead of exciting opposition and revolt. He worked most energetically with Granvelle at the Conversations at Worms, 1545, and,

Briefmappe (RST, 21-2) : 174, 179, 182; Redlich, I, 402-3; CorvE, II, 52; HerMaur., 140, 143-4; HeresMon., 42; Melanch., 343, 372; Rhegius, 207; SleComm., 297, 352.

¹⁾ Nicolas de Naves, Nave, of Marville, a son of Jerome de Busleyden's maternal aunt, first took service as receiver for Luxemburg (cp. I, 40, 49), in which quality he protected the rights and property of the Duchy, which caused him to be taken as prisoner in July 1516 by a Gelderland captain about the time that Busleyden was sent with Frédéric of Bavaria to inaugurate there Charles of Austria vicariously (*Busl.*, 88-89). He was entrusted with the presidency of Luxemburg Council in 1531, and rendered excellent service in that function until his death in 1546 : cp. *Busl.*, 107, 16, 89, 136; Guicc., 294; Henne, II, 169, III, 135-36, IV, 51, V, 141; Hoynck, I, II, 644; *Mameran.*, 35-36; *Mansfeld*, I, 103, II, 30; *LuChav*, V, 488, 490. — Besides his son John, he left a second, his half brother, of the same name, born in 1524, a jurispudent, who was provost of Marville, Lord of Chinery, Montigny, Vance &c. He became councillor of Luxemburg, in 1563, and for his wisdom and experience, he was even considered in 1566 as fit for the presidency. When Don Juan entered our provinces, he became his councillor-general in 1577, and was entrusted with the *res frumentaria*, in which office he helped Louvain in 1578. He fell ill during the siege of Maastricht, and died at Liège on April 20, 1579 : Gachard, *Corresp. de Philippe II* : IV, 62, sq; *Mansfeld*, I, 103, 260, II, 11, sq, 30, 61; Hoynck, II, II, 240, 284, 307, 407; MasE, 95, 307; Paquot, VI, 349; *Mameran.*, 35, sq. — The 'Claudius de Naues Maruillanus, dioc. Trev. laicus', who matriculated in Freiburg, September, 4, 1571, may have been a relative : *MatriFreib.*, 526.

²⁾ E. g., to the Duke of Baden, the Lord of Neuenahr, the Grand-Duke of Hesse (cp. *LanzPap.*, 255-63, 270-77) and the German Imperial Court of Justice.

one year later, at Ratisbon ¹). He was characterized by his great facility of speech and by his remarkable memory ²), so that his interference was predominating at all meetings with German Princes and with Protestants, at which he managed to make the Habsburg policy triumph, as he did at the Diet of Speyer in 1543. In that same year, when Charles reached Germany, he helped him most effectually against France and the Duke of Cleves : he obtained free passage for his army through the Treves territory, and received the submission of Duke William and of Martin van Rossem in September 1543. He was one of the envoys sent to Christiern III of Denmark in February 1544, and was most active in the difficulty with Herman de Wied, the revoked Archbishop of Cologne ³). With Granvelle, he replaced the Emperor at the Diet of Worms, in February 1545, and prepared a meeting of Charles V and Philip of Hesse in 1547. Unfortunately he fell ill on a journey undertaken with Antony Fugger from Ulm to Augsburg in the beginning of that year, and died at Ulm, where he had been taken back to, on February 20, 1547, ending far too soon a life of most effective and distinguished service to his Master at one of the most difficult and momentous periods of history ⁴).

It was in the Chancery offices of his two great countrymen that Nicolas Mameranus found the occasion to develop his natural bent into effective reporting and passing suggestive judgments on public acts and events ⁵). Evidently University education helped him, as it had helped the Vice-Chancellors who greatly contributed to his formation. They, too, owed their aptitude in a large measure to academical instruction and study, and it was the realization of that debt which made Nicolas de Naves, in his turn, send his son to be

¹) Cp. *PastReun.*, 203, sq, 297, sq, 313, sq, 329, sq, 484, sq ; *Laemmer*, 407, sq ; *Brusch*, 237 ; *Seck.*, III, 294, b, sq.

²) It was said that he knew Virgil by heart.

³) Cp. *LanzPap.*, 397-401 ; *Gropper*, 115, sq, 126, sq ; *WiedVarr.*, I, 237-44, 255, 265, II, 114 ; *Mameran.*, 60 ; *Weinsberg*, I, 243 ; *AltRel.*, 473, sq.

⁴) Cp. *Hoynck*, I, I, 102, 191, II, I, 291 ; *Mansfeld*, I, 103, II, 30, 209 ; *Mameran.*, 4, 34-38, 54, 104 ; *SleiComm.*, 371, 568 ; *Voigt*, 322 ; *Henne*, VIII, 113, 127, 163, 267 ; *Sleidan.*, II, 63, 282 ; *Gropper*, 115-18, 126, 128 ; *Hoffmeister*, 252 ; *LuChaV*, v, 487-88, 490.

⁵) *Mameran.*, 104, sq.

trained in the grand Institute founded in Louvain by his far-sighted cousin. In the beginning, the connection of Mameranus with the imperial officials was only accidental, and depended on their presence in the country. It explains how he went to learn jurisprudence in Orleans in 1535 ¹⁾, and how he settled for a time in Louvain, where he matriculated on May 16, 1538 ²⁾, and must have attended the lectures of Latin and of Greek, as results from his familiar acquaintance with Rescius and his family.

Under John von Naves' chancellorship, Mameranus devoted all his time and attention to an activity impelling him to describe military expeditions and great events, or chronicle big debates in political meetings, as well as the movements of the Imperial Court. His easy access to the documents preserved in the Chancery records, and his actual presence in the Emperor's train throughout the vast expanse of his dominions, provided him with all the details which the nation was eager to learn from an authoritative source. He thus anticipated the modern war-correspondents and the various chroniclers and reporters, when he wrote, for the public at large, the *Commentaria* of the hostilities with the French of 1544, as well as the *Iter Cæsaris*, from the Netherlands to Augsburg, 1545-1547 ³⁾; and when he published either the roll of Princes and military leaders of the Imperial army, and those of the opponents, in 1546, or a detailed list of those who attended the Diet of Augsburg, 1547-48 ⁴⁾. Occasionally he even availed himself of the access he had to the official archives to produce a relation of some great event of the past, such as the narrative of the Coronation of Charles V as Emperor, through which publications he not only pleased the authorities, and gave satisfaction to the natural desire of information of the public, but secured large profits to the printers who reproduced and translated those welcome reports to satisfy the general demand ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Keussen, 569, 5; *Mameran.*, 30.

²⁾ 'Nicolaus Mameranus luxemb. cler. trev.' : *LibIntIV*, 109, v.

³⁾ *Mansfeld*, I, 22.

⁴⁾ *Mansfeld*, I, 124; G. Voigt, *Die Geschichtschreibung über den Schmalkaldischen Krieg* : Leipzig, 1874 : 63-82.

⁵⁾ Nicolas' brother Henry, who since 1546 was established as notary

Whilst continuing the task of public recorder he had assumed, Mameranus, as time went on, wrote even poems to celebrate great men and memorable events, and mixed either a good dram of criticism or some sound advice to his reports. As late as 1566 he attended the Augsburg Diet, and once more published a list, in German, of those who were present; a corrected report in Latin which he had promised, was prevented by his *dementia* and death, which happened at the end of 1566 or in the beginning of 1567 ¹).

B. PEDAGOGICS AND VERSES

In the autumn of 1548, Charles V moved with his court from Germany to the Netherlands, where he stayed, chiefly in Brussels, for about twenty-one months, during several of which he was suffering ²). Mameranus, who had followed him, thus found the occasion to revisit Louvain, where, ten years earlier ³), he had attended the lectures, and made the acquaintance, of Goclenius and Rescius. Unfortunately both masters had died: yet, as he had been rather more than casually connected with them, he was received, in 1549, as an old friend by Rescius' widow, Anna Moons, who had remarried a second time and had become the wife of the clever jurisprudent John Wames, a native of Liège ⁴). It was evidently on the occasion of his visits that Mameranus heard all about what had happened since he had left Louvain, and was, quite naturally, informed about his late Master's close friend Nicolas Clenardus, about his great feats in the Iberian

in Cologne, set up as a printer there in 1550, and issued several books, besides those written by his brother; by 1561, he had become a private tutor, which proved most unfortunate: he seems to have been in trouble from then on until his death: *Mameran.*, 60-69; *Weinsberg*, II, 115; *Murmell.*, 140.

. ¹) Cp. *Mameran.*, with a full bibliographical list (269-290); *BibBelg.*, 691-92; *Mansfeld*, I, 13, sq; Keussen, 569, 5; Hurter, IV, 1226-27; *SaxOnom.*, 263.

²) Reaching Brussels on September 22, 1548, he stayed there, with the exception of visits and sojourns within the country, until May 31, 1550, when he left for Germany: Gachard, 375-96.

³) In the spring of 1538: cp. before, p 470.

⁴) Cp. further, Ch. XXV, 2.

Peninsula and Morocco ¹⁾, and about his untimely death ²⁾; he also heard of the re-issue of his last work, the '*Institutiones Grammaticæ Latinæ*', of 1538 ³⁾, which John Vasæus ⁴⁾, his friend and faithful companion on the journey beyond the Pyrenees, had brought out at Coimbra in 1546 ⁵⁾, with a dedicatory letter to the Senate and the people of Diest ⁶⁾. To that grammar he had joined a considerable amount of extracts from the letters of the deceased, which exposed his most peculiar views about the rational teaching of a language completely ignored by the pupils, which he himself had experienced when learning Arabic. He wanted to reach that aim, not by drumming texts into them, and certainly not by a previous systematic absorption of grammatical rules, but by means of a talk and conversation cleverly led, by what a subsequent century has called 'direct method' ⁷⁾. Of that new and enlarged issue, copies were sent to Diest, and, quite naturally, also to the *Trilingue* and the professors whom Vasæus had known there.

That information imparted by Anna Moons and her third husband Wamesius, highly interested Mameranus; he at once made it into a matter for a treatise, which he intended to be as a help to the head of a Luxemburg School, a '*Ludovicus*': consequently, he supplied a re-edition of Clenardus' *Institutiones*, adding all the extracts chosen from his letters by Vasæus, 1535-36, under the title of *Præceptiones docendorum Puerorum*, with only slight changes ⁸⁾; he joined to them a letter to Rescius, March 28/29, 1535 ⁹⁾ and extracts from one to Vasæus of July 18, 1537 ¹⁰⁾, both of which he

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 220-24, 507-8, 580.

²⁾ Rescius was one of Clenardus' regular correspondents : cp. *ClénCorr.*, II, 186.

³⁾ Braga, *sumptibus* Gulielmi a Trajecto, 1538 : *ClénCorr.*, II, 112.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 474-75.

⁵⁾ Coimbra, *sumptibus* Joannis Philippi, 1546 : *ClénCorr.*, II, 165, sq; in a third edition, also by Vasæus (Salamanca, 1551), the dedicatory letter is addressed to his audience of Salamanca : September 30, 1551.

⁶⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 257, II, 165, sq. ⁷⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 239-49, II, 157-59.

⁸⁾ Mameranus reproduces almost exactly the text of Vasæus' edition, Coimbra, 1546.

⁹⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 62-64, II, 71; Cerejeira, 285-88.

¹⁰⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 119-36, II, 109-13; Cerejeira, 320-24.

evidently obtained from Rescius' widow ; he finally printed some lines by Horace and by Prudentius and some commendatory verses by himself. In his dedicatory letter, dated from Cologne, June 20, 1550, he explains the genesis of the book, and expresses the wish that, from the superabundance of riches of some convents, a fine school should be founded at Luxemburg ¹⁾. He also points out how unreasonable it is to print Donatus' grammar in black letter ²⁾, — called on that account *Donatus letter*, — instead of the much clearer Roman type, with which the boys have to be familiarized afterwards. The book was issued under the title *De Modo Docendi Pveros Analphabeticos : exercendæque Latinæ Linguae Præceptiones aliquot per Nicolavm Clenardvm* : it was printed by the author's brother Henry Mameranus at Luxemburg, but has no date, except that of the dedicatory letter ³⁾.

Meanwhile Mameranus followed the habit of Humanists in writing verses at the safe conclusion of travels, at solemn visits to towns, at princely weddings, and, in a word, whenever an occasion offered ; it is only natural that, in his quality of chronicler, he was requested to contribute his share to all great public events. By his peculiar standing he could feel the disposition of his rulers, and he tried to deserve their favour by anticipating their desires : thus from 1549, when celebrating Philip of Spain, he evidently flattered his father's wish to invest his son and Spain with the largest amount of power, contemplating even to have him crowned as emperor : on that account Mameranus greeted him in many poems as the future bearer of that unique dignity ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ In fact, there was a very opulent Benedictine Abbey, Our Lady's Münster, at Luxemburg, in which there was only one monk, who died of age on November 29, 1560. On the advice of Governess Margaret, January 18, 1560, the goods of the Abbey were used to found a church with a chapter, as well as a public school : *Mansfeld*, I, 76.

²⁾ The first edition of Clenardus' *Institutiones* (Braga, 1538) is also printed in black letter.

³⁾ The only copy known is described by L. Philippen in *Nicolaus Clenardus*, an issue of the *Plantyn-Moretus Museum* : Antwerp, 1942 : 59-67, 80-81 ; cp. *Clénard*, 104-8 ; *ClénCorr.*, II, 157 ; *Mameran.*, 70, sq, 288.

⁴⁾ *Mansfeld*, I, 31, ; *Mameran.*, 230, sq, 232, &c ; cp. *CMH*, II, 267, 273, 276, &c.

He did not miss his reward, for Charles V created him *Poeta Laureatus* and *Palatine Count* on October 25, 1555, securing him an ample living at Court ¹⁾; whilst recognized poets, like Nicolas Grudius, in consequence, welcomed him effusively in the bay-crowned guild ²⁾.

Although chiefly built on Virgil's poetry, with reminiscences of Ovid and Horace, Mameranus' verses offer, to be true, a mixture of the heathen gods and their legends with the stern Christian truths, at least in a certain measure; for the subjects proposed were generally such that they appealed much more to the chronicler than to the imaginative poet. His *Epithalamium* on James, Count of Montfort, and Catherine Fugger, 1558 ³⁾, as well as the *Gratulatorium* on the marriage of Philip of Spain and Mary of England, 1554 ⁴⁾, begin with the choir of the Muses, and end by an appeal to Christ and Our Lady for their blessing; still, as for the *Epithalamium* on Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, and Mary of Portugal, 1566 ⁵⁾, the description of the feasts and of what preceded, of the presents offered, and, for that of Philip and Mary, the relation of the journey and the arrival of the Fleet at Southampton, and of all other note-worthy material features of those memorable events, oust all fanciful or imaginative ornaments ⁶⁾. Everywhere the chronicler in Nic. Mameranus comes to his right, especially in the *Gratulatorium* for the English marriage, which lays the blame of injustice on the divorce of the amorous Henry VIII, providing striking sketches of the duplicity of the almighty Wolsey and of Cranmer's abject servility, as well as of the loyalty of More and Fisher, and of the admirable patience of Princess Mary in her bitter misery and abandonment ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ *Mansfeld*, 1, 54; *Mameran.*, 90-96: the diploma of *Pfalzgraf* has the date indicated, and the Emperor crowned Mameranus as poet at his abdication.

²⁾ Amongst Nicolas Grudius' *Poemata*, published in Leyden (J. Patius), 1609, there is one to Mameranus.

³⁾ *Mameran.*, 285.

⁴⁾ *Mameran.*, 284; *Mansfeld*, 1, 44, sq, 48.

⁵⁾ *Mameran.*, 285-6, 121, 226, 228; *Mansfeld*, 1, 116.

⁶⁾ *Mameran.*, 225-35.

⁷⁾ *Mameran.*, 231-32.

Equally interesting for its historical allusions is the *Descriptio novi Aqueductis*, 1561 ¹⁾, the canal connecting Brussels and the Scheldt, which was started in 1550, and completed in 1561. Even though the author had to do the impossible to force into the Procrustean hexameters the names of places and of the chief promoters and performers, the report is most interesting, if not for the immixtion of Neptune and his crew, at least for the planning and building, as well as for the sketch of the contemplated advantages to Brussels and to the country, of what was considered as the 'eighth and greatest Wonder of the World' ²⁾.

C. CONTROVERSY AND CENSORING

The long years spent at the Court in chronicling and relating events, which were evidently scrutinized and discussed with friends and acquaintances, almost naturally led Mameranus to forming opinions about men and their actions, as well as to expressing them. That applies before all to the discussions about creed and faith, which then divided Germany into groups, waging a merciless war against the faithful party standing by Rome. About 1550 he edited a treatise by Radbertus, also called Paschasius, the monk of Corvey ³⁾; he found it in Cologne, with the help of his friends George Cassander and Cornelius Wouters ⁴⁾, and, with the encouragement of the professor of divinity Eberhard Billick, he had it printed there as a welcome testimonial in the controversy about the Eucharist, which was then in full effervescence ⁵⁾. By 1552, he was at Augsburg and heartily backed the great preacher of the Dome, the Dominican John Fabri ⁶⁾, in his

¹⁾ *Mameran.*, 286-87; the poem was dedicated to the Fugger family.

²⁾ *Mameran.*, 235-38.

³⁾ Manitius, I, 401-11 and, for the famous treatise of the Eucharist, dating from 831/833, *ibidem*, 403-4, 409-10; cp. *sup.*, p 299.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 296-303.

⁵⁾ *Paschasii de Corpore et Sanguine Domini Liber*: Cologne, 1550: *Mameran.*, 65, 279. Cp. Keussen, 560, 7; *UniKöln*, 430.

⁶⁾ John Schmidt, Fabri, born in 1504 at Heilbronn, entered the Dominican Order about 1520 at Wimpfen, and had started preaching sermons in the Augsburg Dome, when in 1534 they were forbidden. He was entrusted with those at Colmar by 1539, at Schlettstadt in 1545, and

bitter controversy about St. Peter's presence in Rome and his Primacy, which was vehemently attacked by Flaccus Illyricus. He had a pamphlet printed at Dillingen in 1552, and dedicated it to Christopher Fugger ¹⁾, who, alarmed at the danger which threatened his business, managed to cheat the author, and to deprive him of all the copies as well as of the profit ²⁾; still it was issued again in 1553, when he also brought out a pamphlet about the auricular confession ³⁾. By the end of 1552, he had published a German pamphlet, dedicated to the Emperor on August 28 of that year, in which he describes the tyrannical, inhuman, and worse than Turkish way in which the Protestants treat their country and their people in the name of their religion ⁴⁾ : he appeals for help to His Majesty, whom he wishes to keep informed ⁵⁾, but who, unfortunately, was in a bad plight himself just then, and soon afterwards took the way to the Netherlands, where Mameranus followed him ⁶⁾.

Far from the contending parties, there was hardly any occasion to mix in the religious strife ; still there were so many more opportunities to indulge in censuring and criticism. He had since long contracted the habit of volunteering remarks on anything which did not find his approval, and

again, from 1547, at Augsburg, where he worked with great success, notwithstanding the violent difficulties caused by Flaccus Illyricus and other adversaries, until his death on February 27, 1558 : *PaulDom.*, 232-266.

¹⁾ *Quod Petrus Romæ fuerit, et ibidem Primus Episcopatum gesserit...* Per D. Iohannem Fabri ab Hailbrun : Dillingen <1552> : with a dedicatory letter of Mameranus to Christopher Fugger, Augsburg, September, 26, 1552. It was reprinted, with a much longer preface by Mameranus, as *Testimonium Scripturæ et Patrum, B. Petrum Apostolum Romæ fuisse* ; &c : Dillingen, 1553 ; Antwerp, 1553 : *Mameran.*, 281 ; *PaulDom.*, 245.

²⁾ *Mameran.*, 77-81.

³⁾ *Confessio delictorum vocalis seu privata ad aures sacerdotis* : [Cologne,] 1553 : *Mameran.*, 282.

⁴⁾ Von Anrichtung des newen Evangelii und der alten Libertet oder Freyheit Teutscher Nation. An die Römisch Kayserlich Mayestat, geschriben. Durch Nicolaum Mammeranum von Lutzemburg : Cologne, Henry Mameranus, 1552 : *PaulDom.*, 250-51 ; *Mameran.*, 280.

⁵⁾ *Mameran.*, 77-85 ; Hurter, iv, 1226-27 ; *PaulDom.*, 245-51.

⁶⁾ *CMH*, II, 271, sq.

he freely expressed them, irrespective of the impression he thereby made ¹⁾. Thus on the occasion of a voyage to England in 1557, a few months after the marriage of Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain, which he had celebrated in several poems ²⁾, he offered them a memoir to propose three measures, although an endless series of difficulties were haunting the Queen for a far more urging solution. He advised, namely, the introduction of smaller tokens than a penny, so as to reduce the cost of life; a financial agreement with the Netherlands about the value of currency, so as to improve trade; also regulations about the teaching of religion in sermons, so as to renovate or strengthen faith. He even warned the English Monarchs for the dangerous excess of strong drinks in houses open to the people. Unfortunately a few days later, the Queen had to say good-bye at Dover to her husband, whom she was never to see again; not long after, the war with France started ³⁾.

Similar censoring is most frequent in Mameranus' prose and verse, and though it does not all lack consistency, — such as his criticism of the habit of walking about, and talking, in churches, or the custom allowing beggars to interrupt inopportunately for an alms people praying during Mass and Benediction ⁴⁾, — yet it often degenerated in a desire to obtrude his personal views, even to those who were wiser and more experienced than he was. It led him into a most disagreeable adventure with Louvain University, where, in 1560, he attended the yearly *Disputationes Quodlibeticæ*, from the 14th to the 20th of December ⁵⁾. With his laurel crown on his head, he appeared before the numerous audience, in which were the Rector and most of the professors, and he delivered an oration about memory, representing it as an indispensable requisite of eloquence; he intended it as a criticism of the fashion of speaking *ex charta*, which had since long become the practice in the University, and which he denounced as a real danger for the art of rhetoric. The

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 474.

²⁾ *Mameran.*, 85-89, 284-85.

³⁾ *Mameran.*, 107-110, 311-318; Stone, 428, sq; A. Zimmermann, *Maria die Katholische* : Freiburg, 1890 : 138, sq.

⁴⁾ *Carmen... contra Templarios Peripateticos ac Prophanatores* : Brussels, 1564; *Mameran.*, 287-88.

⁵⁾ Mol., 1100-1101.

disappointment felt with a *poeta laureatus*, who talked in prose about prose, grew into antipathy at his criticism, since he found fault with the academical authorities, who allowed the students to pass the acts and discussions prescribed, by reading their speeches and replies *ex charta*; he said that Louvain was the only University where that *turpis et ignara consuetudo* had taken root; he bitterly blamed the professors for not giving the good example, and for being the cause that their audience lacked interest and attention, and came late into the lecture halls. No wonder that both masters and students were indignant at being taken to task by an outsider; besides, it was thought fitter for a University to foster really intellectual strifes, although helped by substantial and reliable notes, rather than turn discussions into vain pedantic comedies ¹⁾. No wonder that, resenting his criticism, the students became riotous, when, quoting a verse of Cato, Mameranus' memory failed him ²⁾. On the sessions of the following days, in reply to his attack, several of the 'bachelors' contested his contention, and not only censured some of his trivial jests, but also his mistakes against grammar, as well as words suspected to be of his own coinage. On the last day the *primus philosophorum* of that year, Andrew Cawet, of Mons ³⁾, a student of the Falcon, or, as the Pedagogy was still called jocosely, the *Cacabus* ⁴⁾, overloaded him with all the classic invectives at his disposal, in so far that the Regent of the Porc, Henry Verrept, Verepæus ⁵⁾, whose *legens* Judocus

¹⁾ *Mameran.*, 113-116, 255-262.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 692; *Mameran.*, 112, *sq.*

³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 221.

⁴⁾ *LouvEven*, 585: that name, by which students of the three other Pedagogies called those of the Falcon jestingly in their rivalry, after part of the original buildings, explains Mameranus' misnomer; *cp. inf.*, p 479; *ULDoc.*, iv, 299, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Henry Verrept, Verepæus, from Dommelen, in the district of Hertogenbosch, was classed the seventeenth at his promotion to Master of Arts in 1546; he became Regent of the Porc on July 26, 1559, being bachelor of divinity; he resigned on July 11, 1562, and was appointed Dean of Hilvarenbeek on April 20, 1564; he died at the end of 1579 or in the beginning of 1580, and founded a scholarship in the Porc, which was lost in the trouble of the times. He was a clever Latinist, just like his brother Simon, who issued several most appreciated writings: *ULDoc.*, iv, 93, 122; *BibBelg.*, 814-15; *ULPromRs.*, 135; *cp. further, Ch. XXV.*

Everardi was the *Quodlibetarius* for that year ¹⁾, invited the sexagenarian to a glass of wine and a meal to make up for the rough treatment.

Mameranus afterwards tried to justify himself, and produced an evidently re-arranged text of his speech, under the title : *Oratio pro Memoria et de Eloquentia in integrum restituenda et de Triplici genere Oratorum, tribusque præcipuis Orationis partibus, nova et paradoxa Enarratio. Louanii habita in Disputationibus Quodlibeticis die 14. Decembris 1560* ²⁾. He answered the objections, referring his contradictors to the *Collegium Busleidanum Trilingue* so as to ascertain whether *hemmatio*, the word censured, was Greek, Hebrew or Latin, or whether it was allowed to form derivatives from the interjection *Hem*. He also vindicated his jests, which, he declared, could not displease as much as what had been said by the '*Cacabarius*' ³⁾. From the bitter tone of his lengthy *pro Domo* plea, it is clear that the event had cooled all his sympathy with the University; consequently, when, in 1564, he published his *Carmen... contra Templarios Peripateticos ac Prophanatores* ⁴⁾, — people strutting about and talking during the services, — he did not omit Louvain :

Quanta Leodina est semper spaciatio in Æde !

Quanta Antverpiaca ! Londina ! Lovaniensi !

¹⁾ Judocus Everaerts, Everardi, of Arendonck, was the second at his promotion to M. A. on March 27, 1553; he became *Legens* of philosophy in his Pedagogy, the Porc, where he still was at work in 1562; in 1558 he had become licentiate in divinity. His younger brother, Embertus, M. A. in 1561 (the 13th), studied in the College Adrian VI; then became president of the College of Savoy in 1571, and Dean of St. James in 1572; he promoted doctor of divinity on August 29, 1584, being already professor of that branch since 1577; in 1588, he was appointed *plebanus* of St. Peter's, and he died on July 23, 1604. Both brothers were learned and eloquent : *ULDoc.*, iv, 125-26, iii, 236; *VAnd.*, 45, 78-9, 127, 307 (foundation in the College Adrian VI), 311, 371; *Vern.*, 219; *Mol.*, 481; *FUL*, 2765; *PF*, i, 129 (Embertus worked at Plantin's *Augustinus*); *ULPromRs.*, 177, 228.

²⁾ Brussels, Michael Hamontanus, 1561.

³⁾ *Mameran.*, 112-16, 255-62, 288.

⁴⁾ Brussels, Michael Hamontanus, 1564 : *Mameran.*, 287-88.

He even reminded the academic authorities of their duty on that head :

Iam tu Lovanium quoque iunge Academia vires
 Prona tuas, ne quis fortassis scholaris alumnus,
 Æde prophanator talis temerarius esse
 Audeat in sacra, et gressum remove prophanum
 Cogatur, vestemque, ensemque et perdere tegmen
 Debeat aut potius carcere claudi
 Atque gravi talis mulctari audacia pœna.

His poem was affixed to the *valvæ* of St. Peter's, which greatly incensed the students, in so far that a reply to it, in verse, was affixed side by side to it, and after a few days that '*Mameranomastyge*' was sent to Brussels; the poet reproduced it in his issue of 1564, along with his reply, as well as with the text of a poem, seconding him, which had been put up on the Louvain Church door ¹⁾.

In the preface to his *Carmen*, Mameranus risks another attempt to put Louvain in the wrong, suggesting that the Faculty of Arts should teach more Rhetoric and free Arts, according to Martianus Capella, and far less sophistry and Aristotelian cavilling ²⁾. Whatever may have been meant, certain it is that the incident of the general displeasure at his oration, and especially at the points which were objected to, are the evident proof of the great interest taken in Latin and its study, not merely by a few exceptions, but by the average youth coming to Louvain for the sake of getting qualified for a profession. Besides providing a most striking contrast with the spirit of about 1520, when the professors did what they could to prevent Busleyden's Institute being established, and when the students shouted in the streets their displeasure at the Latin different from that of their Faculty of Arts ³⁾, it shows that the time had past also when the knowledge of the classic languages was considered as a matter of proud ostentation and an intellectual sport; and that the thought clearly conveyed, although *ex charta*, was of more importance than the virtuosity by which it was communicated.

¹⁾ *Mameran.*, 119-122; the author who had seconded him, was probably his nephew, Peter Mameranus, who then studied in Louvain, and who afterwards became known as poet : *Mansfeld*, I, 116.

²⁾ *Mameran.*, 241-42.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 506, 570; *Mol.*, 588.

3. ERUDITES

A. JAMES CRUQUIUS

That new spirit in the study of languages was chiefly due to the work accomplished in the *Trilingue*, drawing to Louvain a growing number of young men who wished to acquire the genuine method of learning and teaching, so as to apply and propagate it in their turn, in their particular field of action. Thus at Mameranus' time there was in Louvain a native of Messines, **James de Cruucke**, Cruyken, **Cruquius**, **Crucquius**, who had promoted Master of Arts on February 18, 1535, and had been classed the eighth on one hundred and eight applicants ¹⁾. He was an inmate of the Lily, and he remained in that pedagogy for several years, whilst studying jurisprudence, particularly canon law under Michael Drieux, Driutius ²⁾; he became licenciate in that science; meanwhile he may have taught languages in his Pedagogy as he had attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, especially those of Goclenius, and, for a time, those of Nannius. When, in the first months of 1542, that professor contemplated accepting the invitation of his student James Fieschi, and journeying to Italy ³⁾, Cruquius was one of the four who offered to replace him, as Louis Gens wrote to their common friend Andrew Masius on March 23, 1542 ⁴⁾, adding that he was then teaching 'humanas literas' in public at the Augustin Convent ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ 'Jacobus Cruyken ex Meessenis (Lilianus)' : *ULPromRs.*, 83. — The 'Christianus Crucius' of Messines, 'dives Lilianus', who matriculated in Louvain on February 28, 1519, may have been a relative : *LibIntIII*, 253, r; so probably were the Cornelius Crukius, and the Joannes Cruquius, of Bruges, inscribed in the University on August 25, 1567 and on June 10, 1569 : *LibIntIV*, 434, v, 451, v.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 421-22, I, 215; Cruquius may have known him from the Lily, where Drieux was for a time professor of philosophy : *ULDoc.*, iv, 246.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXII; Polet, 23.

⁴⁾ MasE, 14.

⁵⁾ MasE, 14; the Augustinians in Louvain had since centuries a school for theology and philosophy, attended by their own novices; generally there was also an instruction in languages needed : cp.

Instead of becoming a 'deputy lecturer' in the *Trilingue*, Cruquius himself seems to have gone to Italy, encouraged, if not also subsidized, by his master and friend Michael Driutius ¹⁾, in whose house he was a familiar visitor : he was often entertained at his table and, even more frequently, by erudite and eloquent explanations and orations ²⁾. At any rate that patronage with its beneficent results greatly influenced the young licentiate of laws, and, maybe, caused him to be proposed by George Cassander as his successor as master *in bonis litteris* ³⁾ in the School founded at Bruges by John de Witte, Bishop of Cuba ⁴⁾; for that young erudite, who, on May 3, 1541, had inaugurated the Bruges School, accepted, in the first days of 1543, the offer of Cornelius Wouters to start for a stay in Italy, and resigned his lectureship : on February 8, 1543, the town and school authorities, in agreement with his suggestion, nominated James Cruquius in his stead ⁵⁾.

The appointment proved most satisfactory : the new *ludi magister* sacrificed all his time and his thought to his work, and greatly contributed to the formation of many fine men, such as the James Rævardus ⁶⁾, who, in 1560, dedicated to him his *Anti-Tribonianus* ; also Giselinus, Lernutius ⁷⁾ and the clever Francis van der Mäuden, Modius ⁸⁾, who, as late

ULDoc., v, 266, 272, &c. When, in the beginning of the xviith century, the teaching of languages in the Pedagogies declined, the Austin Friars started, in 1612, a *Collegium Augustinianum* : cp. before, I, 73.

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 421-22.

²⁾ In his preface to his Commentary on Horace's *Satyræ*, 1573, he relates how, in 1542, he heard Driutius make a splendid speech about who is the most useful to the commonwealth, an eloquent man, an able author, or a man who lives an exemplary life : Paquot, xviii, 374.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 520.

⁴⁾ He was appointed by 1530, after resigning his see, as chaplain and adviser of Queen Eleanor of Portugal and France; his health made him return to Bruges, where he found Vives, who suggested him to found a big school there, which he did by his will of February 10, 1540. He died on August 15, 1540 in the house he had built, called afterwards 'Hôtel de Cuba' : Schrevel, I, 249-62.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 298.

⁶⁾ Cp. Ch. XXV ; Paquot, xvi, 111, xviii, 375.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 278 ; II, 235, 448, 485.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 278.

as 1584, aspired at seeing again the study of his great friend, in which there were many precious books, and even a fine collection of coins ¹⁾. 'Vmquamne nos, amicissime Cruqui', he wrote, 'una reuidebit Musæum tuum? Vmquamne cum Giselino et Lernutio, more quodam nostro, de litteris seremus sermones?' ²⁾ Equally dear Cruquius was to the brothers Laurin; he collated for Guy a text of Pliny with the manuscript, neglecting no variant: for, as he argued, the very shape of a letter sometimes shows the true reading ³⁾. So excellent was his work that his wages were raised in 1578 and, once again, in 1582. Unfortunately he did not enjoy very long that last proof of the satisfaction of the authorities: he died at his post on June 22, 1584 ⁴⁾.

He had never contented himself with the bare hum-drum of teaching, and even in his last years, when not only circumstances, but even his own health made editing and the dreary process of correcting very difficult indeed, he published the comments on some of the texts he read in his lessons ⁵⁾: thus as late as 1582, Christopher Plantin printed his *M. Tul. Ciceronis Oratio pro T. An. Milone. Cum ennarratione Jacobi Cruquij, bonarum litterarum professoris publici Brugis* ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ *CollTorr.*, 78.

²⁾ Letter xciv of Modius' *Novantiquæ Lectiones*: Frankfurt, 1584: 419; Roersch, I, 124.

³⁾ Hessels, I, 229: Guy Laurin to Ortelius, July 30, 1580; on October 15, 1579, James Monaw thanked Ortelius for the offer of some autograph letters of erudites, amongst them Cruquius: Hessels, I, 212.

⁴⁾ Cp. *BibBelg.*, 407; *SweABelg.*, 360; Paquot, xviii, 373-379; *BrugErVir.*, 7, 40-41; Schrevel, I, 265-272, 393, 399, II, 179, 191; Sandys, II, 217; *BN*; *SaxOnom.*, 388; *FlandOHR*, I, 84; *NèveMém.*, 337; *BrugHist.*, 522, 293, 427; *AnEmBr.*, xliii, 269, 270; *VulcE*, 496. The James Cruquius, son of John, of Gouda, also a learned man, Austin friar of Gemert, who died a martyr at Gouda on November 3, 1572: *BatavMart.*, 42, sq, was quite a different person.

⁵⁾ In a poem by D. B., added to Simon Stevin's *Liber Arithmeticæ*, Cruquius is mentioned amongst several famous natives of Bruges (*BrugErVir.*, 7):

Iacta labores cum laboribus Cruquii...

⁶⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1582. — On June 21, 1567, Plantin complained to Cruquius about the lack of care in the correcting of Horace's *Epodes*, suggesting that he had not re-read what he had written: *PlantE*, I,

Still Cruquius' name is chiefly known for his comments on Horace, being linked to the famous Ghent manuscripts which were destroyed even before he had made full use of his notes in his editions. Having started explaining the Odes in his lessons, he had reached the fourth book, when Antony du Pré, a Prato, a monk of St. Peter's Abbey 'in Monte Blandino', Ghent, announced that he had found no less than four old manuscripts of that poet in their library. On examination Cruquius realized their value, especially that of the *antiquissimus codex*, and was allowed to take it to Bruges with three other manuscripts by the kind permission of the Abbot, Francis d'Helfaut, on condition of editing what he should find worth communicating to the public. A most liberal use was made of those documents, and in the first months of 1565, Cruquius published the text and comments of the fourth book : *Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum Liber Quartus, ex Antiquiss. Manuscriptis Codicibus Cum commentarijs falso adhuc Porphyrii et Acroni adscriptis* ¹⁾. The edition, printed by Hubert Goltzius, was dedicated to the Abbot Francis d'Helfaut, March 22, 1565, and the rest of the poet's writings was duly studied and made ready for the press, when, on the dreadful August 19 of 1566, the precious manuscripts, which had been returned to the Abbey, were ruthlessly destroyed by the Iconoclasts ²⁾.

As Goltzius had decided to print only his own works ³⁾, Cruquius had entrusted meanwhile part of the remaining poems to Christopher Plantin, who, in 1567, brought out

97; on March 14, 1582, Cruquius writes to Plantin to protest that, on the occasion of his *Pro Milone*, 1582, he is not allowed to praise the printer and his son-in-law Raphelengius : PlantE, VII, 45-47.

¹⁾ Bruges, Hubert Goltzius, 1565 : Schrevel, I, 265-66. — M. Hoc, *Hubert Goltzius*, in *AnEmBr.*, 1925 : 28, 30, ascribes the edition bearing the year date 'MDLXV' to 1566, adopting, he says, the 'new style'; still it does not seem possible to accept here 1565 as equivalent to 1566 : for in that supposition, the privilege for the printer, which is dated '18 Cal. maias 1565', would have been granted on April 14, which in that year 1566 was Easter Sunday : a day on which it is most unlikely that such a privilege should have been written and given. Cp. Polet, 152-3, 155, 157.

²⁾ Cp. Fris, 196.

³⁾ M. Hoc, *Hubert Goltzius* &c (cp. above n 1), 30.

Q. Horatii Flacci Epodôn liber, ex antiquissimis septem codicibus manuscriptis, cum commentariis antiquis ¹⁾, dedicated to James of Claerhout, Lord of Maldegheem ²⁾, grandson of Cruquius' protector James of Halewyn ³⁾. Finally in 1573, he brought out *Q. Horatii Flacci Satyrarum, seu potius eclogarum Libri II, ex antiquissimis undecim codicibus manuscriptis cum antiquis commentariis*, post omneis qui hactenus editi sunt infinitis locis purgati et clarius explicati opera Jacobi Cruquii... Ejusdem in eosdem Commentarii ⁴⁾. That book was dedicated to the Bishop of Bruges Remi Drieux ⁵⁾, nephew of Michel Drieux ⁶⁾, who had been Cruquius' master, and who had often invited him to his table with Vulmar Bernaert ⁷⁾ and Peter Nannius.

The edition of Horace's works by Cruquius is most important. He was the first to notice that the commentary of Pomponius Porphyrio and that of Pseudo-Acro, in the third century, are only an abbreviation and, in many places, an alteration of an older scholiast, as they state things which cannot possibly be exact. In the manuscripts Cruquius found a comment, which he quotes after each text, ascribing it to the *Commentator*, and he follows it up with his own

¹⁾ Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1567 : Schrevel, I, 267 ; PlantE, I, 97.

²⁾ James of Claerhout, Lord of Pitthem, Coolscamp, Assebroeck, Meeseghem, Baron of Maldegheem, Guise, Coucy, &c, was the son of William († 1529), and of Jane van Halewyn, Baroness of Maldegheem, daughter of James, Lord of Boesinghe, son of Jane van Stavele. James van Claerhout was first Philip II's carver ; then became captain of Sluys and commissary of the elections of Ghent and Bruges ; he died on December 20, 1567, and was buried at Pitthem : *Brug&Fr.*, I, 243-44.

³⁾ James van Halewyn, Lord of Maldegheem, Meeseghem, Boesinghe, Uytkerke, Leyschoot, &c, was councillor of Charles V, and was often amongst the town authorities of Bruges between 1512 and 1540. He had married Catherine van Halewyn, Lady of Houcke, who died on Dec. 18, 1533 ; he followed her on October 1, 1544, leaving several children : they are buried in Maldegheem church : *Brug&Fr.*, I, 232. — The James van Halewyn (whose widow Jacquemine died on October 5, 1529, and was buried in Our Lady's, Bruges, with the Canon James van Halewyn : † July 25, 1548, probably their son : II, 416 ; *BrugInscr.*, II, 185), must be different, — unless there are mistakes in the epitaphs copied.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1573 ; Schrevel, I, 268-69 ; PlantE, IV, 50, VI, 52-53, VII, 46-47.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXI.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 421-22.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, II, 425-27.

explanation, for which he refers to the issues by Muretus, 1555, Lambinus, 1561, and other erudites of his century. He also provided three biographies of Horace from his sources, and he made ample use of the old codices for his text. On that account he is rightly praised as one of the pioneers for the study of the Latin poet. He was not the first to avail himself of the Blandinian manuscripts : early in 1548 Nannius had seen one of them ; he had taken the *Vita Horatii* from other codices, one of which he attributed to Suetonius, noting even some of the readings, which he published in the third book of his Συμμίχτων *sive Miscellaneorum Decas vna*, June 1548 ¹⁾ ; he had contemplated editing the commentary of Acro, and other matters, but was discouraged by the extremely crabbed writing of the old manuscript, and prevented by his own growing ailments. A little while later, Antony Morillon ²⁾ described and used the codex when gathering information for Mark-Antony Muret's Venice edition of Horace's works ³⁾. Still the great witness of the famous set of Ghent manuscripts is Cruquius : his books provide many readings, and, through the scholia of Porphyrio and the Pseudo-Acro, the only early commentaries compiled from various codices. Amongst those sources was the most venerable *codex antiquissimus Blandinius*, which represented a recension earlier than the date of Porphyrio, for, in *Sat. I, 6, 126*, where Porphyrio has, and accepts, the reading *fugio rabiosi tempora signi*, Cruquius derived from it the true text : *fugio campum lusumque trigonem* ⁴⁾. Unfortunately the critical study of texts had not yet developed at the time to the point of indicating for each variant the codex where it occurs, and providing a systematic list of different readings. Indeed, for the teacher, the editing of a text to be used in the lessons, had more a useful and pedagogic, than a philological or historical aim. He wanted far less a painfully exact reproduction of the original wording, than an effective and suggestive model. Therefore it must have appeared more important to make sure of a really consistent meaning in a correct form, rather than to justify

¹⁾ Polet, 150-157.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 305-12, *specially* 310.

Venice, 1555 : Sandys, II, 148, *sq* : Mark-Antony Muret (1526-1585).

⁴⁾ Sandys, I, 197.

that choice by indicating the exact source. Certain it is that Cruquius prepared his texts with the utmost care : for the poems and the epodes, 1565 and 1567, he used several codices ; for the satires of 1573, he expressly declares that he had eleven. He never could foresee that he would be the last, almost the only one, to make use of the authoritative Ghent copies ; the *antiquissimus codex*, together with the other Blandin manuscripts were ruthlessly destroyed soon after his first instalment of Horace's works had left Goltzius' press. The painfully exact indication of each variant, which, before the destruction, seemed an indifferent matter, had taken, since the irretrievable loss, an importance which hardly could be realized. Moreover the choice, and the determining of the author's wording had never been made with the intention of turning it into a *ne varietur* description of the work throughout centuries. Yet the first Horace-text was hardly edited by Cruquius, when the misfortune happened, and there was no possibility whatever to change what he had intended as a 'utility' issue into a purely 'scientific' one. It thus gave rise to the *Cruquian question* ¹⁾, and, although philologues should move heaven and earth, it never will be made out *what* manuscripts were used, for any disputed passage, by him — or by Morillon and Nannius — ; nor *what* was found by him in each instance ; nor *whether*, for any determined place, the old codex is exactly reproduced by him, or altered on his own head.

B. PETREIUS TIARA

Cruquius had amongst his fellow-students in Louvain **Petreius Tiara**, who was born at Worcum, in Friesland, on July 15, 1514. He had been trained for a time at Haarlem

¹⁾ Cp. Sandys, II, 217, III, 197, 638 ; Reifferscheid, *C. Suetonii Reliquiae* : Leipzig, 1860 : 44-48 ; F. Hauthal, *Acronis et Porphyryonis Commentarii* : Leipzig, 1859 ; P. Höhn, *De Codice Blandiniano antiquissimo* : Jena, 1883 ; R. C. Kukula, *De Cruquii Codice vetustissimo* : Vienna, 1885 ; Fr. Matthias, *Quæstiones Blandinianæ* : Halle, 1882 ; J. Häussner, *Cruquius und die Horaz-Kritik* : Leipzig, 1884 ; O. Keller & J. Häussner, *Horatii Opera* : Leipzig, 1885 ; Ernst Schweikert, *Cruquius und der Codex Divæi des Horaz* : Paderborn, 1910.

before he came to the University, where he studied the three languages and literature at Busleyden College, whilst attending the lectures of the *Artes*, and starting Medicine as soon as he could. He apparently gave some private lessons to earn his living and to provide the wherewithal to start a journey to Italy, which may explain that, in 1543, he issued at Utrecht a Latin translation of Euripides' *Medæa*, on which he probably had tutored ¹⁾. He applied for some introductions to his countryman Viglius, who on October 16, 1543, recommended him from Mechlin to his friend John Senf, Sinapius, a classic scholar and physician, whose acquaintance he had made at Padua ²⁾, and who after an unsuccessful attempt at being appointed in Ingolstadt University, was still at work in Ferrara, where he was professor of medicine and preceptor of the daughter of the Duchess. Most probably the young man took the letter and handed it to the influential Sinapius ³⁾, who may have helped him to some employ, which would have allowed him to continue his medical studies ⁴⁾.

At any rate after five or six years, Tiara is again mentioned in a letter of January 16, 1551, by which Peter Nannius, who was just then in poor health, recommends him a second time to his friend Peter Vulcanius, pensionary of Middelburg, for his 'dotes, eruditionem in literis, peritiam in medicina, linguarum trium... cultum, grauitatem in moribus' ⁵⁾. Little is known about his life in those years, of which he seems to have spent some in Louvain on his return from Italy after

¹⁾ Utrecht, Herm. Borculous, 1543 : Foppens, II, 947.

²⁾ Cp. H. Holstein, *Johannes Sinapius, ein deutscher Humanist (1505-1561)* : Wilhelmshaven, 1901 ; FG, 422 ; Allen, IX, 2461, *pr* ; — Viglius' letter to Erasmus from Padua, September 8, 1532, refers to him as studying under Manardus, or Menardus (Allen, VI, 1587, 288), and waiting to write until he hears his advice : Hoyneck, II, I, 112 ; Allen, X, 2716, 210.

³⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 310-12.

⁴⁾ *Erasmiana*, IV, 841-42 : from Ferrara Sinapius sent, on April 3, 1536, a letter to Erasmus announcing the death of Manardus, which message was brought to Basle by a youth from Alost, 'chirurgus exercitatusissimus et', as he wrote, 'tui videndi cupientissimus' : Allen, XI, 3113, 11-12 ; it may have been the cause of Viglius' suggestion.

⁵⁾ Polet, 313-14, editing for the first time the original belonging to Leyden University Library, MS 106, 1.

having travelled through France and Germany. He may have exercised his art, although he certainly had not abandoned his studies, as, in 1552, he published in Louvain *Sophistes Platonis, sive de eo quod vere esse dicitur* ¹⁾. He must have worked at other publications, of which some were edited after his decease, namely *Pythagoræ, Phocylidis & Theognidis Gnomæ*, 1590 ²⁾, as well as his poem *De Nobilitate & Disciplina militari veterum Frisorum*, issued in 1597 ³⁾, whereas others remained in manuscript ⁴⁾.

For some time he gave Greek lessons in Louvain, and in Douai, when the new University began ; still his change of religion made all appointment impossible. It may be that about that time he practised medicine at Delft, where he became town physician. At any rate, when, in 1575, Leyden University was started, he was entrusted with the Greek professorship, and was elected the first Rector. His portrait is the first of the group of philologues and scientists issued in John Orlers' *Illustrium Hollandiæ & Westfrisiæ Ordinum Alma Academia Leydensis*, 1615 : it keeps the memory of the life and the looks of the tall, big man, with his large beard ⁵⁾, who worked in the new University, until, in 1585, that of Franeker, in his native Friesland, was founded : he was entrusted there with the teaching of Greek, but died on February 9, 1586, and was buried in Franeker Church ⁶⁾ with a memorial inscription by his friend and successor John Theod. Arcerius ⁷⁾.

C. JOHN VLIMMER

Although his career did not lead to a University chair, another student, who attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* under Goclenius' management, deserved even higher praise

¹⁾ Louvain, Mart. Rotarius, 1552.

²⁾ Franeker, Radæus, 1590.

³⁾ Franeker, 1597.

⁴⁾ *Hymni Homeri, Aphorismi & Prognostica Hippocratis, Platonis Eutyphio & Alcibiades* : Foppens, 947, b.

⁵⁾ Amongst his colleagues were Justus Lips, Bonav. Vulcanius, Jos. Scaliger and Dan. Heinsius : Paquot, xviii, 144.

⁶⁾ *HEpL*, 70, b ; *BibBelg.*, 718-19 ; Paquot, ix, 161 ; *SaxOnom.*, 166 ; *SweABelg.*, 597.

⁷⁾ Foppens, 947-48 ; Paquot, vii, 96, 234, ix, 161.

on account of the excellence of his erudite labour. He was the native of Louvain **John Vlimmer**, who matriculated on January 5, 1536 ¹⁾, and applied himself strenuously to the study of languages, as well as to that of philosophy and theology. He entered St. Martin's Priory in 1543, and continued his training as scholar under the lead of Erasmus' great friend and collaborator Martin Lips ²⁾, and his disciple John de Coster ³⁾. He worked relentlessly at scrutinizing and testing critically St. Augustine's text, and that of the writings of some of the earliest ecclesiastical authors, in the calm and peace of the monastery, of which he was elected the 14th Prior at the death of John de Coster, March 9, 1559.

In 1563 he brought out *D. Aurelii Augustini... Confessio-num Libri XXII. Confessio Theologica* ⁴⁾, and in March 1564, St. Augustine's *Sermones aliaque Opuscula* ⁵⁾; he dedicated the latter book to Martin van Rythoven, Bishop of Ypres ⁶⁾, with a letter in which he describes his researches and his sources, and highly praises Martin Lips, who had initiated him in that great work ⁷⁾, thanks to which the Louvain edition of St. Augustine was made possible ⁸⁾. Already in 1561, Vlimmer had published several small treatises : *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia* by Lanfrancus, Guimundus, Algerus, Ivo and Paschasius, which he had emended ⁹⁾. He also worked at a more complete and more correct edition of *Fulgentii Opera*, which was published by Christopher Plantin in 1574, although produced already in

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 83 r.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 71-75.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 303-5.

⁴⁾ Louvain, Stephen Valerius : in an advice, Vlimmer is named as editor.

⁵⁾ Louvain, Jerome Wellæus.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁷⁾ Migne reproduces that dedicatory letter : *AugO*, xii, 377-82.

⁸⁾ One of the works edited was inscribed, on March 24, 1564, in gratitude for encouragement given, to James van Pamele, Pamelius, S.T.L., who, in 1561, had obtained a canonry in St. Donatian's of his native town Bruges ; he was afterwards provided with other prebends, and was nominated Bishop of St. Omer when he died in 1587 : *Paquot*, xvii, 85 ; *BrugSDon.*, 146-47 ; *ULPromRs.*, 178 ; *Orbaan*, 47, 197 ; *Opmeer*, ii, 150.

⁹⁾ Louvain, Jerome Wellæus, 1561.

1573 by John Masius, in Louvain, with the Antwerp printer's material and at his expense ¹⁾. The publishing of that work does not seem to have given complete satisfaction to the editor, in so far that he kept some books, although Plantin wanted them, or was supposed to want them for the edition of the *Concordantiæ Bibliorum* ²⁾, as, on May 7, 1580, he wrote to the Louvain professor of Divinity Henry van Cuyck ³⁾. On March 23, 1586, Plantin sent word to Vlimmer that he had received the visit of his two *confratres*, and consequently asked for a proposal to settle the difference which Cuyckius would approve of ⁴⁾. In the correspondence as far as it has been edited, no further mention is made of it.

Meanwhile, taken up by his absorbing work, John Vlimmer had resigned his dignity of Prior, and, in 1562, he had been succeeded by Paul van den Bossche. A few years later, by 1571, he had left for Amsterdam, where he was entrusted with the direction of a convent of Sisters. He there became thoroughly acquainted with the Zwolle Monastery of St. Agnes, with which the Louvain Priory used to be connected. He still was there when, in the dire persecution, the hordes of the Reformers started their work of destruction; possibly in prevision of the hard times coming, some of the valuables of Zwolle Monastery may have been put into safe places in Amsterdam, ready to be shipped, or taken into full security. At any rate Vlimmer managed to bring some of the treasures of that sanctuary of piety and erudition to St. Martin's Priory, which was thus enriched by several very choice manuscripts of Thomas a Kempis, and by some of the very earliest codices and copies of his immortal treatise ⁵⁾. A large part of those

¹⁾ *Opera Divi Fulgentii Afri, Episcopi Ruspensis, Librorum multorum accessione... locupletata* : Antverpiæ, Apud Christophorum Plantinum, Architypographum Regium. 1574. — At the end : Lovanij. Typis ac impensis Christophori Plantini excudebat Joannes Masius Typogr. Jurat. 1573 : PlantE, vii, 289.

²⁾ An edition came out in 1581, another in 1585.

³⁾ PlantE, vi, 157-59 : Plantin attesting that he wanted to do honour to all his engagements, also confides to Cuyckius that he still has a copy with full annotations for the *Concordantiæ*. — Henry van Cuyck, after having been divinity professor in Louvain, 1546-96, was promoted to (second) bishop of Roermond, 1596-1609 : VAnd., 127.

⁴⁾ PlantE, vii, 287-89.

⁵⁾ Cp. Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta* : Lille, 1641 : II, 206.

treasures was transferred at the abolition of the Priory at the end of the xviiith century, to the (now Royal) Library of Brussels ; yet, some items, and not the less remarkable, must have been withheld and provisionally hidden at the first suppression of the Priory in April 1784 by Joseph II. As time went on, some very valuable codices found their way to the nascent library of Louvain University : amongst them was Thomas a Kempis' most splendid manuscript copy of the life of St. Lidwina, with a series of sermons to novices, as well as what perhaps was the oldest codex of his *De Imitatione* : with other gems of the same origin they were destroyed in August 1914 ¹).

John Vlimmer spent the restless period of the eighties in his sadly ill-fated Priory ; fortunately he enjoyed some peaceful years before his life ended on February 3, 1597 ; he was buried in the convent where he had spent so many laborious years ²).

4. OGIER DE BUSBEEK

A. STUDIES AND FRIENDS

Five miles to the South-West of James de Cruucke's native place, at Comines, a boy was born, in 1522, who, for some time, shared his studies at the *Trilingue* : thanks to most fortunate circumstances, the excellent training he enjoyed there did not merely develop fully his very rich natural disposition, but prepared him for a sphere of action of a very wide scope indeed. That favourite of fortune, Ogier Ghyselin, Ghyselinck, Augerius Ghislenius, was the natural son of the Lord of Busbeek, Bousbecque ³), on the southern side of the

¹) Cp. *LouvEven*, 484-85. — The oldest codex (containing, among other treatises, the *De Imitatione*) in Louvain Library, was also written by a Kempis, and had, on the first page, the all but contemporary note : 'Hic liber est scriptus manu Reu. & Rel. Patris Thomæ a Kempis qui est author horum deuotorum libellorum'.

²) Cp. *ChronSMart.*, 76-78, 182-83, 255-56 ; *BibBelg.*, 577 ; *SweMon.*, 224 ; *SweABelg.*, 482 ; Foppens, II, 747 ; *MonHL*, 535. — He left in manuscript a treatise *Quo modo Ecclesia quieta in hac vita pergere possit*.

³) Ogier de Busbeek does not seem to have been married ; he had two

Lys, between Menin and Wervicq. As the boy proved very clever, his father had no trouble in obtaining his legitimation from Charles V ¹⁾, which got him the name of **Busbeek**, Busbecquius ²⁾. He received his first schooling at Wervicq or at Comines, where the great de Spouter had been at work ³⁾; and then proceeded to Louvain, where he matriculated on July 12, 1536 : 'Augerius Ghyselinck Cominiensis' ⁴⁾. He attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, and laid there the foundation of the discriminating and graceful command of Latin, of eloquence and of erudition, and he acquired the thirst for knowledge and research, as well as the sound reliability in view and judgment which characterized all his activity throughout his life. He there applied himself to the study of the *Artes* and of the Law.

He found there congenial companions, and knitted friendships, which deepened and strengthened as years advanced : he made the acquaintance of the staunch Nicolas Micault, whose name he linked to his immortal *Legationis Turcicæ Epistolæ* ⁵⁾; as well as of Andrew Masius, who had grouped quite a constellation of scholars and researchers about him ⁶⁾. That friendship was continued in later years, when Ogier, after spending, maybe, some time in France, resorted to Italy,

step-sisters : one became the wife of the Lord of Willerie, 'Toparcha de Willerij', the other, of the lord of Wieze : *FlandScript.*, 27.

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 93.

²⁾ In honour of the great ambassador, his dear old preceptor, Prince Albert of Austria raised the Lordship of Busbeek to a Baronetcy. It does not seem to have remained in his family, for when, in 1624, Antony Sanders published his *De Scriptoribus Flandriæ Libri Tres*, he inserted a *Flandriæ Encomium ad perillvstrem Virvm Carolvm Ideghemivm, Baronem Bosbecqvivm, Yprensivm Prætorem*, in which he praises the land and harvest, the cattle and valour of Flanders as superior to those of France, — but does not say one word of his great predecessor in the title : *FlandScript.*, 6-10. An 'Egidius Busbeca de Insulis, dives Lilien-sis', matriculated in Louvain on February 27, 1522 : *LibIntIII*, 287, v; he may have been a relative.

³⁾ Cp. I, 208-12.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 87, r : a later hand added to that entry : 'Est is D. Augerus a Busbecq, legatus Cesareus apud Solyman toto decennio, et post œconomus ducissæ Austriæ.

⁵⁾ Cp. next section, 5, A.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 282-90, 427-28.

where he enjoyed the lectures of John Baptista Egnatio, at Venice ¹). He stayed six years beyond the Alps, and applied himself to jurisprudence as well as to literature. He there met several of his Louvain friends : not only Micault, who had gone to study in Bologna in 1542, but especially Andrew Masius, and his friends : Henry de Weze, also applying himself to jurisprudence ²), and Stephen Pigge, the zealous gatherer of epigraphs ³); maybe also other old *Trilinguists*, who, like Martin de Smet ⁴), were busily searching for literary and historic treasures in the Promised Land of Philologists. To Masius, who efficiently helped him to enter King Ferdinand's service ⁵), Busbeek wrote a most effusive declaration of cordial affection from Constantinople on May 28, 1556, and promised to look out for Syriac texts ⁶); constant reference is made to documents in Asiatic tongues in the few letters that have survived from their brisk correspondence ⁷), which lasted as long as the great Orientalist lived; and which regularly mentioned in tender affection, not only the great erudite John Sambucus, at work at the Court of Vienna ⁸),

¹) John Baptista Cipelli Egnatius (1473-1553), of Venice, studied under Poliziano at Florence, and returned to Venice where he taught until his last days; he took a great interest in the classical editions of Aldus Manutius and his successors : *NBG*; Symonds, 387; Allen, 1, 269, 52; *SaxOnom.*, 62, sq, 588, 657; Goldast, 147 (*epist.* 35). He edited Juvenal, worked at correcting Valerius Maximus, and wrote a *De Exemplis Illustrium Virorum Venetæ Civitatis*, 1554.

²) Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, and before, pp 285-87.

³) Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, and PigE, 92, 254, 83.

⁴) Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁵) Paquot, ix, 201; MasE, 261; he possibly recommended Busbeek to King Ferdinand's secretary, his friend John van der Aa : MasE, 59, 64, &c; BusbE, 13.

⁶) Cp. MasE, 260-63, also 401, 443 (1570 : referring to their 'inveterata amicitia').

⁷) Reference is made in their correspondence to the text and translation of St. Basil's *Anaphora* (1554, and again in 1567 : MasE, 182, 401), of St. Ephrem, and other documents, printed as *De Paradiso* in 1569 (MasE, 412, 429).

⁸) MasE, 411, 429, 446, 491. — John Sambucus (1531-1584), born at Tirnau, Hungary, studied in various countries and became physician. He took a great interest in classic lore : he translated the works of Hesiod, Theophrastus and other Greek writers; he provided the *editio princeps* of Aristænetus (Antwerp, Plantin, 1566), and wrote comments

but their old friend Henry de Weze ¹⁾ and also the third Zevenaar *frater*, councillor Henry von der Recke ²⁾).

B. EMBASSIES AND REPORTS

When, in 1554, Busbeek returned to our provinces, he was appointed to accompany Peter Lassa, *Lassus*, Ferdinand of Austria's ambassador to London, to congratulate Philip of Spain and Mary Queen of England on their marriage on July 25, 1554 ³⁾. On account of the qualities and attainments which he showed on that occasion, he was invited by Ferdinand to enter his service on his return to Lille, where he received the King's letter on November 3, 1554; he consequently hastened to Vienna, and was entrusted with an embassy to Constantinople, which he reached on January 20, 1555 ⁴⁾.

Through his marriage with Anna, the sister of King Lewis of Hungary, Ferdinand had secured his succession after the disaster of Mohács, August 29, 1526 ⁵⁾, but the possession of that realm, and especially that of Transylvania caused unceasing trouble with Solyman II. The Sultan, who claimed the right of protection and defence of Siebenburgen, which he had received from John Zapolya, threatened with an armed

on Horace and various authors. He sided with Erasmus in his *De Imitatione Ciceroniana IV Dialogi* (Paris, 1561), and published, besides a history of Hungary, a collection of *Emblemata*, 1576; as well as a series of lives and portraits of physicians, *Icones Medicorum* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1574). He became councillor and historiographer of Maximilian II and Rudolph II, and was famous for his fine collection of books (PlantE, v, 65) and of coins, as well as for his strange way of journeying throughout Europe, on horseback followed by his two dogs, which he praises in his *Emblemata*: PigE, 252, 253, 259, &c; Sandys, II, 105, 238; ADB; PlantE, I, 173, 283, III, 6-8, IV, 57, 136-37, 200, 276, VI, 259, sq, 286, sq, VII, 36; several editions were made from his copies: one of *Hesychius Milesius*, printed by Plantin in 1572, was dedicated to Busbeek; Hadrianus Junius translated it: PlantE, I, 136, II, 45, III, 94.

¹⁾ MasE, 478 (January 11, 1572). ²⁾ Cp. before, pp 287-88; MasE, 478.

³⁾ Stone, 315, sq; Tytler, II, 430-33, reproducing a report from 'register G 339' of Louvain Town Archives; J. G. Nichols, *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 1550-1563: London, 1848: 66-67. ⁴⁾ BusbE, 12, sq.

⁵⁾ Eugen von Gyalókey, *Die Schlacht bei Mohács*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, VI, (Berlin, 1926): 228-257.

invasion ; he had imprisoned for a time, and then sent back, the Italian Joannes Malvezzi, Maluetius, Ferdinand's ambassador ¹⁾. It was in that pass that King Ferdinand applied to Busbeek, who, through his prudence and modesty, succeeded in so far with the Sultan, whom he only met at Amasia, that he managed to placate him, and obtain a truce for six months. In order to try and procure a longer period of peace, Busbeek was sent a second time in January 1556 ; unfortunately he did not find a reception worthy of an ambassador, being kept confined in his house, until, finally, after several years, he reached his aim : he regained access to the Sultan's court, and he remained until the autumn of 1562. He wrote most circumstantial letters about Turkey and his journey to his great friend Nicolas Micault ²⁾ : as they reached their destination, they were, without doubt, communicated to friends and acquaintances on account of their high interest, and were copied profusely until they were edited. In 1581, Louis Carrio, of Bruges, a student of philology and jurisprudence ³⁾,

¹⁾ BusbE, 14, sq.

²⁾ The first letter is dated from Vienna, September 1, 1555 : it relates the first embassy ; the second was written in Constantinople on July 14, 1556 ; the third was finished in the same town 'Calendis Iunii 1560', and the fourth, at Frankfurt 'die 16 Decembris, 1562' ; the two first letters have the evidently wrong year date 1554 and 1555 in the editions : BusbE, 120, 139.

³⁾ Louis Carrio, or Carrion, of Spanish origin (c 1547-June 18/23, 1595), had studied in Louvain Arts and, at the same time, languages, especially Latin under Cornelius van Auwater, in the *Trilingue*. He had then started jurisprudence, in which he reached some promotion when the troubled state of affairs drove him first to Cologne, and then to France. For two years he even taught jurisprudence in Bourges. By 1586 he had returned to Louvain, where he became J.V.D. on September 23, and professor, first of the Institutes, later on, of the *Decreta*. In 1587, he was entrusted with the presidency of St. Ivo College, which was sadly mangled ; he resigned in 1593, but continued to reside there till his death : *ULDoc.*, III, 105, 109. He had been Lips' companion and rival in his first studies, and, in the first years, he devoted all his time to philology and criticism of the texts of Sallust, Valerius Flaccus, and others. He tutored Martin-Antony Delrio in Douai and in Paris : *BibBelg.*, 633, sq ; *VAnd.*, 45, 156-8, 200, 203, 296 ; *Vern.*, 98, 212 ; *Paquot*, XII, 56-66 ; *SaxOnom.*, 427 ; *SchottE*, 39 ; *FlandOHR*, I, 64 ; A. Roersch, *Lettre de Cujas concernant Carrion*, in *AnEmB*, LXX. He dedicated an edition of Aulus Gellius (Paris, c 1580) to Busbeek : *Paquot*, XII, 64, sq.

had the first of those letters printed, together with Busbeek's memoir *De Re Militari contra Turcam instruenda Consilium*, by which the ambassador points out the weak spots, as well in the warfare as in the army management, of the Turks, and advises, from the experience he gathered, how Christian Princes could vanquish their secular enemy ¹⁾. The little book was printed by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp under the title : *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum ab Augerio Gislenio Busbequio &c D. ad Solimannum Turcarum Imperatorem C. M. Oratore confecta* ²⁾. A further issue, also by Plantin, brought, in 1582, the second letter, whereas the third and fourth were first published in the *Augerii Gislenii Busbequii D. Legationis Turcicæ Epistolæ Quatuor* &c, printed in Paris in 1589 ³⁾.

That book, which also contains the *Consilium De Re Militari*, is a worthy match to Clenardus' *Epistolæ* : it was repeatedly printed ⁴⁾, as it came as a revelation of a new

¹⁾ BusbE, 393-448.

²⁾ Carrio dedicated the edition to Nic. Micault by letter of February 1, 1581, and expressed his condolence for a son who had recently died at Orleans ; he apologized for bringing out those writings, of which, at least, the letter was addressed to him by Busbeek, — whose acquaintance he himself had made in Paris. Evidently Carrio had only a copy of those documents, which he said he had chanced upon. In the next edition, of 1582, he could add the second, and shortest, of the letters. Justus Lipsius, writing from Leyden on August 23, 1584, suggested to the author a complete set of the *Itineraria* : nos, he added, qualecumque augmentum avide expectamus : *Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria Prima* : Antwerp, 1605 : 79.

³⁾ 'Apud Aegidium Beys, via Jacobæa ad insigne lili albi'. That issue reproduces the dedicatory letter by Carrio to Micault, as well as several evident mistakes, which makes it impossible to suppose for a moment that Ogier de Busbeek, who was then in, or near, Paris, had any hand in that edition.

⁴⁾ It was printed by the Andrew Wechel firm, Frankfurt, in 1595, 1596, and at Hanau, in 1605 and 1629 ; in Munich, by Raphael Sadeler, in 1620, and in the *Opera Omnia* by the Elzeviers, in Leyden in 1633 ; further issues were those of 1660, in Leyden, Oxford and in London ; another, of 1740, in Basle ; besides translations, like that by van Nispen, 1652. Cp. C. T. Forster and F. H. B. Daniell, *Life and Letters of O. G. de Busbecq* : London, 1881 ; A. Viertel, *Busbeeks Erlebnisse in der Türkei* : Göttingen, 1902. — The letters have always found high commendation :

world : it provides a wealth of most interesting information about Turkey and Amasia, in Asia Minor, and reveals, besides the life and customs of the peoples of those countries, the cruel ways of policy and the treachery used, not only in the Sultan's government, but even in his own family life. It also shows how Busbeek tried to secure peace and tranquillity to Europe by embroiling the tyrant of Constantinople with the Shah of Persia, which he found to be the only way to stop the Sultan from pursuing his aggressive operations beyond the Balkans. 'It is only the Persians that stand between us and ruin', he said; 'the Turk would fain be upon us but for the Shah, who actually keeps him back'.

For the historian the accounts of Busbeek's travels and his memoirs are still of the utmost importance; so they are for several branches of natural history : he describes, and one of his suite made magnificent coloured designs of, rare animals and plants. He depicts the hyena, the camelopard ¹⁾; vaunts the breed of horses, praises the remarkable way in which those helpers of man are trained and treated ²⁾, and points out many more interesting details he observed and thoroughly appreciated. Especially plants and flowers excited his interest and his whole-hearted admiration. He was helped in that matter by the physician whom he had engaged for the embassy, William Quackelbeen, from Courtrai ³⁾ : he proved a most welcome companion, especially in the long delay imposed by the ill-disposed Sultan. Unfortunately he was too confident in his maxim that diseases are caught less by contamination than by fear : by attending a slave, he incurred his pestilence, and died from it, probably in 1558 ⁴⁾.

From his very first embassy Busbeek had brought to Vienna some samples, seeds and drawings of fine plants, and was

one of the first, and not the least gratifying, was that by James August de Thou, in his *Historia Universalis*; Hallam, III, 372-73, apparently regrets not to have known them when he composed his *History*.

¹⁾ BusbE, 71, 83, sq.

²⁾ BusbE, 166, sq.

³⁾ J. Béthune, *Un Botaniste Courtraisien, Guillaume Quackelbeen*, in *Bull. du Cercle Hist. & Archéol. de Courtrai*, II.

⁴⁾ BusbE, 23, 32, 298-301. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 332; *SweABelg.*, 317; *Fland-Script.*, 71-72; *Clusius*, I, 339, II, 127 (he brought *terra sigillata*, *bolus*, from Lemnos).

requested for some by the botanist Peter Andrew Matthiolus, who, in 1554, had issued in Venice a commented edition of Dioscorides : they were dispatched, and, on July 26, 1557, Quackelbeen moreover sent with them from Constantinople a letter with full descriptions of the specimens provided, which were highly appreciated, as results from the reply of December following ¹⁾. It thus appears that several plants and rare flowers not only became known, but even were introduced into Vienna and throughout Western Europe ²⁾ : chief amongst them are the varieties of what the Turks called *tulipans*, the tulips ³⁾, which Conrad Gesner described for the first time in 1559 from the flowers of bulbs brought from Constantinople, which he had seen at Augsburg ; besides the *Tulipa Gesneriana*, there were also the lilac, *Syringa vulgaris*, which now adorns every plot ; further the *Gladiolus Communis*, the *Acorus Calamus*, the *Astragalus Poterium*, the *Æsculus hippocastanum* and several other ornaments sent to beautify the Imperial Gardens of Vienna. When Busbeek left for France, Charles Clusius, whom he had introduced to the Emperor as translator in 1573, was entrusted with their care ⁴⁾ ; a few years later, in 1593, when Clusius himself went to Leyden, he took, no doubt, some specimens by which he was able, not only to enrich the collections that were there, but to help and start the culture that has made North-Holland famous ⁵⁾. It is no wonder that, in deep gratitude for the signal service rendered to botany and the flower-loving public ⁶⁾, Stephen

¹⁾ Petri Andreæ Matthioli... *Opera quæ extant Omnia* (edit. Bauhinus) 1598 : II, 100, 101.

²⁾ In *Commentaires sur les livres de Dioscoride de la Matière Médicinale*, dedicated from Prague, January 31, 1565, to Maximilian II, to the Electors, and to the Princes Ferdinand and Charles of Austria, Peter Andrew Matthiolus gratefully mentions Busbeek : Quant à nos derniers efforts, le Seigneur Augerius de Busbecke, qui a esté sept ans durant Ambassadeur pour Sa Maiesté en la cour de l'Empereur des Turcs Soliman, ne s'y est oublié : car outre plusieurs rares et bellissimes plantes estrangeres qu'il m'a enuoyees, retournant par deçà il s'est chargé, en faueur de moy seul, de quelques vieux exemplaires de Dioscoride qui ont apporté vn grandissime lustre à mes labeurs : f c 2, r.

³⁾ Busbeek saw them first in all their glory at Andrinople : BusbE, 47.

⁴⁾ Clusius, I, 126, 108, II, 32.

⁵⁾ Clusius, I, 352.

⁶⁾ Cp. J. D. Hannon, *Flore Belge* : Bruxelles, III, 143-44.

Ladislaus Endlicher (1804-1849), professor of that branch in Vienna University, gave the name *Busbeckea Nobilis* to a plant of the order of the *Capparidaceæ*, found on the island Norfolk, Australia ¹⁾).

Even more conspicuous is the benefit which Busbeek conferred on erudition : after all, the fine, rare flowers of the East would have reached the West sooner or later in all their splendour : that could not be said of the few rests of an old language which was dying out fast. The shrewd ambassador heard from the mouth of two envoys, natives of Crimea, several words which were strangely similar to those of his own native Flemish, and found, on further inquiry, that several terms of the original East-Gothic tongue had survived during several generations in the idiom of a tribe which had been reduced since centuries by a Tartar, and, later on, by an Ottoman, domination. Busbeek thus noted down eighty-six words and four short sentences, all of which apply to the most elementary objects in life, adding that there may be others which either escaped his informers or his own understanding or memory. He wrote down a report of that most interesting inquiry in his fourth letter ²⁾ : unfortunately no authoritative text was used when that letter was first printed in Paris : the spelling of the strange words may have suffered already in the copying, and, for certain, had in the setting : indeed, some evident mistakes like *fynf* for *fynf*, *Stein* for *Stern*, *Eriten* for *Kriten*, even the Latin *Voluntas* for *Voluptas*, which were corrected in 1633 and later editions, point to a complete ignorance of Flemish or any Germanic language in composer and corrector ³⁾).

Another most happy find enriched Latin epigraphy and history : at Amasia, or, as it is called at present, Ankara or Angora, Busbeek discovered in the ruins of the temple of

¹⁾ Another botanist, De Martins, gave Busbeek's name to the *Atropa rhomboïdea*.

²⁾ BusbE, 321-326. Cp. Richard Loewe, *Die Reste der Germanen am Schwarzen Meere* : Halle, 1896 : 127-179 ; Edw. Schröder, *Busbecqs Krimgotisches Vokabular* : Göttingen, 1910 ; W. Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch* : Heidelberg, 1900 : 15-16 ; F. Wrede, *Ulfilas* : Paderborn, 1913 : xxi.

³⁾ E. Schröder, *Busb. Krimg. Vok.* (cp. preceding note) : p 212-16.

Augustus, the highly interesting inscription, called the Queen of Epigraphs, — dating from A. D. 13 or 14, — in which the septuagenarian Emperor relates his life ¹⁾. Ogier made a transcription of it, which was first published, in 1579, by Andrew Schott, a pupil of Cornelius Valerius in the *Trilingue* ²⁾, who was honoured by Busbeek's intimate friendship in Paris : he had it printed as *Monumentum Ancyranum*, in his edition of the *Historia Augusta* of Sextus Aurelius Victor ³⁾. It was studied and copied more carefully under more favourable circumstances ⁴⁾, until a final text was provided in 1861 by George Perrot, who had been sent on purpose to Galatia by Napoleon III ⁵⁾.

Meanwhile Busbeek had been searching continually in the old shops of Constantinople and of other towns for all kinds of documents of art and literature, in so far that he could dispatch by Venice to Vienna cartloads of manuscripts (he counted 240 Greek ones), objects of art, seals and coins, thus enriching the Emperor's collection with a store of Greek, Roman and Byzantine antiquities ⁶⁾. He would have bought one more : Hamon, the son of Solyman's Jewish' physician, had offered a Greek uncial Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, on vellum, with splendid drawings in colour, but the price asked, one hundred ducats, seemed exorbitant. On the Emperor's order Busbeek bought that copy later on : it is said to have

¹⁾ BusbE, 86-87.

²⁾ Cp. before pp 278-79 ; M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon* : Oxford, 1892 : 396-9.

³⁾ Cp. PlantE, vi, 115, 213.

⁴⁾ On August 6, 1574, Pighius sends word to Charles Rym (cp. further, Ch. XXV), in Turkey, that Busbeek should like a proper copy of the Ancyra inscription, for which he is ready to pay the expenses : on November 1, 1574, Rym replied that the request has reached him too late ; still he shall do what he can, and apply to his successor : PigE, 92, 254 ; possibly Busbeek wanted the new copy for Schott's edition.

⁵⁾ The inscription was reproduced by J. G. Grævius in his *Suetonius* ; by J. F. Gronovius, Leyden, 1695, by means of a better transcription ; Paul Lucas discovered a Greek translation.

⁶⁾ He had promised Andrew Masius to find Syriac manuscripts for him ; in gratitude for the help received, Masius dedicated to Busbeek, on August 9, 1567, his rendering of, and his commentary on, the Syriac *Anaphora Divi Basilii* and other small texts, under the title of *De Paradiso* : Antwerp, Plantin, 1569 : MasE, 401, 412, 429.

been made for Princess Anicia Juliana in the 5th or 6th century, and is still one of the marvels of Vienna Library ¹⁾.

In 1562, he finally concluded the eight years' truce, thanks to the newly appointed Great-Vizir Ali-Pacha, who, appreciating his proved integrity, knitted up a cordial friendship with Ogier. He returned to Austria with a Turkish ambassador, whom he accompanied as far as Frankfurt, where he wrote the fourth and last of his Turkish letters ²⁾.

C. TUTOR AND SUPERINTENDENT

Busbeek settled in Vienna in the hope of finding at length the *otium literarium* which he had longed for since years, and which no man had deserved as well as he ³⁾. Unfortunately Ferdinand, who had become Emperor in 1556, appreciated so much his wisdom and prudence that he entrusted him with the education of his grandsons, the Archdukes Matthias, Maximilian, Albert and Wenceslas, the sons of Maximilian ⁴⁾. In 1564 he was sent, with their elder brothers, Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest, to the Court of the King of Spain, Philip II, where he resided with them three years. By July 1570 ⁵⁾, Maximilian II, Emperor since 1564, enjoined him to accompany his daughter Elizabeth, who had married the French King Charles IX. Two of her brothers, Albert and Wenceslas, journeyed with them as far as the Netherlands, on their way to Spain.

At Charles IX's premature death, in 1574, Busbeek was requested to stay as Great Master of the Queen's Household, so as to look after the domains, which had been given to her

¹⁾ BusbE, 392 ; *Clustus*, I, 110, II, 125 ; a facsimile in black was published in Leyden, 1906.

²⁾ December 16, 1562 : BusbE, 278-392.

³⁾ Cp. MasE, 260-61 : letter of Busbeek to Masius, Constantinople, May 28, 1556.

⁴⁾ In 1567, when he returned from Spain, he took up again his tutoring, from which duty he wished to be freed, as he wrote to Masius : MasE, 401, 429.

⁵⁾ MasE, 443 ; Busbeek, writing from Speyer, July 23, requests Masius to provide some fine horses for him and the Imperial Princes, which they should buy when they meet : he excuses the trouble he gives by the '*fiducia inveteratæ [eorum] amicitia*'.

as her dowry, and to take care of her interests ; the rank of ambassador, if not the office, was granted to him. Although he took a permanent interest in studies, and heartily encouraged a young generation of scholars ¹⁾, he devoted a constant attention to the political events in that most embroiled period, and closely surveyed, amongst other personages, the Duke of Alençon and his interference in the policy of the Netherlands. He regularly kept informed the Emperor Maximilian II, and his successor Rudolph II, and the letters dispatched from Paris or from his ordinary residence, St.-Cloud, provide his clear-sighted outlook on those wild and eventful years ²⁾. When, at the death of the Queen widow ³⁾, the state of France became more and more ominous through the disturbing seething of the political factions, he requested the leave to return for a time to his native country. Unfortunately, he was badly treated at Cailly by plundering soldiers. The commander of Rouen had his belongings restored, but could not relieve the pain and commotion suffered by the old man : he died at the hospitable house of the Marchioness of Mailloë on October 28, 1592 ⁴⁾. He was buried in the church of the village Saint-Germain, and, according to his wish, his heart was deposited in Busbeek Church, where, for a short while, it came to light in its casket in 1932, when repairs were effecting at the old building.

¹⁾ He had amongst his 'protégés', possibly even as a secretary, Andrew Schott, of Antwerp, who had spent some years in Spain : cp. before, pp 278-9. He also had amongst his familiar retainers, Judocus de Cuyle, Deculeus, of Courtrai, who had studied philosophy in Louvain, and became professor of that branch in Dôle University ; he also wrote verses, orations and letters : *BibBelg.*, 598-99. Another admiring young friend, Louis Carrio (cp. before p 496), dedicated to him his Aulus Gellius in 1577 : Paquot, xii, 65.

²⁾ Those letters were, by 1630, the property of J. B. Houwaert, J. C., a Brussels patrician, who edited 53 of them, — those addressed to Rudolph II, — in Louvain in 1630 ; he had them reprinted in Brussels in 1632, and added 5 others to Rudolph II, and 37 to Maximilian II : *Augerii Gisenii Busbequii Epistolarum Legationis Gallicæ Libri II*. Those letters were reprinted in the subsequent *Opera Omnia* : the first lot in BusbE, 468-575. Cp. *Clusius*, II, 54, 71, 73.

³⁾ She died in January 1592, after 18 years of widowhood ; cp. Peyre, 44.

⁴⁾ Cp. Hessels, I, 499.

Ogier de Busbeek was so modest that he did not publish himself his own works ¹⁾, but generously scattered about him the fruits of his lifelong study as a sower does his seed. Especially those who were near him, enjoyed his genial influence ²⁾; he has left a fine image of his great heart and his deep religious conviction in the letters which have made his name famous, whereas the services he rendered to various sciences, were highly appreciated, and are still efficient. At his death Justus Lips composed this 'exiguum monumentum Magno Amico' ³⁾ :

Augerius isthic est situs Busbequius.
 Quis ille ? quem virtutis & prudentiæ
 Habuere carum gratia ipsi Cæsares.
 Hunc aula eorum vidit, aula & exteræ
 Asiæ Tyranni. Quæ viri felicitas ?
 Probavit hæc & illa ; in omni tempore,
 In munere omni, Nestorem se præbuit
 Lingua atque mente. Iam quies eum sibi
 Et Patria hæc poscebat ; ecce sustulit
 Viam per ipsam miles, incertum an latro.
 Sed sustulit, simulque fidus Belgicæ,
 Quod nunc choreas fulget inter Astricas ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ It seems that Busbeek left in manuscript *De Vera Nobilitate* (which Miræus notes, and remarks : vtinam compareat!) and an *Historia Belgica trium fere annorum quibus dux Alençonius in Belgio est versatus* : they seem to have perished.

²⁾ He enjoyed the esteem and hearty friendship of the best amongst his contemporaries, as results from the repeated and laudatory mention in the correspondence of Masius, Pighius, Lips, and many other leading scholars. Plantin declared to be ready to print any of his works : PlantE, vi, 148-50, viii, 492-93. — There is an undated letter of Busbeek to J. Crato, in the Rehdiger Collection, Breslau, 363.

³⁾ *FlandScript.*, 28-29 ; BB, L, 302 ; in 1582 Lips dedicated to him the *Saturnaliū Sermonum L. II* : BB, L, 501 ; PlantE, vii, 3, 182 ; amongst the *Epist. Select. Cent. Prima* (Antwerp, 1605) are two letters to him : 20 (March 7, 1580) and 79-80 (August, 23, 1584). John Stadius (cp. II, 564) inscribed to him his *Ephemerides novæ* (Cologne, 1570) : Stadius, 38.

⁴⁾ Cp. Guicc., 249 (B. spoke fluently seven languages) ; BusBE, 8-11 ; SweABelg., 147 ; Miræus, 142-43 ; BibBelg., 92-94 ; *FlandScript.*, 25-29 ; Lomeier, 230 ; SaxOnom., 331-32, 642 ; Altmeyer, II, 20-35 ; *FlandOHR.*, I, 50-53 ; BN ; Henne, v, 39, sq ; C. T. Forster & F. H. Blackburn Daniell, *Life and Letters of O. G. de Busbecq* : London 1881 ; E. Schröder, *Busbecqs Krimgotisches Vokabular* : Göttingen, 1910 : 1-3.

5. IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

A. COUNCILLOR & MÆCENAS

Busbeek's fellow-student **Nicolas Micault**, who remained his staunch friend throughout his life, reaped quite as much honour in his career, although he did not make use in the same brilliant way of the spirit of study which he had learned with him in the *Trilingue*. His father, John Micault, Lord of Oistersteyn, Golden Knight, was Charles V's councillor and receiver-general, as well as the treasurer of the Golden Fleece; he had married Livine Cats van Welle, and, after several years of faithful service to his imperial Master and his country, he died in September 1539 ¹⁾. Nicolas Micault was born in Brussels on September 17, 1518; he went to study in Louvain, and made there the acquaintance of Busbeek. He attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* with such interest that, in the autumn of 1542, Peter Nannius wrote to him and to another member of his family, an *Epistola de Obsidione Louaniensi per Rossemium*, of which the initial words: 'Tibi & Nicolao nugas meas placere', indicate that he had, already before, sent to them some of his compositions ²⁾. Indeed, Nicolas seems to have received in manuscript *Præfatio in adversarias Orationes Demosthenis & Æschinis* (Multa sunt, &c), *Præfatio in Homerum* (Si eo consilio &c), *Ecloga & Apodemia*: Interlocutoribus Faleso & Mylace (Cur hæc verba

¹⁾ He was buried in St. Gudula's, Brussels: *BruxBas.*, i, 93; *MalInscr.*, 224, 378, 462; FG, 393; Walther, 54, 62, sq, 79; Hoyneck, iii, ii, 313; Henne, i, 30, iii, 248, iv, 214, vii, 302; *MonHL*, 640; *LuChav*, v, 481. — His daughter Margaret, married, in 1526, the Mechlin Councillor Lambert de Briarde: *Cran*, 18, a, 140, d; Hoyneck, i, ii, 531; Paquot, ix, 347; *Brug&Fr.*, i, 243, iii, 161; *MalInscr.*, 425, 430, 480; FG, 195, 11-24, 310; Allen, ix, 2571, 7-19; *ConPriT*, 73.

²⁾ Valerius Andreas, who records the details about this and the following manuscripts, and quotes the initial words, says that the *Epistola* was addressed *ad Micaultium patrem*: which is quite impossible, as he died in 1539. The documents therefore must have been sent either to the mother, or to another member of the family, worthier, too, than Nicolas, as results from the incipit: *BibBelg.*, 751; Paquot, xiv, 77.

tibi &c), besides an *Oratio Purgatoria* (Cum iam accinctus eram &c ¹⁾); which frequently mentions Erasmus' style), and further writings and letters ²⁾. From Nicolas' hands those documents passed into those of his son and namesake, so that, in 1623, Valerius Andreas could mention that he had seen and read them at Tournai : 'Lecta pridem fuerunt Tornaci Nerviorum, apud Nic. Micaultium' ³⁾.

In 1542, Nicolas Micault had left Belgium : he was inscribed in that year in the *Acta Nationis Germanicæ* of the University in Bologna ⁴⁾, and he seems to have stayed several terms in Italy, where he met Ogier de Busbeek, Stephen Pighius, and other Louvain friends who were at study in the Peninsula ⁵⁾. On his return, he entered Charles V's service, and, by 1554, he was appointed member of the Privy Council. He was entrusted with various missions : being the private domestic councillor of Mary of Hungary, he was sent by her and her sister Queen Eleanor, widow of the Kings of Portugal and of France, as an envoy to Portugal. He afterwards was commissioned to supervise the Fleet and the convoys, which explains how he was referred to as dangerously ill in Zeeland in Viglius' letter to Joachim Hopper, of October 21, 1570 ⁶⁾. His faithful service secured him many distinctions : he became *Eques Auratus*, Treasurer of the Golden Fleece, hereditary prefect of Binche, and Lord of Indevelde, whereas his wife,

¹⁾ That evidently refers to the journeying to Italy, which Nannius contemplated in the spring of 1542, in response to James Fieschi's invitation : on March 1, he had decided to go ; still he changed his mind : cp. further, Ch. XXII ; Polet, 22-24.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 751 ; Paquot, xiv, 77-78 ; moreover Paquot, xiv, 59, notes that he saw a copy of Nannius' *Declamatio Quodlibetica de Æternitate Mundi* : Louvain, Febr. 1550, with this inscription in the author's hand : 'Viro insigniter erudito ac vere humano D. Nicolao Michault, amico syncerissimo, P. Nannius D. D.'

³⁾ The notice appeared in the first edition of the *Bibliotheca Belgica* : Louvain, Henry Hastenius, 1623 : p 671 ; it was reproduced in *BibBelg.*, 751 ; Paquot, xiv, 77-78 ; Polet, 17, 60, 193. Cp. further, p 509.

⁴⁾ Knod, 347 : 1542 a d. Nicolao Micauld Bruxellensi dioc. Cameracensis dimidium coronatum.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 494.

⁶⁾ Viglius, Antwerp, to Hopper : Indeveldius... admodum periculose in Zelandia laboravit, unde nondum rediit : Hoyneck, i, ii, 592-93.

Mary Boisot ¹⁾, daughter of Peter Boisot ²⁾, who bore him fourteen children, brought him, amongst others, the Lordships of Orp and Huissingen. He served his Sovereigns with great prudence and probity, especially in the difficult times of the religious troubles, and died from a languor on August 16, 1589 : his children had him buried in St. Gudula's in Brussels ³⁾. As a man mixed up in the affairs of government, he was on intimate terms with Viglius, who even chose him as one of the executors of his will ⁴⁾.

Even more honour and fame befell to Nicolas Micault through his friendship with Ogier Ghislain de Busbeek. It was to him that the most remarkable man addressed his immortal letters about Turkey, dating from September 1, 1555, to December 16, 1562 ⁵⁾. On that account the first of them, when edited, along with the *De Re Militari*, at Antwerp in 1581, was dedicated to him with an expression of condolence at the recent death of his son at Orleans, and that ascription was repeated in all subsequent and fuller editions of that wonderful correspondence ⁶⁾. Although no subsequent letters seem to have survived, it appears certain that the two

¹⁾ She was born in Brussels on May 8, 1529, and died there on June 27, 1579 : *BruxBas.*, i, 77. Her sister Catherine was the wife of Charles de Tisnacq, whose sister married Mary's brother, Peter : cp. before II, 157-59 ; Hoynck, i, ii, 470 ; *LuChaV*, v, 527. — The 'Joannes Boysot, Bruxellensis', who was the 82nd of the promotion to M.A. in 1539, may have been their brother : *ULPromRs.*, 101.

²⁾ Peter Boisot, Lord of Ruart, Orp, and Huissingen, *Eques Auratus*, was the treasurer of Charles V and of the Golden Fleece ; he drew up the accounts for our provinces from Sept. 1, 1506 to June 3, 1520, when he resigned in favour of John Stercke : Gachard, 4, 5, 6 ; Henne, v, 314 ; *LuChaV*, v, 386. — His son and namesake, the Lord of Ruart, served for a time in the army, and afterwards became treasurer as well : Gachard, xxx, 4, sq, 507, 516 ; Goris, 469, 563 ; Brewer, III, p 969 ; Henne, VIII, 95, 121, 169, x, 255 ; &c.

³⁾ *BruxBas.*, i, 75-77 (five of his children survived him) ; Hoynck, i, ii, 744, 746-8 ; II, ii, 244 ; *ConPri.*, i, 83 ; *ConPriT*, 72 ; *NobPB*, 1369 ; *MonHL*, 640 ; J. De Raedt, *Triptique de la Famille Micault* : Brussels, 1890.

⁴⁾ Hoynck, i, i, 214, ii, 592.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 496, sq.

⁶⁾ The first edition, printed by Plantin, in 1581, brought only the first letter, and the *De Re Militari*. The editor, Louis Carrio, dedicated the issue on February 1, 1581, to Nicolas Micault, and that ascription was repeated on nearly all subsequent and much enlarged editions.

old fellow-students remained in close contact, as is implied by the humble excuses by which Christopher Plantin answers, on February 10, 1589, a complaint made by the Councillor about some work which the great Erudite had sent, and which had not been published : reference had been made to it in a letter, of which the passage had been communicated to the Antwerp printer, who pleads the disturbances to which his office had been subjected, as well as his own ailments ¹⁾).

The correspondence of the great antiquarian Stephen Pigge ²⁾ also shows, for as far as it has been preserved, that Micault did not forget his old friend : on September 11, 1575 ³⁾, the Xanten canon expresses to his *patronus* and *protector* his readiness to render him in return any service he might like ; he also asks for news about Busbeek and Charles Rym ⁴⁾, as he himself has just returned after a long absence ; he further wishes to be remembered to his *affines* Boisot ⁵⁾ and Taye ⁶⁾. That their staunch affection was not a secret, results from the fact that, on June 13, 1563, the Cologne professor of Laws John Matal, Matellus ⁷⁾, requested Pighius to intercede for him through his hearty connection with Micault, to whom he was writing, so as to request his help in a lawsuit, which was just then being debated before the Mechlin Council ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ PlantE, VIII, 492-93 : Plantin calls the councillor, evidently by mistake, 'Lienard Micault'.

²⁾ Cp. further. Ch. XXIII.

³⁾ PigE, 83.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV : in Rome Pigge had received a letter from Constantinople : PigE, 83.

⁵⁾ Probably Peter Boisot, who had been entrusted with the treasurer-ship which his father had had before him : cp. before, p 507.

⁶⁾ Probably the 'Jacobus Taye, *Eques Auratus*', Lord of Wommel, Sart and Goyck, who became the first alderman in Brussels after the restoration of the Spanish authority in 1585 : *BruxBas.*, I, 117 ; *Brux-Hist.*, II, 539, 540, *Pls* XXIII, XXIv ; or possibly Martin Taye, Brussels 'Amman' in 1580 : *BruxHist.*, II, 507.

⁷⁾ John Matal, Matellus, Metellus (probably on account of a more classic sound), was a *Sequanus*, being born in Burgundy ; he became professor of laws, being D.V.J., in 1562 ; he was appointed canon of St. Andrew's, and taught until his death in 1592. He was Cassander's friend : *UniKöln*, 464.

⁸⁾ PigE, 176 ; that letter, referring to a lawsuit, probably about a nomination to a prebend, is the first of a series, in which the former casual acquaintance developed into a sound friendship.

Micault's readiness to help erudites was also the occasion of his acquaintance with another scholar, who was growing into a celebrity, Justus Lips. In gratitude for the assistance experienced, he addressed one of his *Symbola* to the Councillor; it was edited amongst the *Flores* in 1620, also containing the epitaph which the grateful erudite composed for him and his wife Mary Boisot ¹⁾. He continued his gratitude afterwards to their son Nicolas, who apparently had been his student in Louvain, and who, later on, obtained a degree in Italy, on which occasion he sent to him in Rome on September 30, 1598, an *Ode Syncharistica*, celebrating the *Sacra Laurea* obtained, as well as a letter, in which he fully explains the *Cursores* of Antiquity ²⁾. There is another letter, of February 27, 1600, which reached the young man in Rome, in which the Master refers to his contemplated edition of Seneca. One more of that brisk correspondence is kept: on September 25 of the same year 1600, Lips sends his fatherly counsels to his late pupil, with the best greetings for the Dean of the Tournai Chapter, of which Nicolas had become a member ³⁾, — which explains the presence of some of his documents in the archives of that venerable sanctuary ⁴⁾.

B. PROFESSOR & PREACHER

Another servant of the public welfare, although not in as high a sphere as Micault, was Adam Sasbout, who was born from a patrician family ⁵⁾ at Delft, where his father had been

¹⁾ *Ivsti Lipsii Flores... Quibus accessere... Symbola, Inscriptiones, Epitaphia*. Opera Francisci Sweertii: Cologne, Bern. Gualterus, 1620: BB, I, 302, 3.

²⁾ Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria*: Antwerp, 1613: Ep LIX, pp 50-58, Ep LXXXVII, pp 80-81.

³⁾ Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum Centuria Secunda ad Belgas*: Antwerp, 1605: Ep LXVI, pp 71-72.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 505-6.

⁵⁾ He was the nephew of Josse Sasbout, Lord of Spalant, Councillor of Holland, born at Delft, March 4, 1487, Erasmus' great friend, who had sent his son Arnold to the *Trilingue* in 1531 (cp. before, pp 234-36); he died on Nov. 14, 1546, as Gelderland Chancellor: cp. before, pp 234-35; Opmeer, I, 460; *Cran.*, 113, a, and authorities quoted; *MonHL*, 399, &c; *LanzPap.*, 296-99.

alderman for a long stretch of years. He started his instruction in his native town, and continued it at Utrecht under the lead of George van Langhvelde, Macropedius ¹⁾; he was so well trained in Greek and Latin that, at eighteen, he translated in verses the first book of the Ilias ²⁾. He afterwards went to Louvain, where he was a student of the Castle, and was placed the 16th at the promotion to Master of Arts on March 22, 1537 ³⁾. He also studied in the *Trilingue*, and he there became thoroughly acquainted with Hebrew, thanks to the eminent professor Balenus ⁴⁾, whilst enriching the knowledge he had already acquired by attending the lectures of Goclenius and Rescius. He applied himself to Divinity, and was a most eager disciple of Ruard Tapper ⁵⁾ and of John van der Eycken, of Hasselt ⁶⁾.

By 1544 he entered the Minorite order, and, it seems, wrote a kind of will as leave-taking :

Quam sit vita brevis, quam sit via lubrica, quamque
 Mors incerta : bonis quæ præmia, quæque parata
 Sint tormenta malis, horum meditatio nostra est :
 Quod facimus, quod firmamus, quod et esse perenne
 Optamus testamentum. Saluete, valete,
 Care pater, cari fratres, caræque sorores ⁷⁾.

The careful training which he had enjoyed, and the earnest studies to which he had already applied himself for the thorough understanding of several books of the Bible, specially Isaias and the letters of the Apostles, were soon put to

¹⁾ George van Langhvelde, Lanckveld (cp. *sup.*, II, 565-66 ; ValE), born c 1475 at the castle of Langhvelt under Gemert, S. E. of Hertogenbosch, apparently studied in Louvain : he may have made there the acquaintance of the Order of the Brothers of the Common Life at the St. Martin's Convent, and enjoyed the help and example of Latin studies (cp. I, 67-68, 203, 377). He, no doubt, imitated the dramatic exercises of Dorp and his students of the Lily (cp. I, 215, sq). Cp. J. Bolte, *Rebelles und Aluta* : Berlin, 1897 : vi-xxiv ; D. Jacoby, *Georg Macropedius* : Berlin, 1886 : 15, sq ; Opmeer, I, 480 ; *BibBelg.*, 263-65 ; Bahlmann, II, 53-62, 92 ; Saintsbury, 341-44 ; Creizenach, II, 108, sq, 113, sq, 124, sq, &c.

²⁾ Cp. Adami Sasbout *Opera Omnia* : Cologne, 1575 : 696-701.

³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 91.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 214.

⁵⁾ Cp. I, 571-72, 585-86, II, 414, and further, Chs. XXII, XXIV.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 218-20.

⁷⁾ Opmeer, I, 378 ; *SweMon.*, 241.

use. In 1548 he was entrusted with the succession of Tacitus Nicolas Zegers, of Brussels ¹⁾, as lecturer on exegesis in Louvain Convent, then *Studium Primarium* for Lower Germany; and, during five years, he illustrated the chair to which the names of Martin van der Keele, of Turnhout ²⁾, and of Francis Titelmans, of Hasselt ³⁾, are connected. He was no less conspicuous for his exemplary life, and he was consequently repeatedly requested to deliver sermons to the University students, which were edited and translated after his premature death ⁴⁾; indeed, he departed on March 21, 1553, and was buried in the Convent church, with an epitaph by his friend Cornelius Musius ⁵⁾ :

Adamus nomen, Bataui mea patria Delfi,
Progenies Sasbout non inhonora fuit.
Traiectum Latias & Græcas tradidit artes,
Louanium Hebræas addidit atque sacras :
Quas vt proferrem (culpa est sepelire talentum,
Et Domino vsuras non soluisse suas)
Commoda visa mihi Francisci semita, at illam
Dum sequor, in medijs cursibus eripior.

His exegetic works, together with his sermons, an *Oratio Quodlibetica*, and the funeral discourse on his friend Tilman Clerckx, second president of Adrian VI College ⁶⁾ were edited

¹⁾ Paquot, I, 2; Dirks, 81-84.

²⁾ 'Martinus a Turnhout' (c 1475-March 13, 1540), was the successor of Fr. Amandus of Zierikzee, who had started the lectures of the *Studium* in 1506, and was called to other functions in 1510. He left several works in manuscript, and died in Louvain. Cp. Dirks, 48-49; Paquot, ix, 290-91; *SweABelg.*, 553; *BibBelg.*, 654; and II, 121.

³⁾ Cp. I, 326, II, 286; *BN*; Dirks, 49-59.

⁴⁾ Thus were edited *Conciones Tres* (Louvain, A.M. Bergaigne), 1552; *Memento Homo quod pulvis es(ib.)*, 1553; *Opus Homiliarum(ib.)*, 1556; — they were translated into Flemish, and printed at Leyden, 1569, and in Louvain, as late as 1614.

⁵⁾ *Opera Omnia*, 1575 : 702; *SweMon.*, 241; *Mol.*, 257.

⁶⁾ Tilman Henrici Ghyben 'sClericks, sClerckx, Clerici, a native of Geldrop, studied in Louvain from June 1513, and was appointed *legens* of philosophy in the Falcon, whilst he attended the lectures of theology. In 1527, he succeeded Godschalk Rosemondts as president of Adrian VI College, to which he bequeathed all his belongings at his death, on October 3, 1550. Sasbout dedicated on August 9 [1551], the *Oratio Funebris*, as well as his *Quodlibetica Oratio*, to Judocus Amsoen van der

in Cologne in 1568 and in 1575 ¹⁾; they show a great mastery of Latin, as well as an intimate acquaintance with Greek and Hebrew, on which he based the explanation of the texts. At John van der Eycken's decease, his friends and disciples ²⁾ laid claim on the comments on the Epistles of the Apostles, which, they said, Sasbout had derived from his lectures : since he himself had not published them, it is quite possible that the printers had presumed on documents which were in Sasbout's possession and in his writing : they were evidently not qualified to discern the lectures he had taken down as student, from those which he had composed himself as master. At any rate the matter seemed interesting enough to his nephew, Michael Vosmeer, to write an *Apologia* on the subject ³⁾. A century and a half after Sasbout's death, in 1696, an introduction to the Study of Scripture, *Pædagogus ad Sancta Sanctorum*, was dedicated to his memory by his learned 'confrater' Henry de Bukentop ⁴⁾.

C. TEACHER & POET

If not a life of strenuous research, surely one of intellectually propagative activity was that of Sasbout's fellow-student, **Francis Heeme**, or de Heeme, **Hæmus**, who was born at Lille in 1521, of a noble, but poor, family. His father died before his birth, and his mother, when he was four; he was educated by a sister at Tourcoing, and taught at Courtrai by John van Handtsame ⁵⁾. In 1536 he went to Louvain ⁶⁾, where he studied

Burch, Brabant Councillor : *Opera Omnia*, 1575 : 678, 691-95. Cp. *Cran.*, 258, *b*, and authorities quoted; *Mol.*, 648; *BatavMart.*, 22; *Hoynck*, i, ii, 578.

¹⁾ Typis Arn. Birckmanni, 1568. — Apud Viduam Joannis Birckmanni (Theodorus Gramineus Typographus), 1575.

²⁾ Martinus Delrio, Franciscus Lava, Cornelius Verburch : *Miræus*, 140; *BibBelg.*, 4.

³⁾ *Mol.*, 257; *BibBelg.*, 3-4; *Miræus*, 140; *SweMon.*, 240-41; *Hoynck*, i, ii, 855; *ConPriT*, 31; Hurter, ii, 1505; *Cran.*, 113, *a*; *Dirks*, 87-89. Cp. II, 219-20, and before, p 214.

⁴⁾ Paquot vi, 420-21; *Dirks*, 350-52.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 436.

⁶⁾ He is evidently different from the 'Franciscus Hemmus, ex Valencenis', student of the Porc, who, on March 27, 1550, was placed the fourth at the promotion of the Arts : *ULPromRs.*, 158.

Latin and Greek in the *Trilingue*; he was there still in 1538 when he wrote an epitaph at the death of Adrian Barlandus (November 30, 1538) ¹). He afterwards resided for some time in Paris and Orleans, until, having acquired a full acquaintance with literature, he taught for six years under his former master John van Handtsame at Courtrai. By 1546, he opened himself a school in one of the suburbs there, and was, for over thirty years, a most successful master of Latin and Greek. He gave his lessons most conscientiously, as results from the several volumes of manuscript notes which he left on Horace and Virgil, on Ovid's *Tristes* and his *Elegies Ex Ponto*, also on Vida's *Bombyx*, on his *Christiad* and on his hymns ²).

More fame, however, fell to his lot through his poems. At Courtrai, where he counted many old students and *confratres*, — for he had become a priest in order to devote himself entirely to his teaching, — he composed several epitaphs and *monodia* on Canons of Our Lady's ³), and, amongst them, on John de Hondt, *Canis* ⁴), who, in exchange of a pension, had bought his prebend from the great Erasmus ⁵). He similarly

¹) *Francisci Haemi Poemata* : Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1578 : 36 ; Daxhelet, 234 ; cp. *inf.*, pp 530-33.

²) Marco Girolamo Vida, of Cremona, c 1490-1566, was the chief Christian poet of his time : Sandys, II, 117, 91, 133, 417 ; *Cran.*, 251, 28 ; *SaxOnom.*, 169, 610 ; *Saintsbury*, 24, sq, 379, 385, sq, 404 ; *Symonds*, 398-403, 470-77, 481, 506, 535 ; &c.

³) Thus, on the canon 'cantor' James van Thielt, of Wervicq, who died on March 7, 1543 ; on Adrian Thibaut, or Pickart, of Ath, Charles V's chapel-master, deceased on March 10, 1546 ; on James Vaet, Vasius, the 'archiphonascus' of Emperor Maximilian II, who died on January 8, 1567 ; on Josse Faber, composer, and on Gauthier van den Broele, who died on July 16, 1580 : Caillet, 60, 77, 86, 104, 135, 136, 140, 141.

⁴) Caillet, 102-103.

⁵) John de Hondt, born in 1486 at St.-Paul, Waes, was studying the *Artes* in 1506 ; he was acquainted with Eligius Hoeckaert, in whose *Tractatus de Penitentia*, 1514, he wrote a poem ; after having worked at Hulst, he succeeded Peter le Barbier at Courtrai as canon in Erasmus' place between 1516 and 1518 : Allen, II, 436, 5, III, 751, IV, xxviii. He was successively Dean and 'Cantor' at Courtrai, besides enjoying, from 1545 to 1550, the parish of Marcke, and, from 1550, a benefice in the hospital of Hulst. He was very generous for the adorning of

celebrated in his poems his first master John van Handt-same ¹⁾; also the Antwerp 'symphonascus' Andrew Pevernage, of Courtrai, no doubt an old friend, if not his pupil ²⁾; he made an epitaph on Cornelius Jansenius, the Bishop of Ghent ³⁾. Many of his compositions were inscribed to other poets, as to the Courtrai physician Arnold Caboutere, of Bruges ⁴⁾, to Adrian Hegius, of Oostburg ⁵⁾, to William van Steenhuyse ⁶⁾, to John Castelius, of Bruges, parish priest of Somerghem ⁷⁾, to Simon Mantæus ⁸⁾, Adolph van Meetkerke ⁹⁾, and, especially, to James Sluper, Sluperus, of Herzel ¹⁰⁾. The latter was a priest, whom he probably had met at Arras as a refugee, at the hospitable house of his old friend Antony de Meyere ¹¹⁾, the nephew and heir of James, the great annalist

Courtrai church, and bequeathed to it several of his books. At the end of his life, he suffered from an ulcer on his leg; he died on November 24, 1571. He belonged to a family, of which several members were famous as musicians; Francis, Cornelius and Peter Canis were in Charles V's service and in that of his successors in the Empire: Caullet, 92-103. John de Hondt's books are still treasured in St. Martin's, Courtrai.

¹⁾ *FlandScript.*, 98, and before, pp 436, 512.

²⁾ *FlandScript.*, 18; Caullet, 15, 116, &c.

³⁾ St. Martin's old 'pastor': *GandErVir.*, 33-35; and II, 512-14.

⁴⁾ *FlandScript.*, 21; LooE, 94; he promoted the 21st on March 20, 1554: *ULPromRs.*, 184; Paquot, vi, 293; *FlandOHR*, III, 118.

⁵⁾ *FlandScript.*, 11.

⁶⁾ *FlandScript.*, 65.

⁷⁾ Paquot, vi, 293: he intended publishing a paraphrase on Hesiod, as well as the metrical translation in Latin of Greek epigrams: he was still at work in 1578; Goltzius praised him in his *Julius Cæsar*: *FlandScript.*, 90; *FlandOHR*, I, 68.

⁸⁾ Paquot, vi, 293: he sent his poems to be corrected by Heeme.

⁹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. further, p 516.

¹¹⁾ Antony de Meyere, son of Henry, brother of James (cp. before p 435), born at Vleteren, was instructed first by his uncle at Bruges, and went to be trained in Paris; he studied Greek in Louvain and started teaching it in private; by 1550 he began a school at Tirlemont; in 1553 he went as headmaster to Cambrai, and, in 1560, he took the lead of the School of Arras, where he died from the epidemy on October 27, 1597. He left several devotional and historical writings, as well as a son, Philip, to take his place: Paquot, VII, 144-49, v, 63, ix, 378, 381, xvi, 200; *FlandOHR*, I, 342-3.

of Flanders ¹⁾. Hæmus' metrical vein naturally also flowed in honour of his protector John van Loo, who, in 1562, was elected Abbot of Eversham ²⁾, and who favoured him as his friend and correspondent ³⁾; he wisely applied to his advice on many occasions ⁴⁾, and introduced unto him Francis de Meester, of Bruges, pensionary of Bergues or Furnes, who had made a metrical parenesis of St. Basilus' *Oratio De Utilitate Capienda ex prophanis auctoribus* ⁵⁾. It was to that prelate that Heeme dedicated his *Poemata*, which Christopher Plantin printed in 1578, and which contain the poems inscribed to the friends mentioned, and to several others ⁶⁾. That bundle also brought a paraphrase on St. John Chrysostom's comparison between a monk and a king, and others on Erasmus' praise of peace, and on his *de Civilitate Morum Puerilium*; further poetry on the naval battle of Lepanto, on the destruction of Théroouanne, and on the untimely death of René de Nassau, Prince of Orange, at St.-Dizier, on July 14, 1544 ⁷⁾.

By 1576, political circumstances had made his school decline; he even sheltered for some time at the house of his friend Antony de Meyere, at Arras; but returned to Courtrai when it was submitted once more to the King; he died there

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 432-36; *FlandOHR*, I, 321-41 (with many details); Paquot, VII, 136-43; James's rich book collection was bequeathed to his nephew Antony.

²⁾ John van Loo, a native of Eessen, was accepted as monk at Eversham in 1548; he became Abbot in 1562, and was consecrated on September 13 of that year by Martin of Rythoven. During his management the Abbey had to suffer heavily from the attacks and depredations of hostile bands; he died on October 13, 1594, leaving a collection of letters which preserve his name of generous Mæcenas: LooE, 6-18; *FlandScript.*, 100; *FlandOHR*, IV, 272-75.

³⁾ LooE, 7, 14, 17, 92, sq (on 24 Febr. 1575, he sent to Loo some verses with Courtrai cakes baked for the eve of Lent), 109, sq, 127-29.

⁴⁾ LooE, 156-58.

⁵⁾ LooE, 97, 100-4, 127-28.

⁶⁾ Amongst them John Lacteus, Lille ludi magister (*sup.*, pp 429-31, 439), Peter de Pape, master of Menin School (*sup.*, pp 444-45), John van Gheesdael, at work in a school at Antwerp (Paquot, VI, 293, 303-5; *FlandScript.*, 95), Peter Megang, who taught at Ninove and Lille (*sup.*, pp 438-39; Paquot, IX, 17); also Adolph van Meetkerke (*inf.*, Ch. XXV).

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 246; Pirenne, III, 402-3.

on September 3, 1585. Besides his *Poemata* of 1578, he had published *Sacrorum Hymnorum Libri Duo*, with the *Variorum Carminum Sylva una* ¹⁾. A poem on the fire which destroyed about 300 houses of his native town Lille, on Sept. 3, 1545, was bequeathed to his friend de Meyere, with his notes on the works of Horace and Virgil, Ovid and Vida. His metrical compositions may lack the lofty and spontaneous inspiration of the real poet : they show to all evidence that Hæmus wrote an easy verse in pure Latin ; they further testify to the great influence which he exercised with his ever ready lyre amongst his friends and colleagues, greatly contributing to spread the love of study and the appreciation of literature amongst the class of intellectual workers ²⁾.

In that purpose of spreading the vogue of Latin poetry by making his *Poemata* into a gallery of compositions in honour of his most affectionate friends and of his most conspicuous colleagues, he was greatly helped by his younger, congenial brother-poet, also an old pupil of Louvain and of the *Trilingue*, James Sluper, Sluperius, of Herzel, near Bergues-St.-Winoc, who became chaplain at Boesinghe ; he afterwards settled at West-Vleteren, and died at Arras in 1602 ³⁾. Sluper improved upon Heeme : he not only wrote poems in praise of their generous Mæcenæ, Abbot John van Loo, of Eversham ⁴⁾, but he went so far in encouraging the writing of poetry that he brought out in his own volume of *Poemata*, of 1575 ⁵⁾, not only an occasional *carmen* by his friends Francis Heeme and Antony de Meyere ⁶⁾, but verses by nearly every one who, at that time in Flanders, went for an occasional draught to Aganippe or Hippocrene ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Lille, 1556 :-LooE, 17.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 231 ; Paquot, vi, 291-96, ix, 17, 381 ; LooE, 16 ; *FlandScript*, 51.

³⁾ *RibBelg.*, 428-29 ; Paquot, ix, 376-386, vi, 293 ; he was placed 82nd at the promotion of March 20, 1554 : *ULPromRs.*, 186 ; LooE, 16, &c ; *FlandScript.*, 86.

⁴⁾ LooE, 17, 18, 67, 75, 76-8, 82-3, 88 ; *FlandScript.*, 100.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, John Bellerus : LooE, 67, 82-84, &c.

⁶⁾ Paquot, ix, 381.

⁷⁾ Paquot, ix, 382-85 ; LooE, 47 ; *GandErVir.*, 13 ; *FlandScript.*, 11, 51, 128, 151-52.

6. JURISPRUDENTS

A. JURISPRUDENCE & POETRY

The studies of jurisprudence took, about that time, a most remarkable development, thanks to the splendid activity, especially in his private teaching, of the great Gabriel Mudæus, who applied history and literature to elucidate the genesis and the purport of laws ¹⁾. It explains the interest displayed in that branch by a native of Douai, Nicolas de Bront, Brontius, Brentius, who attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, where he developed into a most elegant and erudite author and poet. He was most enthusiastic about the *Artes* by which he had been trained, and especially about the lessons devoted to Laws, in which he seems to have acquired the licentiate. In 1541, he published at Antwerp some works, printed in italics, with plenty of passages in Greek, besides Hebrew quotations, attesting to his formation at the Busleyden Institute; they were adorned with magnificent and numerous woodcuts. One volume, ornamented by a large and fine equestrian portrait of the Emperor, has as title: '*Poema ad invictissimum Cæsarem Carolum: Fortuna, atque occasionibus, utendum: necnon, composito Religionis dissidio, in Turcas bellum esse suscipiendum*'. It also contains '*Poemata tria ad Hannones, quorum ultimum de laudibus Hannoniæ*' ²⁾.

In that same year, Bront issued a second work, entitled '*Libellus compendiarum, tum virtutis adipiscendæ, tum literarum parandarum rationem perdocens; bene beateque vivere cupienti apprime utilis, authore Nicolao Brontio... Adjecta sunt ab eodem Carmina, facile studendi Juri modum tradentia*' ³⁾. Also a third, which, like the second, offers a most judicious method to study Law: '*Liber de Utilitate & Harmonia Artium, tum futuro Jurisconsulto, tum Liberalium Disciplinarum politiorisque Literaturæ studiosis utilissimus*' ⁴⁾. Besides the numerous beautiful woodcuts, the latter

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 209-18, 418.

²⁾ Antwerp, Antony Goinus, 1541.

³⁾ Antwerp, Simon Cocus, 1541.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, Simon Cocus, 1541.

book is provided with a remarkable drawing of the Anatomical Man ¹⁾, such as those which, about that time, were made popular by the great Andrew Vesale, whom the author may have known as fellow-student ²⁾.

Of the further life and career of Brontius nothing seems recorded, though his countryman of a following generation, John Buzelin ³⁾, assures that he acquired a great renown amongst juriconsults. His three books, at any rate, testify to his studies and to their evident result, the spirit of an awakening interest in the developing intellectual activity just then illustrating the Louvain *Trilingue* and its University, where juridical students, especially, were extending and deepening the search begun by the illustrious Mudæus ⁴⁾.

B. JURISPRUDENCE AND HISTORY

Another young student of the *Trilingue* bent on scholarship, was **Francis Baudouin**, Balduin, Balduini; he was born at Arras on January 1, 1520, the son of Antony, squire, Fiscal Procurator in the Arras Council, and Mary-Henrietta de Forest ⁵⁾. He repaired to Louvain, where he followed with great eagerness and success, the lectures of the *Trilingue* under Goclenius and Rescius, and, most fortunately, made the acquaintance of Gabriel Mudæus ⁶⁾, who had an immense influence on him. He enjoined the young man to deepen and widen his knowledge of jurisprudence by getting perfectly acquainted with the literature and with the history of the times when the laws were made and promulgated ⁷⁾. He thus put him on the way to become the first systematically 'historical jurispudent': in fact, Baudouin's writings are

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 326-27.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 324-25, 327-28.

³⁾ John Buzelin, born at Cambrai, c 1571, who died at Lille, October, 15, 1626, was a Jesuit father, who wrote the history of the Flemish corner of France: he mentions Brontius in his *Gallo-Flandria sacra et profana*: Douai, 1625: 182.

⁴⁾ Cp. Guicc., 253; *BibBelg.*, 680; *FlandScript.*, 126; Paquot, xi, 193-94; Henne, v, 16.

⁵⁾ Paquot, iii, 71.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 209-18, 418.

⁷⁾ Stintzing, i, 342, 362-63.

almost historical researches, rather than juridical comments; he is interested in the proper sense of a law, but also in the motives that inspired it, in its actual connection with time and circumstances. Chronologic order thus becomes, to him, more important, somehow, than methodical analysis: from its association with facts and conditions of the past, he derives light and understanding for the exact intelligence of any text. He was, in a way, — barring his Master, — the first and, for a long time, the only jurisprudent, who methodically attributed to the historical element its right place in the study and in the teaching of the law ¹⁾: he expresses his views and states the ground of his conclusions already in 1545 in his *Annotationes in libros quatuor Institutionum Justiniani* ²⁾, and in his *Ad Leges Romuli Regis Rom. Commentarii de Legibus XII. Tabularum*, 1550 ³⁾; but he does so most decidedly in the second part of his *De Institutione Historiæ universæ, & ejus cum Jurisprudentia Conjunctione* Προλεγομένων *Libri duo*, 1561 ⁴⁾, as well as in *Ad Leges de Jure Civili... Commentarius*, 1559 ⁵⁾. To that special aspect and novel interpretation of laws, he was, as already stated, made attentive by his Master Mudæus ⁶⁾, who owed his great significance as juristic critic and commentator to the chief use he made of literary and of historical sources ⁷⁾: unfortunately as his writings were only edited from 1563, three

¹⁾ Scherer, 118, 189-190. — Peter, a cousin of Matthias van Wesembeek (cp. II, 212-17, 418 and further, Ch. XXV) and his successor at Wittenberg in 1587, held there, in 1589, a lecture published in the same year, *Oratio de Historiæ Præstantia*. That 'Peter Wesenbeck', born at Antwerp in 1589, and trained at Leipzig and Jena, was as the first after Baudouin to vindicate history, — especially that of Rome, — as the chief source of Civil Law; he pronounced it as indispensable to any jurist as sunlight is to life: Scherer, 117, 467; Stintzing, I, 714-15, ignores that work.

²⁾ Paris, 1545: Paquot, III, 83.

³⁾ Paris, 1554: Paquot, III, 85, quoting Ev. Otton (*Diss. de leg. XII. Tabul.*, XI: 72): *Multa sane præclara ex Historiæ, quam possidebat, & Civilis disciplinæ conjunctione, nec sine venere & gratia in commune protulit Balduinus, vir vere magnus: neque ad secundum gradum pervenissent alii, nisi is prior viam muniisset.*

⁴⁾ Paris, 1561: Paquot, III, 89-90: the second part intends showing that one cannot be a good Jurisconsult without knowing perfectly History, nor a good Historian, without being well versed in Law.

⁵⁾ Basle, 1559: Paquot, III, 88.

⁶⁾ Cp. sup., II, 210-18, 418.

⁷⁾ Cp. sup., II, 216; Paquot, III, 72.

years after his decease, his disciples, and, amongst them, Baudouin, were the first to expose methodically one or more of the fundamental principles of the jurisprudence which he had the glory of having revealed to them in his lectures ¹⁾).

That essential groundwork of laws had been pointed out first, as well as proposed and explained, by Vives in his famous *Quodlibeticæ* of December 1522, in which Mudæus took an active interest ²⁾. Later on, in his *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, v, 1531, the Great Spaniard enounced it in the admirable terse axiom : '*jus totum ex historia manat*' ³⁾, which he explains, and to which he also refers in his *De Causis Corruptarum Artium*, vii, declaring that, to a lawyer, amongst other requirements, '*opus est varia notitia antiquitatis, quæ prudentia adjuvatur*', evidently '*ad ea quæ ab aliis sunt observata, et ad lucem omnino majorem*'; as example he adds that '*His rebus maximis fulti prisci illi veteres, de jure audebant respondere, ad quos olim, et in foro ambulantes, et in solio sedentes, ... adibatur, quod est a Cicerone memoriæ proditum &c*' ⁴⁾. Those wise precepts of the famous Humanist and of his own celebrated Master Mudæus were followed so conscientiously by Baudouin that he became a most erudite historian, and fully proved so in the first part of *De Institutione Historiæ universæ*, 1561, already mentioned ⁵⁾, as well as in *Scævolæ, sive Commentarius de Jurisprudencia Muciana*, 1558 ⁶⁾, which is

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 217.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 211-12 : cp. Vives' letter to Cranevelt, who had asked for the text of that famous *Oratio* : May 10, 1523 : *Cran.*, 56, 25-27 ; and Dorp's to Herman Lethmaat on that same speech, December 29, 1522 : *MonHL*, 388-89, 58-64.

³⁾ VOO, vi, 390 : Vives explains that it is proved by '*caput illud Caji jurisconsulti de Origine juris, in eo enim situm est jus Quiritum, quid Quirites sciverint, statuerint, egerint, quid Senatus decreverit, magistratus pro potestate edixerint, Principes jusserint; atqui ea omnia unde sunt? an non ex historia? ut jus vel Romanum vel cujusvis alterius gentis nihil sit aliud, quam ea historiæ pars, quæ mores alicujus populi persequitur &c*' (*ib.*, 391).

⁴⁾ VOO, vi, 235.

⁵⁾ Paquot, iii, 89-90 : the first part explains the way of writing history, and the dangers to be avoided.

⁶⁾ Basle, 1558 : Paquot, iii, 88-89 : in his preface he addresses the students of Law, and inscribes the book to William of Cleves.

a most interesting contribution to the history of juridical science ¹).

C. JURISPRUDENCE & CONTROVERSY

To Baudouin's most glorious qualities of judgment and perspicacity in his erudition, and to the most brilliant and suggestive felicity of its expression, there was the sad shadow side of a fickle disposition, which was strangely influenced by circumstances. Possibly he was spoiled by too much praise and prosperity. At any rate, already as a student, he found great success, not only in Louvain, but even in Paris, where, at twenty, in 1540, he explained Justinian's *Leges de Re Rustica* and the *Novellæ*; that success was partly due to his winning appearance and to his talented exposition; for he was a young man full of energy, accessible to emotion, endowed with great intelligence, and with a happy memory: unfortunately, he was ambitious and, in his continuous quest of a better situation, inconstant, so that his life was as an unbroken series of changes, not only in his office, but also in his religious opinion, which gained him the name of *Eceholius* ²). He was in Louvain on February 13, 1542, when he dedicated his first work, the comments on Justinian's *de Re Rustica* and on a *Novella*, which he had explained in 1540, to William Hangouart, President of Arras Council ³); after some time spent at Court, in the service of John, marquis of Berghes ⁴), he returned to Paris, where he boarded with Charles du Moulin, Molinæus, and made the acquaintance of Budé, of James Cujas and of Lazarus Bayf.

¹) Most interesting is, besides, his edition of *Sti. Optati Libri Sex de Schismate Donatistarum* (Paris, 1563), as well as his *Historia Carthaginiensis Collationis inter Catholicos & Donatistas* (Paris, 1566), in which he cleverly treats a chapter of the history of the Church, and indicates, moreover, that the Calvinists are the Donatists of the xvth century: Paquot, III, 93-95.

²) From ἐκβόλιον, what produces a miscarriage: the sense seems to be that he threw off and put on creeds like shirts: Paquot, III, 74.

³) Paquot, III, 82-83.

⁴) Miræus, 93, relates an incident how he once drank the evening potion prepared for the Emperor: Paquot, III, 73. Cp. I, 260, II, 61, 82, 87.

Amongst those jurists, Molinæus ¹⁾ and, possibly, Budé seem to have influenced his religious opinion ²⁾; at any rate, he went to make the acquaintance of Bucer, at Strassburg, and of Calvin, at Geneva, and his friendship with the latter was the cause that a projected appointment at Grenoble was not realized. His publications, however, on the laws of Justinian, and on some of the Pandects secured him great fame in France ³⁾, in so far that he was nominated as professor of laws in Bourges, where, before he started his lectures, he was created Doctor on March 12, 1549, by his future colleague Eguinarius Baron ⁴⁾.

In that University he had as pupil the intended editor of the *Novellæ*, George Tanner ⁵⁾, and as collaborators for jurisprudence Hugh Doneau, Donellus ⁶⁾, and, at Baron's death in 1550, his successor Francis Duaren ⁷⁾, who, before, had left on account of Baron; as he could neither bear an equal nor a better man, Duarenus hoped to be able to overtop a young professor like Baudouin, although his lectures were very brilliant and highly appreciated. He soon found that he was not only an easy equivalent, but even in many respects a superior. During four or five years the University was thoroughly troubled by the rivalry of those two men, who knew no measure to their quarrels and intrigues, to their recriminations and calumnies. Finally disgusted by that

¹⁾ Charles Du Moulin (1500-1566), one of the cleverest jurisconsults of his time, was most ardent in his opposition to Rome and Catholic religion, to which, however, he returned in the last years of his stirring life.

²⁾ It seems that his stumbling-block was the way of living of some of the leading Catholics, whose erratic behaviour he, with many of his contemporaries, put on the account of religion.

³⁾ *Annotationes in libros IV Institutionum* : Paris, 1545; *Commentarii in Novellas* : Paris, 1546 : Paquot, III, 83-84.

⁴⁾ Eguinard Baron (1495-1550), professor of Bourges, left some writings, printed in Paris in 1562.

⁵⁾ George Tanner, an Austrian, born about 1520, was working since 1553 at the edition of the St. Mark's manuscript, Venice, but was forestalled by Scrimger, in 1559 : Stintzing, I, 233-38.

⁶⁾ Hugh Doneau (1527-1591) : cp. Stintzing, I, 377-81, &c ; Paquot, III, 42-52 ; Peyre, 25, 59.

⁷⁾ Francis Duaren (1509-1559) : Stintzing, I, 368-73, &c ; Peyre, 25, 59 ; *HarvMarg.*, 211.

jealousy and hatred, Baudouin resigned, and was replaced by Cujas ¹⁾; he accepted the professorate of laws in Strassburg which was offered to him by Calvin. Unfortunately the dissension, which hitherto had been known only to Bourges, became a public scandal in France; for Duaren pursued his old rival with squibs and libels, which Baudouin paid back in the same money. Still, after a time, he had the honour to be ashamed the first, and thus put an end to the altercation with Duarenus, who meanwhile had found a new opponent in Cujas.

By agreeing to fill a chair at Strassburg ²⁾, Baudouin regained the goodwill of Calvin, who had regretted having lost a promising adept: in fact, during his office in the Rhine town, he was received in the French Calvinistic Church. Unfortunately there was another adversary there, Francis Hotman ³⁾, who attacked him with more vehemence even than Duaren, in so far that, after a while, wishing to avoid the misery he had experienced in Bourges, Baudouin accepted the offer of Heidelberg University, and was nominated professor of Laws and also History. He spent there five years, which were as the happiest of his career ⁴⁾: he helped to form the renovator of civil jurisprudence in Germany, Nicolas Vigel ⁵⁾; instead of favouring Calvin, he now turned Lutheran, at least in his outward way of living. Still he looked out for a change, and when, about 1559, the Duisburg University was going to be founded by Duke William of Cleves and Jülich ⁶⁾, he was pointed out as the most desirable candidate for the professorship of Laws: probably on that account he dedicated to the authorities of that town his *Ad Leges de Jure Civili... Commentarius*, by a letter from Heidelberg,

¹⁾ James Cujas: Stintzing, I, 375-77, &c; *HarvMarg.*, 184; Peyre, 25, 59.

²⁾ Cp. the correspondence of John Sleidan and Caspar von Nidbruck, July-Sept. 1555: *Sleidan*, I, 38-44, II, 291, 294, 298, 301.

³⁾ Francis Hotman, Autmann, Hotomannus (1524-1590): Stintzing, I, 383-85, &c; Peyre, 25, 59.

⁴⁾ He had married, on arriving at Heidelberg, Catherine Biton, of Bourges; a daughter was born in Heidelberg: Paquot, III, 80-81.

⁵⁾ Nicolas Vigel, of Treisa, Hesse (1529-1600): Stintzing, I, 425-40: *HarvMarg.*, 96, 181, 184.

⁶⁾ Cp. before pp 315, 288, 301-2, and 520; MasE, 218-20, 229-31, &c; *Heresbach*, 157-58, 156-65.

August 13, 1559 ¹⁾. As late as 1561, he speaks out his hope that the University should open, and procure him employment.

It then befell that Antony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, who wished to make use of Baudouin's clever advice to recuperate some parts of his realm lost, and secure the help of some German Princes ²⁾, engaged him as counsellor in 1561 ³⁾. Almost on his arrival in France, he took an active part in the 'Colloquy of Poissy', which had been arranged by Queen Catherine de' Medici and some political leaders to reach an agreement between Catholics and their opponents; in fact, Baudouin had written already a tract, in 1557, to foster tolerance ⁴⁾. He caused a treatise, *De Officio Pii... Viri, in hoc Religionis Dissidio*, written by his friend Cassander, to be printed, and he distributed copies during the Colloquy ⁵⁾, which highly incensed Calvin, who was opposed to all understanding: attributing the *De Officio* to Baudouin, he attacked him most virulently in a *Responsio ad Versipellem* ⁶⁾; in reply was published *Ad Leges de famosis Libellis & de Calumniatoribus Commentarius*, a treatise which Baudouin had written in 1557, and which he adapted to the circumstances; it opposed erudition, right feeling and a particularly fine style to the gross abuse and to the dictatorial arrogance of his wild adversary, over whom it realized an incontestable advantage ⁷⁾. Calvin's further *Responsio ad Balduini Convitia*, made matters even worse, since he tried to crush Baudouin by publishing some of his old letters ⁸⁾. The *Responsio altera* which it elicited, Paris, 1562 ⁹⁾, was so vigorous

¹⁾ Cp. Paquot, III, 88-89; MasE, 231, 338, 368.

²⁾ Cp. Hudson, 263-64, 269, 272-73, 469; Peyre, 39, sq.

³⁾ Baudouin left Heidelberg in 1561: Stintzing, I, 373; he was succeeded by Nicolas Cisner, of Mosbach (1529-1583); Stintzing, I, 503-507.

⁴⁾ Paquot, III, 76, 87; Polenz, II, 53, sq, 68, sq; Peyre, 82.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 296-303, and, for *De Officio*, p 300; Paquot, III, 90-92.

⁶⁾ *Responsio ad Versipellem quemdam Mediatorem*, qui pacificandi specie rectum Euangelii cursum in Gallia abruptum molitus est: Paquot, III, 91; Maldonat, 328.

⁷⁾ Paris, A. Wechel, 1562: Paquot, III, 91; Maldonat, 328.

⁸⁾ Paquot, III, 91-92; Maldonat, 328.

⁹⁾ *Responsio altera ad Joannem Calvinum*: Paris, G. Morel, 1562: Paquot, III, 92.

and substantial that Calvin wrote to Beza ¹⁾ that he would not reply any more. The disciple then took the place of his master by his *Responsio ad Francisci Balduini, Ecebolii, Convicia*, full of high words and irrationality, to which Baudouin's third *Responsio ad Calvinum & Bezam* brought accusations which must have made both of them regret bitterly having provoked the retort ²⁾; he even reproached Francis Hotman, who had seconded them, with a vile crime, about which he durst not reply as long as Baudouin was alive ³⁾. Those three apologies have been pointed out as most crushing disclosures, throwing a dismal light on Calvin and his assistants ⁴⁾, whereas they announce as a break in the cloudy outlook of the jurispudent himself, who, twenty years before, had been thrown into the arms of the heretics on account of scandalous lives of some who should have been the models for their brethren.

About that time Baudouin had been asked by the Prince of Condé for a memoir about a good means to remedy the sad state of religion; it was edited by stealth, with many spurious addings, by a carmelite who had cast off the cowl; Baudouin complained, and had the forger dismissed from the Prince's court, whilst he himself published as justification '*De Ecclesia et Reformatione*' ⁵⁾.

Meanwhile the jurispudent had been entrusted by Antony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, with the training of his natural son Charles de Bourbon; whilst travelling in Germany, they learned at Trent that the King had died on November 17, 1561, from a wound received at the siege of Rouen; so they returned. As Baudouin's goods had been alienated during his absence, and as he himself had become proscribed as Calvinist, Maximilian de Berghes, the Bishop of Cambrai,

¹⁾ Cp. Polenz, I, 628-39.

²⁾ *Responsio ad Calvinum & Bezam pro Franc. Balduino Jcto*; cum refutatione calumniarum de Scriptura & Traditione: Cologne, R. Richwin, 1564: cp. Paquot, III, 92; M. Audin, *Vie de Calvin*: Louvain, 1844: II, 74, sq, 237, sq; Hallam, II, 72; Florentius van der Haer, *De Initiiis Tumultuum Belgicorum*: Douai, 1587: L. I, ch. 25.

³⁾ Maldonat, 328-29.

⁴⁾ Paquot, III, 92; Maldonat, 328; HerMaur., 203.

⁵⁾ Paquot, III, 92-93.

obtained for him the licence to return to his native country, as, with some chief personalities in the Netherlands, he wanted him to be appointed in the newly erected University of Douai ¹). In 1564, Baudouin was called to Brussels by William, Prince of Orange, by his brother Louis of Nassau, and by other lords, and drew up the memoir about the troubles of religion, which was sent to Philip II ²). It may have given rise to the belief that he was with the discontented noblemen at Breda, and to the suspicion that he made up the request for the liberty of religion handed to Margaret of Parma on April 5, 1566 ³). Still it is a fact that a Louvain professor of divinity, Josse Ravesteyn ⁴), received, on July 24, 1565, Baudouin's abjuration of all past errors, and integrated him stately into the Communion of the Church ⁵). As to the Manifesto, it is now ascribed to Giles Le Clercq ⁶).

That Baudouin had little or nothing to do with the *Compromis des Nobles*, seems, moreover, manifestly proved by the fact that, when the Duke of Alva came to Brussels on August 28, 1567, he called on that 'terrible' promoter of Catholic faith on September 8, and was well received. When, on September 9, the Counts of Egmont and of Hornes were apprehended, and seemed to have been doomed beforehand, he was even afraid to be appointed as one of their judges; he asked for a few days' leave to go and fetch his wife to his new home, as well as his collection of books, which were still in France ⁷). When it was granted, he returned to Paris,

¹) It is evident that the Bishop of Cambrai (cp. I, 260, II, 426), in order to satisfy the general wish of having Baudouin as professor in Douai, made his accepting possible; there is, even, a letter of Henry van Camphusen from Douai to his relative A. Masius, stating, 'September 19, 1565: 'Ambitur valde a magistratu, adnitente ad hoc universitate nostra, quidam Baldewinus magni nominis jurisconsultus, qui mille florenorum stipendio accitus parum properat ex Gallia huc; ajunt illi cum nostro theologorum genere parum bene covenire': the writer of this letter was *studens juris* there at the time: MasE, 368.

²) Pirenne, III, 449, sq.

³) Paquot, III, 95; Pirenne, III, 453-55; Baudouin's cooperation is not accepted as probable in Hoyneck, I, i, 457.

⁴) Cp. II, 508-10.

⁵) *BelgArch., Etat & Audience*, 1177. ¹/. C.

⁶) Pirenne, III, 452-53.

⁷) Paquot, III, 78-79.

and, induced to lecture there on the Pandects, gathered a considerable number of auditors, so that he refused the professorate of Laws in Besançon University, where Emperor Maximilian II had not allowed, at its erection, that jurisprudence should be taught. By 1568, the Duke of Anjou, at the suggestion of his Chancellor Philip de Hurault ¹⁾, made him his Master of Requests and professor of Laws in Angers : he there had as students the jurispudent James Menard ²⁾, and his future biographer, John Papire-Masson ³⁾.

When Henry, Duke of Anjou, was elected King of Poland on May 9, 1573, he requested Baudouin to come to Paris where he introduced him to the Polish embassy as his Councillor of State, in appreciation of the services rendered to the University, to which he had attracted a very large number of hearers ; on that account the new King also contemplated appointing him in the University of Cracow. Unfortunately a malignant fever laid him low in a house belonging to Arras College, where he lived with his wife and daughter. He had resumed the interviews, which he had started before, with the clever Jesuit John Maldonat, professor in Clermont College, one of the then ablest controversialists ⁴⁾ ; he had completely brought round Baudouin, whom the vehement opposition to Calvin and Beza had made into one of the most welcome trumps in the laborious disputation. Maldonat had exposed most methodically to his learned friend the Christian dogms,

¹⁾ Philip de Hurault, Count of Cheverny (1527-1599), author of *Mémoires* : *NBG* ; *Givry*, II, 31. ²⁾ Cp. *SaxOnom.*, 457.

³⁾ Papire-Masson, born at Forez in 1544, lost his parents as a child and was educated by the Jesuits at Billon ; he entered that order and became famous for his eloquence. He left the Society, and went to study law at Angers under Baudouin ; he became advocate of Paris Parliament in 1576, and, although most successful as orator, he devoted all his talents and energy to writing historical books, of which the *Elogia Virorum Clarissimorum* is best known. He died on January 9, 1611 : SchottE, 64 ; *SaxOnom.*, 503 ; *NBG* ; *Peyre*, 26 ; &c.

⁴⁾ Jean Maldonat, born in 1533 at Las-Casas de la Reina, in the Spanish Estramadura, had been educated to a fine scholar in Salamanca University. He entered the Society of the Jesuits in Rome in 1562, and was sent to Paris to teach in Clermont College. He was invited to Rome by Gregory XIII to take part in the editing of the Greek Bible of the Seventy, and died there in 1583, leaving several most appreciated works ; cp. *Maldonat* ; *SaxOnom.*, 454.

and had dissipated all difficulties and objections, so as not to leave the least doubt in a mind which was far too lofty not to yield to luminous proofs ; he caused Francis's last months to be consoling after the bitterness of the years of anxious and disappointing searching ¹⁾. Maldonat himself had only recently returned from the protracted meeting of Sedan, requested by the Duchess of Bouillon about the end of 1572 ²⁾, when he offered his consolation and assistance to Baudouin, and helped him to die well, after having taught him before how to live well. The end came on November 11, 1573, when Calvin's adversary expired in the Jesuit's arms ³⁾.

Besides a disconsolate widow and a daughter, born at Heidelberg, who had inherited her father's charms and qualities, Baudouin left a considerable number of works about jurisprudence and history, which fully justify the great renown he enjoyed during his life-time, and made him a pioneer of the modern methods for those branches which he, besides, enriched with most valuable contributions ⁴⁾. His fame has been obscured by what seems an inconsistency in his religious opinions, which, most probably, is due in a very large part to the circumstances of the time, in which he lived : in his days, plenty of malicious remarks were made on the abuses and shortcomings of the clergy ; moreover, not being schooled in theology, he accepted as truth all the criticisms and teachings of the innovators, until a more intimate acquaintance showed them to be guilty of far greater vices and worse habits than those which they pretended to correct and abolish. In his conscientious search for truth, he was more than once disabused, but, in his righteousness, he courageously spoke out his disappointment, which made the tyrannical Calvin and his assistant Beza lay out before everybody's eyes some old letters and declarations, so as to brand him as inconstant and fickle, where they could not

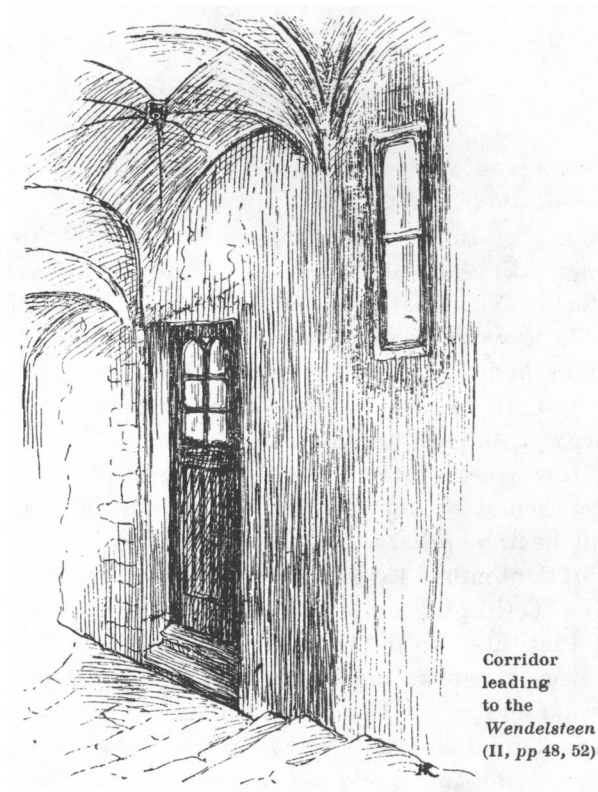
¹⁾ *Maldonat*, 329.

²⁾ *Maldonat*, 289-326.

³⁾ *Maldonat*, 326-330. — Cp. *Opmeer*, I, 506, b, II, 24, b ; *Miræus*, 93-94 ; *SweABelg.*, 239-40 ; *BibBelg.*, 221-25, 861 ; *Paquot*, III, 71-99 ; *ADB* ; *SaxOnom.*, 239, 457 ; *Stintzing*, I, 382-83, &c ; *FlandScript.*, 58.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Scherer*, 118, 189-90, 465 ; *Stintzing*, I, 419, 145, 234, 293-94, 381, 456 ; *HarvMarg.*, 204 ; *SchottE*, 60 ; *Hessels*, I, 365.

prove him to be mistaken in his subsequent judgment. Meanwhile the happy influence Baudouin exercised on Jurisprudence and History can hardly be gauged; it makes it greatly to be regretted that he had not been endowed with a little more prudence, or that circumstances had not prevented him from frittering away in pure waste a considerable part of his activity, of his energy and, especially, of the rich talents, which had been so fitly developed in the *Trilingue* and at the Brabant University.



Corridor
leading
to the
Wendelsteen
(II, pp 48, 52)

CHAPTER XX

PRESIDENCY OF CONRAD GOCLENIUS

III. SUDDEN END

1. THE STAFF

A. A MALIGNANT EPIDEMY

Years went over the College with their glad events as well as with their unavoidable disagreeableness : such as the epidemy of 1538, which caused the untimely death of many people. On August 22, 1538, Nannius announced to his protector Nicolas Olah that, for some time, he had been unable to work as much as he wished or had to, on account of poor health, and that Rescius had been so ill that he himself and all who saw him, despaired of recovery ; he had improved, though he was not yet out of all danger ¹⁾).

A few weeks later the growing group of the humanistic workers had to deplore the loss of one of their oldest and staunchest members, Adrian Barlandus, who, on the first day of September 1518, had inaugurated the lecture of Latin in the *Trilingue*, and thus started the regular teaching in that Institute. Up to then only the flighty Matthew Adrianus had been at work, and on account of the refusal of the new organization in St. Donatian's College, the modicity of the means compelled the executors of Busleyden's will to appoint for Greek, not the renowned authority Erasmus had schemed, but Martens' corrector Rescius, who, only a while, had stood at a desk ²⁾). The great success which greeted the new

¹⁾ OlaE, 620.

²⁾ At Alkmaar : cp. before, I, 278 : also 277-79, 293 97.

Institute in the very beginning was undoubtedly due to Barlandus' skill, and to him is to be ascribed the unexpected development of the School that in after years was going to be the glory of Louvain. Unfortunately, that very prosperity was as an incentive for an opposition growing in bitterness and intensity, whereas it brought a relentless deception to Barlandus himself, who for the fairly advanced and well attended lectures he gave, received, besides the entertainment at the College, only half of what his two colleagues were paid for a rudimentary tuition to a thinly-scattered audience ¹⁾.

As difficulties raised against the Institute became apparently unsurmountable in the second half of November 1519, Barlandus decided to take up again his far lighter, and much better remunerated, work of tutoring boys of the leading families of the Netherlands : he tendered his resignation in the last days of that month ²⁾, expecting that Alard of Amsterdam, who had already volunteered for teaching Latin nine months before ³⁾, would be asked to replace him. At any rate, he seems to have resented the appointment of Goclenius ⁴⁾, since Erasmus, who himself had backed Herman von dem Busche ⁵⁾, requested him in the first days of December to drop all criticism, and come to talk the matter over before he went to Antwerp ⁶⁾. Instead of thus ending the incident, he had to write from Antwerp, on December 7, a most violent letter addressed 'Αθυρογλώττω, namely Alard of Amsterdam ⁷⁾, who, on the occasion, appeared to have been incited by the Liège Benedictine, Paschasius Berselius ⁸⁾. On the contrary, the event did not change Barlandus' mind ⁹⁾, who remained as staunch a friend of the *Trilingue* as of

¹⁾ Cp. *Test.*, 16-19; I, 262-63; II, 99, 102, 108, 244, *sq*; also Allen, III, 884, 1-6; and further, p 538. ²⁾ Cp. I, 447, *sq*, 449, *sq*.

³⁾ Cp. I, 316-20.

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 484-87.

⁵⁾ He had even invited him to resort at once to Louvain, for which journey he was indemnified when it proved useless : cp. I, 479-83.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 62, a; Allen, IV, 1050, 1051, 17.

⁷⁾ He was a kinsman of the wise, noble and humane Meinard Man, Abbot of Egmond : cp. *MonHL.*, 69; and before, I, 488-93; *BB*, V, 250, 16; — against the opinion expressed in Allen, IV, 1051, *pr*, 12.

⁸⁾ Cp. I, 493-500.

⁹⁾ Cp. I, 489; Allen, IV, 1050.

Erasmus, some of whose works he edited at the time as 'classic manuals', of which he was a beneficent innovator ¹).

When, a few years later, the professor of Eloquence, John Paludanus, died ²), he was at once chosen as his successor, and did great honour to that appointment, realizing the ideal teaching of language and literature, which he had exposed in his *De Ratione Studii Epistola* to William de Zaghere in the early months of 1517 ³). To that effect, he developed his magnificent initiative of providing apt and handy text-books, — of which the list becomes longer as bibliographical researches proceed ⁴). He had added to the series an edition of Cicero's *Oratio pro Marcello*, enriched with an *index omnium librorum Ciceronis qui hiis temporibus extare creduntur* : f C 4, r ⁵). He still continued to make full use of the attractive dialogue literature ⁶), which had led him to imitate Dorp by several dramatic representations in the Porc and in Arras College, for which introductions were composed

¹) He edited a choice of Erasmus' *Epistolæ*, December 1520, as well as of his *Adagia*, June 1521 : cp. I, 230-31 ; BB, B, 290, 13, 17, E, 140, sq.

²) February 20, 1526 : cp. I, 184-190.

³) Cp. I, 231-37 ; Barl*Hist.*, 276-82 ; Daxhelet, 300-307 : that *Ratio*, together with a *Carmen* of 8 verses to Zaghere, was printed as introductory matter (ff 2, r-4, v) to Barlandus' edition of Philolphus' *Elegantes & Familiares Epistolæ* (Louvain, Th. Martens) : NijKron., II, 3726, where it is dated c 1525 on Daxhelet's authority. Still the *Ratio* was evidently written (and, probably, also edited for the first time) in the first months of 1517, as results from the considerations expressed before, I, 234, 235, 236 ; to which can be added that the presence of Geldenhouwer in Louvain is quite out of the question after September 1525, when he had left for Germany to take rank amongst the Lutherans : *Cran.*, 179, a, 240, e-g ; before, I, 234-36 ; Daxhelet, 307, 216-17.

⁴) To the list recorded before, I, 226-31, have to be added the following issues by Th. Martens, Louvain : *Epistole Familiares Joannis Antonii Campani*, dedicated to J. Paludanus : January 27, 1513 ; *Publij Fausti [Andrelini] Hecatodistichon*, May 21, 1513 ; Erasmus' translation of Plutarch's *De Luctu*, inscribed to J. Murellius, November 1513 ; and some *Carmina* in *Erasmii Lecebrationcelæ*, inscribed to James Latomus, February 6, 1514 : NijKron., I, 515, 936, 1743, II, 2954.

⁵) Louvain, Th. Martens, c 1520 : NijKron., II, 2660.

⁶) He therefore had edited, on August 14, 1512, Erasmus' translations of the dialogues by Lucian of Samosata : Louvain, Th. Martens : NijKron., II, 3434-35 (reprint of 1515).

and printed ¹⁾. Still, in the years that he was entrusted with the lecture of Eloquence, he devoted more specially his attention to the ideal formation of mind and soul, by his *Institutio Christiani Hominis Aphorismis digesta* ²⁾, which was repeatedly reprinted ³⁾, as well as to the theoretical study of literature and language : he thus widened most remarkably the scope of the treatises which he had issued in the beginning of his career ⁴⁾, bringing out, in 1535, his *Compendiosæ Institutiones Artis Oratoricæ* ⁵⁾, and, one year later, his *Opusculum de Amplificatione Oratoria* ⁶⁾.

Judging by those issues, it is easy to understand the great influence which Barlandus exercised on all his hearers, and to value the praise Gemma Phrysius gave him, when he called him and Goclenius, '*Louaniensis Academiæ duo lumina*' ⁷⁾. It made a public calamity of his decease — on the last day of November 1538, according to a note by one of his students on his copy of his Master's *Dialogi* ⁸⁾. That date is corroborated by the fact that Arnold Ghinck, of Hasselt, was appointed his successor as Rhetor on December 22, 1538 ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. I, 217-18, 267-71.

²⁾ Antwerp, A. Tilianus & Joh. Hoochstraeten : c 1526 ; it was dedicated to John Laurentius, of Zierikzee, who was then at Tournai : NijKron., II, 2368.

³⁾ Cp. NijKron., II, 3867-69 (1530-40), I, 1878-89 (1538-40).

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 267-71. Barlandus, moreover, edited Erasmus' *De Ratione Studii*, September 24, 1512, with a dedicatory letter to James Nardinus, Mechlin 'ludi magister', a friend of John de Spouter ; also *Augustini Dathi Senensis Isagogicus Libellus in Eloquentiæ Præcepta*, December 1512, inscribed to John Borsalus ; Erasmus' *De Octo Orationis Partium Constructione Libellus*, with a letter to Gerard Geldenhouwer, Louvain, Th. Martens, November 1514, as well as its reprint of September 1516, with a letter to him from the printer, Th. Martens : NijKron., I, 863, 689, II, 2889, 2893, 2896, 2898.

⁵⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius : February 1535 ; it was dedicated to John de Fevyn, Bruges Scholaster : NijKron., II, 2369.

⁶⁾ Louvain, S. Zassenus : April 1536 : it was inscribed to John Becker Borsalus : NijKron., I, 221.

⁷⁾ DantE, 407 ; *GemFrissius*, 406-7 ; NijKron., I, 702.

⁸⁾ The copy is now in Ghent University Library : BB, B, 250, 22-23 ; Daxhelet, 25-26.

⁹⁾ VAnd., 247.

B. THE PROFESSORS

Except for the untoward result of illness, the work in the Institute appears to have gone its regular way, as far as the scanty documents imply. Amongst those the letters take an important place, at least for two of the professors. It seems, indeed, to have been a well-known fact that Andrew Balenus was very remiss in writing : 'Admonui Andream ut tibi rescriberet', Nannius declared to Andrew Masius on March 18, 1543, 'sed nosti hominis lentitudinem, quam ille agnoscit, nec putat aliam culpam sibi ascribi debere' ¹). In fact the man was deeply engaged in his studies all the time which was not taken up by his lectures or by his avocations as medical doctor.

The few letters from, or to, Rutger Rescius, which seem to have been preserved, are illustrative of his preoccupation : of the fifteen documents available of a correspondence which he entertained with Queen Mary's secretary, Nicolas Olah, from November 1531 to November 1534, three relate to the boarders he took in his house : in one he requests his great friend's interference in favour of an inmate put into prison for heresy ²) ; two others refer to the lack of accommodation for John Henckel ³). A fourth letter is an introduction for his old student, the great physician and professor of medicine Jeremy Thriverus ⁴) ; so is a fifth, for a 'nobilis vir et summus amicus' ⁵), but the ten others are all about books printing or printed by the Greek professor ⁶), which he offers to his

¹) MasE, 17 ; in the correspondence of Masius, who appears to have been one of the greatest of Balenus' friends, and who, it seems, sent regularly messages to him, there is only one letter from the Hebrew professor : MasE, 3, 345.

²) No doubt, Peter Cherf, or Cerf, of Steenwerck : cp. letter of August 19, 1534 : OlaE, 520-21 ; and before, pp 121-22.

³) Letters of January 7 and 10, 1533 : OlaE, 188, 271 ; cp. before, pp 118, 368-69.

⁴) March 22, 1532 : OlaE, 209 ; cp. before, II, 533, 532-42.

⁵) December, 5, 1533 : OlaE, 431.

⁶) Letters of November 20, 1531 (OlaE, 167), Febr. 26 (*id.*, 199), March 25, 1532 (210), July 9 (386), Octob. 13, 1533 (418), Nov. 6, 1534 (538) Dec. 27 and Dec. 31, 1535 (565), Jan. 27, 1536 (567), March 11, 1537 (598-99). In several letters of Nannius, Rescius is mentioned as sending messages to Olah on the same subject : OlaE, 576, 596-97, 609, 616.

great protector, and occasionally forwards by means of a friend, like William a Putama ¹⁾ or W. Lapidanus ²⁾, who had to pass through Brussels.

C. RESCIUS' ACTIVITY AS PRINTER

Indeed Rescius continued working strenuously as printer : in November 1536, he published Nannius' *Apologia super Annotatiunculis in Theophilum, aduersus quendam Iacobum Curtium*, in the controversy about the text of the *Institutes* ³⁾; also Gerard Morinck's *Vita Hadriani sexti*, dedicated to Cardinal Erard de la Marck by a letter dated St. Trond, October 4, 1536 ⁴⁾. In 1537 he brought out several Greek texts : in January, Aristophanes' *Aues* ⁵⁾; in July, Lucian's *Nigrinus* ⁶⁾; in August, *De Insomnio, sive Vita Luciani* ⁷⁾, and Euripides' *Andromache*, adorned with two poems by Didacus Pyrrhus ⁸⁾; in December, Basilius Magnus' *Homilia in sanctam Christi Natiuitatem*, which is followed, in the same volume, by the homilies *in dictum : Destruam horrea mea* (St. Luke, xii, 18), *de Avaritia*, and *aduersus Divites* ⁹⁾. In February of that same year, Rescius printed Latin translations of Greek texts by Peter Nannius : Basilius Magnus' *In sanctam Christi Natiuitatem Homilia* ¹⁰⁾, and Demosthenes and Aeschines' *Epistolæ* ¹¹⁾. Besides those older

¹⁾ OlaE, 418 : cp. before, pp 120, 361.

²⁾ OlaE, 538 : William van den Steene, monk of Bergues- St.-Winoc : cp. before, p 114.

³⁾ NijKron., I, 1583, also 2003 (1539); BB, τ, 23; Polet, 129-134; and before, p 126.

⁴⁾ NijKron., I, 1545; MonHL, 485-86; it has a recommendatory *Carmen Phaleucium* by Cornelius Musius.

⁵⁾ NijKron., I, 133. ⁶⁾ NijKron., II, 3430. ⁷⁾ NijKron., II, 3427.

⁸⁾ NijKron., II, 2987 : Didacus Pyrrhus (cp. before, pp 419-21) added a few recommendatory verses, as well as a poem, *De Remediis aduersus Fortunæ Impetus e tragædia petendis*, to 'Hieronymum Franciscum' : it takes up ff A 2, r to A 4, r. ⁹⁾ NijKron., II, 2381.

¹⁰⁾ Dedicated to Ruard Tapper, Dean of St. Peter's, on January 1, 1537 : NijKron., I, 255; Polet, 94, sq.

¹¹⁾ Dedicated to James van Halewyn, canon of Our Lady's, Bruges, on February 1, 1537 : NijKron., I, 696, II, 3938; Polet, 96-98, 130, 253; cp. II, 416; and sup. p 485 : he, no doubt, was different from the councillor, Lord of Maldeghe, Boesinghe, &c, of the same name.

texts, he published in January James de Meyere's *Hymni aliquot et Carmina* with some poems in memory of Erasmus ¹⁾, and, in March, three small volumes, also in praise of the great Humanist, who had died the year before : the *Erasmi... Epitaphia, per Clarissimos aliquot Viros conscripta* ²⁾, the *Erasmi... Epitaphia, per Eruditiss. aliquot Viros Academiæ Louaniensis edita* ³⁾, and the *Erasmi... Encomium* by Gulielmus Piscis Atrebas ⁴⁾. In the first months of that year, February or March, he also issued a treatise by a famous physician : — 'autore Andrea wesalio Bruxellensi Medicinæ candidato', who then was studying in Louvain : *Paraphrasis, in Nonvm Librum Rhazæ Medici... de singulorum corporis partium affectuum curatione* ⁵⁾, dedicated from Brussels, February 1, 1537, to Nicolas Herco Florenas, who was then Charles V's physician ⁶⁾. In July he brought out John Driedo of Turnhout's *De Concordia Liberi Arbitrij, & Prædestinationis Diuinæ, Liber vnus* ⁷⁾, and in August, *De Gratia & Libero Arbitrio, Libri duo*, by the same divine ⁸⁾; whilst, on October 15, he issued Alard of Amsterdam's *Dissertatio de... Eucharistiæ Sacramento* ⁹⁾. In 1538 he published, as Greek texts, the *Adversus Euthynum Oratio* ¹⁰⁾

¹⁾ NijKron., II, 3527; cp. before, pp 432-46.

²⁾ NijKron., II, 2842; cp. before, pp 404-415.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 2843; cp. before, pp 415-31.

⁴⁾ NijKron., II, 3731; cp. before, pp 431-32.

⁵⁾ NijKron., II, 4089; cp. before, pp 323-33, &c; the treatise is recommended by a few verses by Judocus Velsius Hagiensis : cp. Chs. XXII, XXIII.

⁶⁾ Nicolas Herco, of Florennes, Florena[tu]s, became M. A. in Louvain about 1506, as, on June 2, 1511, 'petit accipi ad Concilium Facultatis' : *ActArtV*, 315, r. He resided at Bruges, where he met Cranevelt, and is recorded even to have taught Greek at St. Donatian's School by 1518. With his wife, a native of Dunkirk, he went to Italy, and studied medicine in Bologna. In the spring of 1526, he returned as physician, and settled at Bruges; later on, he rejoined Cranevelt at Mechlin, and, entering Charles V's service, followed him to Spain by 1533. He then soon was appointed Archiater, which employ occasioned him to be knighted by 1541. Cp. *Cran.*, 154, a, b, also pp xlii, liv, and epp. 192, 194, 196, 20, 204, 244; *JSecIt.*, 68; also before, I, 518, sq, II, 373, 445.

⁷⁾ NijKron., I, 741.

⁸⁾ NijKron., I, 742.

⁹⁾ It was dedicated to Theodoricus of Catwyck, parish priest of Wassenaar : NijKron., I, 54.

¹⁰⁾ NijKron., II, 3241.

by Isocrates, in January ; the *Opera et Dies* ¹⁾ by Hesiodus, in July ; and the *Deorum Dialogi* by Lucian, in October ²⁾ ; whilst, in March 1538, he printed Nannius' Latin version of three of Basilius Magnus' Homilies : *Homiliæ tres, cum tribus eiusdem Epistolis* ³⁾).

From a comparison with the preceding years, it follows that, in 1538, the output was rather small : it may readily be explained by the illness which Nannius mentioned on August 22, when writing to Olah ⁴⁾. That correspondence also shows that, in the choice of the matter to be printed, the literary or erudite significance was far from being decisive ; more material considerations than the intellectual value, or the service to be rendered to humanity, were evidently predominant ; the gold and silver coins which Nicolas Olah generously bestowed on Rescius, were paramountly welcome ⁵⁾, and if he was not as fawning in his letters to the powerful Secretary as his friend and colleague Peter Nannius ⁶⁾, yet he refused to print a work by his old protector Francis de Cranevelt, whereas he repeatedly offered his ready services to publish Olah's poems *Athila* and *Hungaria* ⁷⁾ : 'Qui hoc cum Cranneveldio negauerit', Nannius explained to Olah on November 20, 1537, 'satis intelligo, quanti tua scripta faciat, et quid de quæstu speret' ⁸⁾. No doubt the book by Cranevelt that he had refused, was his translation of

¹⁾ NijKron., II, 3147.

²⁾ NijKron., II, 3422.

³⁾ They are the three homilies of which the Greek text was edited with the *Homilia in Christi Nativitatem*, in December 1537. The book was dedicated to John Recamp, Reekamp, Abbot of Adwert, Friesland, March 15, 1537 : NijKron., II, 2383 ; Polet, 95 ; *HEpG*, 39, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 530.

⁵⁾ E. g., OlaE, 567, 598-99.

⁶⁾ Nannius' letters are all replete with effusive praise of Olah ; some even contain the actual proof of a bad conscience in the quail-like outcry against all flattery, as, e. g., in OlaE, 597, 598, 613 (: Non est Nannius, qui adulari possit aut ut possit, velit), 615 (: neminem hab[er]e Louanii, qui tecum paria faciat), 616 (: Nos paucissima annotauimus, magis ne adulatores videremur, quam quod censura ulla opus esset).

⁷⁾ On November 20, 1537, Nannius wrote : Rescius prelum suum offert, et quidquid potest, quo editio maturetur : OlaE, 609 : cp. also 596-97, 615, 616.

⁸⁾ OlaE, 609.

Procopii Rhetoris... de Iustiniani Imp. Aedificiis Libri Sex: yet it was printed in Paris by Christian Wechel in 1537 ¹⁾, and brought him a considerable amount of fame; whereas neither of Olah's works was published in his lifetime: *Athila* was only issued in March 1568, by John Sambucus, who had received it some time before the author's death (January 15, 1568); as to *Hungaria*, it was not even edited before 1735 ²⁾.

2. GOCCLENIUS' SIGNIFICANCE

A. PRE-EMINENT PROFESSOR

If Rescius should have wanted to palliate his characteristic addictedness to gold and gain, he could never have invoked the absence of an efficient example of disinterested labour nor of limitless devotion to duty, as it was abundantly given by his colleague Conrad Goclenius, who endeavoured to bring up his teaching to the highest mark of excellence and to the utmost utility of all those entrusted to his fatherly care ³⁾. From the very beginning of his work in the Institute, he had proved, not only the artisan of its glorious prosperity, but even its providential saviour and preserver. He had been appointed at a time when, in consequence of the relentless opposition, two of the three professors had resigned, and the third was confined to his room in the Lily ⁴⁾. Although only a mere tutor, and an occasional help of backward students, he accepted the Latin teaching, paid much less than the two other ⁵⁾; yet he brought prosperity where he had found utter despair and threatening ruin ⁶⁾. It was, no doubt, that

¹⁾ *Cran.*, p lxxii.

²⁾ *OlaO*, iii-vi: the *Hungaria* was first published at Posen, 1735, in Matthias Bel's *Adparatus ad Historiam Hungariæ*, I, 1-38.

³⁾ Massebieau, 142, *ErAllen*, 160, and de Jongh, 200, have, on the subject, inexact references. Cp. *LipsE*, 752, 766, 772, sq, 792.

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 470, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Test.*, 19; and I, 486.

⁶⁾ Cp. I, 484-87, II, 29, 93-102, 109-15, &c; Polet, 2, 11-15; Roersch, I, 54; Thibaut, 123; C. Reys, *Damião de Gois. Opusculos Historicos*: Oporto, 1945: 54.

excellence of which Goclenius gave evident proofs from the first days of his appointment, which secured him the favour and the lifelong friendship of Erasmus, although he all but had another candidate nominated. For whatever some so-called humanistic historians have pretended ¹⁾, documents prove irrefutably that, instead of backing the young tutor, he had sent word at once to Herman von dem Busche ²⁾ to make him come to Louvain without any delay to take that place. He arrived when the choice had been made ³⁾, and Erasmus was so over-glad to have been thus forestalled, that he defended the young professor against Barlandus, and, a few days later, against the slandering Alard of Amsterdam ⁴⁾. It proves that, from the first lectures, he had judged the novice at his right worth; nor was it long before the exceptional value of the new collaborator was appreciated by all: from the beginning of his career, he was praised as *Scholæ nostræ Trium Linguarum Princeps & Ornamentum*, as well as 'a second Erasmus' ⁵⁾; whilst one of the cleverest men who ever passed through Louvain, Gemma Phrysius, pronounced him and Barlandus, in 1539, when twenty years had gone, *Louaniensis Academiæ duo lumina* ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Lindeboom wrongly attributes to Erasmus a large share in Goclenius' appointment: Lindeb., 238, sq.

²⁾ Already in October 1518, when Barlandus thought of resigning his badly paid professorship, Erasmus had proposed Busche as successor: still Barlandus did not leave: Allen, III, 884; cp. *sup.*, I, 448.

³⁾ Busche actually was invited by Erasmus, but when he arrived, the vacancy was filled, as results from this entry in Vessem's account: *Jtem den voers. Heeren Herasmo voer een Reyse gedaen bij eenen die hij ontboden hadde vuten duijtsschen lande omde lesse te hebben jn lattijne jnt collegie de welcke te late quam want dairaf versien was. betaelt ten beuele van M. antonijs sucket ij gouden gulden ij 2 xvj st: Rek., 36, r, v; cp. I, 482, sq., and before p 531.*

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 484-91, and before p 531; Allen, IV, 1050, 1051.

⁵⁾ Resendius, *Poemata* (Cologne, 1613): 21: *de Conrado Goclenio nobili Rhetore*; also before, II, 396, 397; F. K. Kaiser, *Johannes Sturm*: Cologne, 1872: 7; VAnd., 400, sq; Vern., 310; Sandys, II, 215; *Geld-Coll.*, 72; *ErasDrum.*, I, 381; F. Nève, *Érasme en Brabant*: Louvain, 1876: 36; Bonilla, 76; Cerejeira, 29, sq; Kuiper, 40, 69.

⁶⁾ Letter to Dantiscus, December 12, 1539: DantE, 407; *GemFrissius*, 407; — Gemma added: *Professor Latinus nunc est Petrus quidam Nanius, non vulgariter eruditus, verum non æque facundus.*

That Goclenius was actually a *lumen*, had long before been attested, not only by that great judge of men, Erasmus ¹⁾, or by his most affectionate friend Thomas More ²⁾, but by all the great Humanists moving in the Louvain orbit : as well the initiator of the lively teaching of Latin, Dorp ³⁾, as John Louis Vives, who became a 'humanistic' convert in Brabant, and left it as the third of the Great Triumvirate of the first half of the xvith century ⁴⁾; as well the erudite Mechlin councillor Cranevelt ⁵⁾ as Queen Mary of Hungary's secretary Olah ⁶⁾, as the Portuguese erudite Damian a Goes ⁷⁾, and the great Polish ambassador John Dantiscus ⁸⁾; as well the active Antwerp secretary Cornelius Grapheus ⁹⁾ as the Amsterdam teacher Alard, who dedicated to him the edition of the writings of the great pioneer of the New Movement, Rudolph Agricola ¹⁰⁾.

Goclenius' great value as professor is abundantly attested by the whole-hearted praise bestowed on him by his old pupils after they had gained an enviable position thanks to their efficient formation : not only his successors in the *Trilingue*, Peter Nannius ¹¹⁾ and Cornelius van Auwater ¹²⁾; or pedagogues, like John Sturm ¹³⁾ and James Cruquius ¹⁴⁾; but erudites like Andrew Masius ¹⁵⁾ and Antony de Schoonhoven ¹⁶⁾; celebrated literators, like Cornelius Musius ¹⁷⁾ and

¹⁾ Cp. further, pp 541-42, 545-52.

²⁾ Cp. II, 113, and further, pp 551-54; *ActaMori*, 23-25, 164, 197; *Cran.*, 115, d; *NèveMém.*, 146, n.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 95, e, h; *Daxhelet*, 224; *MonHL*, 265-67, 352.

⁴⁾ *VivE*, 172-73, 197; *VivNam.*, 18; *Allen*, v, 1303, 35, 1306, 27; *Swe-Mon.*, 239; *MonHL*, 49, sq, 430, &c.

⁵⁾ Stapleton-Audin, *Thomas More*: Liège, 1849 : 144, sq.

⁶⁾ *OlaE*, pass.; *CatCzart.*, I, 42, (1531); *Polet*, 256, 258, 264.

⁷⁾ *MonHL*, 614-15, 622.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 22-23.

⁹⁾ *Goch*, 12; *Ullmann*, I, 379, 390.

¹⁰⁾ Cologne, 1539, praising Goclenius' work and writings: *GocCor.*, 65; *SchottE*, 70.

¹¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 178-86; *Polet*, 251.

¹²⁾ *Kuiper*, 69, 162.

¹³⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 120; *Altmeier*, I, 326; F. K. Kaiser, *Johannes Sturm, sein Bildungsgang und seine Verdienste*: Cologne, 1872 : 7.

¹⁴⁾ *Schrevel*, I, 265.

¹⁵⁾ *MasE*, 3, sq; cp. before, pp 282-83.

¹⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 178, 180-82; A. Roersch, in *AnEmBr.*, 1924, 143, sq.

¹⁷⁾ *OpMBoek*, 114; *Polet*, 310; *Lindeb.*, 254.

the *Tres Fratres Belgæ* ¹⁾; statesmen of all ranks, from Viglius ²⁾ and Oom van Wyngaerden ³⁾ to Joachim Polites ⁴⁾. Nor was the excellent Professor's fame circumscribed by the limits of the country, for most tempting conditions were offered to him if he would accept, not only a temporary though glorious position in Robert de Croy's *familia* ⁵⁾, or at the Danish Court ⁶⁾, but even a professorship in the world-famed University of Paris ⁷⁾ or in the equally renowned one of Oxford ⁸⁾.

B. AN INGENIOUS ERUDITE

Besides being taken up by his earnest desire to make his teaching as painfully accurate and as highly efficient in his paramount care of his hearers, in their constantly growing numbers, the conscientious Goclenius was equally zealous and affectionate in his addictedness to Erasmus, of whose interests he took a religious care. But outside of those concerns, hardly anything seemed to be able to rouse him from the indifference which those who knew him, called indolence, and ascribed to his constitution. His great friend sketched him in his *Ciceronianus* ⁹⁾ :

Bv. Conradum Goclenium, opinor, non nosti. No. Num illum dicis qui apud Brabantos jampridem ornat non modo Collegium Busleidianum, quod quidam Trilingue vocant, sed totam etiam illam Academiam, licet alioqui florentissimam. Bv. Istum ipsum. No. Mihi quidem καὶ οἶκόν τε notus est. Bv. Nunquid in illo desideras, quominus habeatur inter Ciceronianos? No. Opinor illud ingenium posse, quicquid serio voluerit, verum mavult

¹⁾ Cp. II, 435, 448; *Cran.*, 123, e, 292, a; G. Prévot, *Jean Second à Paris*, in *Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.*, ix, 554.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 464-65; also II, 146; Hoyneck, I, i, 7, 67, 71, II, i, 223, 230, 380.

³⁾ Ent., 59; Allen, vi, 1668, 35; Daxhelet, 326.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 475; *GlénCorr.*, I, 20-21, 104, 256, II, 99.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 244.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 245, 611.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, II, 243, 361-62.

⁸⁾ Cp. before II, 44, 245, 359, 611; *Cran.*, 185, a; *MonHL*, 21, sq.

⁹⁾ EOO, I, 1014, c-d.

obesulus esse quam polygraphus. Hy. Unum in illo novi, quo Ciceroni multum est dissimilis. Bv. Quidnam? Hy. Ciceronem accipimus praelongo & exili fuisse collo. Goclenius & pulcre obeso, & adeo non longo, ut mentum pectori pene contiguum sit. Bv. Non hic de collo, sed de stilo disputamus.

When Erasmus wrote that sketch in 1529, his most dear and appreciated friend had published very little indeed, considering that humanists had a tendency to conquer fame and immortality by their writings. In the spring of 1519 was published his fine metrical *Lucubrationum Erasmicarum Elenchus* ¹⁾, in the second issue of Helius Eobanus Hessus' *Hodæporicon* of January 1519, which Thierry Martens reprinted probably in May ²⁾, since it also contains a letter, full of Goclenius' praise, from Peter Gillis, dated Antwerp, May 21, 1519 ³⁾, and since the last work mentioned in the *Elenchus* is the Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Galatians, which Martens first brought out in that same month ⁴⁾. In that year Martens also edited Erasmus' *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ* in November or December, and Goclenius composed seven distichs in recommendation of the book ⁵⁾ :

Vis cito parue puer, vis absque labore latine
Discere...

which followed on a letter of the Printer to the Reader ⁶⁾, and were reproduced in the reprints by Michael Hillen, Antwerp, in February and in May 1520, and in that by Albert Pafraet, Deventer, September 1520, and finally in that by Hillen, January 6, 1522 ⁷⁾.

His first — and unfortunately also his last — personal work

¹⁾ That *Elenchus* was probably what Nannius sent to Olah, April 1, 1538 : Mitto tibi, optime patrone, carmina Conradi nostri, in quibus plerosque libros Erasmi elegantissime complexus est : Olæ, 615.

²⁾ Cp. ff e 2, v, to g 2, r ; also sup., II, 34-36. ³⁾ *GocCor.*, 1.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 870, pr, 982, 1-2 ; Iseghem, 302, 321, 298 ; Hessus, I, 290, 296-98 ; NijKron., I, 764. The *Elenchus* is highly praised in Lindeb., 10, 237, 239-40 ; cp. *Cran.*, 95, h.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 11 ; BB, E, 424 ; NijKron., II, 2869, where Erasmus' letter to the Reader is dated 'cal. Ia.', 1519.

⁶⁾ On f a 4, r ; cp. Iseghem, 320-21 ; Allen, IV, 1041, pr.

⁷⁾ BB, E, 424, 427 ; NijKron., II, 2870-73. Cp. *inf.*, p 545.

was a Latin rendering of a Greek text : it was printed in 1522 by Th. Martens in Louvain under the title ¹⁾ :

☞ LVCIANI / SAMOSATENSIS, / Hermotimus, siue de
se- / ctis Philosophorum, / Conrado Go- / clenio in- / ter-
pre / te. // Louanii Apud Theodoricum Martinum /
Alostensem, ANNO. M.D. XXII. /

That translation was dedicated 'Clarissimo uiro Thomæ Moro Se[ren]jissimi Regis Anglorum a thesauris', by a letter, dated 'Louanii e Collegio Trilingui, quarto calendas Nouembres', 1522 ²⁾. More replied about November 1522 by a cordial letter ³⁾, and, according to Nannius, he offered a cup filled with gold coins ⁴⁾.

The two other books which Goclenius helped to bring out were editions of which he had corrected the text. One was published in February 1531 under the title ⁵⁾ :

M ► Annei Lvca / ni Cordvbensis Pharsalia / Per Con-
radvm Goclenivm Veræ Lectio / ni restituta, præposito
in laudem Poetæ Genethliaco e / secundo libro sylua-
rùm . P. Statij Papinij &c.

The book was printed at Antwerp, by Michael Hillen, and sold 'Louanij In Taberna Libraria Seruatij Zasseni Diestensis'.

The other was published in 1528, as ⁶⁾ :

MARCI TULLII / CICERONIS / Officia — De Amicitia
— De Senectute — Paradoxa — Somnium Scipionis —
De Senectute et Somnium Scipionis etiam ex Theodori
Gazæ versione, / omnia denuo vigilantiori cura recog-
nita, / per Des. Erasmus Rot. & Conradum Goclenium
deprehensis ac restitutis aliquot locis, non cuilibet
obviis.

Basileæ in offic. Frobeniana An MDXXVIII (Jo. Hervag.
& Hieron. Froben).

¹⁾ In 4°; sign. a⁴-h⁴ : Iseghem, 324 ; NijKron., II, 3446.

²⁾ GocCor., 8 ; MoreE, 112.



³⁾ The original letter, undated, is preserved in *BelgArch.*, *Varia Societatis Jesu*, 20 ; cp. *GocCor.*, 9 ; MoreE, 113 ; *Rev. des Biblioth. et Arch. de Belg.* : II, (1904) : 352, 10.

⁴⁾ *Funebris Oratio habita pro mortuo Conrado Goclenio* : Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, 1542 : A 4, v.

⁵⁾ In 4°; sign. A⁴-Z⁴, Aa⁴-Rr⁴, Ss⁶. Cp. NijKron., II, 3420 ; *BulBiB*, XIX, 406.

⁶⁾ *CatSél.*, 284 (Beatus Rhenanus' copy).

That book is an augmented issue of a former edition of Cicero's *Officia* by Erasmus ¹⁾, printed by Martens in 1519 ²⁾, dedicated to James de Vocht, *Tutor* ³⁾, on September 10, 1519 ⁴⁾; it was reissued in August 1520 by John Froben in Basle ⁵⁾. A copy of that edition, offered to Goclenius by the printer ⁶⁾, is now preserved in the Göttingen University Library : it has the Louvain professor's marginal notes. An enlarged edition of that of 1528 appeared in 1532 as ⁷⁾ :

M ▶ T ▶ Ci- / ceronis of- / ficia, de amicitia, de / Senec-
tute, Paradoxa, & Somnium Scipio- / nis, uigilantiori
denuo cura per D. Eras- / mum Roterodamum, & Con-
radum / Goclenium recognita, depre- / hensis ac resti-
tutis aliqui- / bus locis non cuili- / bet obuijs. // 
Antverpiæ apvd  / Michaellem Hillenium ANNO //
M. D. XXXIII.

Here the text is preceded by two letters from Erasmus to the Antwerp pensionary James de Vocht, *Tutor* ⁸⁾, one, Louvain, September 10, 1519, the other, Paris, April 28 [1501] ⁹⁾, together with some notes on the first of the texts. Valerius Andreas states that, at his time, there were still in the *Trilingue* the manuscript notes of Goclenius in *Milonianam et Manilianam, in Paradoxa et Somnium Scipionis Ciceronis* ¹⁰⁾, — which evidently implies that he read that particular edition in his lessons ¹¹⁾. On the other hand, it seems that, already nine months after his decease, Goclenius' manuscript notes had been dispersed ; the Basle printer Nicolas Episcopus wrote to the newly appointed Nannius for some of the works of his predecessor : by October he had also requested his friend Charles Harst ¹²⁾ to help him in his

¹⁾ Cp. Allen, I, 152, *pr*, IV, 1013, *pr* ; *CatSél.*, 285-86 : *Officia Ciceronis solertissima cura Herasmi Roterodami &c* ; *De Amicitia — De Senectute — Paradoxa* : Paris (, D. Roce), c 1501.

²⁾ That scarce edition is described in *BulBiB.*, XVII, 1862 : 58 ; and *NijKron.*, II, 2657.

³⁾ Cp. II, 110.

⁴⁾ Allen, IV, 1013.

⁵⁾ *EraBib.*, II, 18.

⁶⁾ Allen, IV, 1013, *pr* ; J. C. Orelli, *Onomasticon Tullianum* : 'Turici', 1836 : I, 344.

⁷⁾ *NijKron.*, I, 567.

⁸⁾ Cp. I, 110, and sources quoted.

⁹⁾ Allen, I, 152.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. II, 111, *sq.*

¹¹⁾ *NèveMém.*, 298-99.

¹²⁾ Cp. II, 142-45 ; Episcopus is called his *compater* : most probably he was the godfather of one of his children.

quest. Harst had asked John Altenanus, the procurator of the heirs ¹⁾, especially about the Commentary on Terence, which the Louvain notary still hoped to find when, on October 28, 1539, he wrote to Boniface Amerbach ²⁾.

Judging from the absence of any edition, all those valuable manuscripts seem to have been lost; and so have probably Goclenius' verses. Indeed, the three hundred lines of the *Elenchus*, with the few distichs praising the *Colloquia* ³⁾, and an epitaph on his friend Dorp ⁴⁾, along with an epigram, of which only the last line has been saved by Sturm, who mentioned it forty years after he had first heard it ⁵⁾, seem hardly sufficient to make one famous as a poet ⁶⁾. Some of his erudite remarks or lucky hits may be preserved in the works of Erasmus, to which he zealously contributed ⁷⁾, which explains the acknowledgment expressed for the enlargement of one of the *Adagia* in the issue of 1520 ⁸⁾.

Yet, though excellent and greatly appreciated by that most particular judge, Erasmus, the literary output of Goclenius appeared hardly proportionate to the great ability and the vast erudition which gained him great fame, and, moreover, secured success and prosperity to the *Trilingue*, of which he was the main spring for twenty years. On that account some of his contemporaries pronounced him to be utterly devoid of literary pride: 'professor in collegio Buslidano Louanij longe celeberrimus', Peter van Opmeer, an old *Trilinguist*, wrote about him, 'tantam æternæ memoriæ spem de se non reliquit,

¹⁾ Cp. further, § 6, c.

²⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. C. VI^a. 71 : 112, r, v; Allen, x, App. xxiii, A 9, 106, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 542; also I, 433; II, 11, 36.

⁴⁾ Edited in Erasmus' *Dialogus de recta Latini Græcique Sermonis Pronunciatione & Dialogus Ciceronianus*: Basle, John Froben's widow, 1528 : 168, r; and reproduced in *SweMon.*, 239; cp. VAnd., 102.

⁵⁾ Quoted on March 29, 1565, to Simon Ostermann: *EpClassArg.*, 120 (cp. before, II, 587, sq): 'Qui docet officium, non facit officium': — it criticized a man who taught duty, but lacked the strength to fulfil it.

⁶⁾ *GeldColl.*, 72.

⁷⁾ Goclenius contributed to the edition of Seneca by Erasmus (Jerome Froben & John Hervagius: Basle, March 1529): Allen, vii, 2026, 6, viii, 2091, pr; *ErasRen.*, 56, as well as to the *Adagia*: Allen, vii, 1994^a, 25; *ErasBur.*, II, 367.

⁸⁾ *Adagium* 1659, enlarged in October 1520.

quod mallet obesulus esse quam polygraphus', — echoing Erasmus' remark in the *Ciceronianus* ¹⁾). It appears indeed that Goclenius was more intent on useful and beneficent work, than on the fame it might bring : that matter-of-fact disposition compelled him to study and research, but left him indifferent to the honour of publishing the results under his name. He thus worked for several years at a complete edition of Quintilian for Jerome Froben, who had supplied him with manuscripts. His lectures becoming more exacting as years went forward, he decided on abandoning the scheme : so, on March, 15, 1534, he had 'tum *Institutionum Oratoriarum*, tum *Declamationum*, tum *commentariorum exemplaria*', handed back at Frankfurt Fair, either to him or to Episcopus ²⁾, apologizing for a delay rendered necessary by his desire to dispatch them by a trusty carrier. When he had asked for those manuscripts, he explains in his letter, he had decided on doing that useful work : unfortunately he found that he lacked the leisure to go on with it; 'me sic exercuerunt fortunæ', he wrote, 'nihil relinquentes ocij ut proposito nequiverim satisfacere'. He must, however, have done a good part of it, for he declared that, if the printers had anybody to take up the task, he was ready to supply the *Altercationes Quintiliani*, to which Rudolph Agricola refers in the second book of *De Inventione Dialectica* (c. xii); also the *Annotationes* of Pomponius Lætus in *Institutiones Oratorias*, and other help, although in his opinion the old codex of commentaries, which he was returning, was by far the best and would be perfect if there were not so many gaps : he called it a sun that dispels mists. He closes his letter with thanks to Froben and his partner for the books they had sent him as a present ³⁾).

The discontinuing of preparing an edition of his favourite author Quintilian appears to have been forced upon Goclenius by circumstances : he took much time in preparing his lectures, and he seems to have been overwhelmed with

¹⁾ Opmeer, 476, b, 460, b-461, a; EOO, 1, 1014, c; cp. before, pp 541, sq.

²⁾ The letter itself is addressed to Jerome Froben, although directed *Insigni viro Hieronymo Frobenio typographo Basiliensi aut Nicolao Episcopo Francfordiæ aut Basileæ* : cp. *GocCor.*, 49.

³⁾ *BbBasle*, MS G², 11, 66 : 348, r, v.

requests for private tutoring ¹⁾. It explains how he only accepted the presidency of the *Trilingue* on condition to be freed from what a president was expected to do towards the material management and the economic direction, which had been entrusted to Matthew Cogge ²⁾. Possibly his natural bent and disposition may have been decisive in the matter, and made him different from what humanists were then supposed to be: men ever in motion, continually travelling in search for documents and enlightenment. Whereas Campensis redeemed his years of compelled immobility by restless roving ³⁾, and even Rescius, though bound to Louvain by two professions, managed to go regularly to the Frankfurt Fairs ⁴⁾, not mentioning an occasional *rusticatio* ⁵⁾, Goclenius remained at home, and appears to have journeyed only a few times to the Court, close at hand, to request Olah's interference in the long-drawn lawsuit for the Antwerp prebend ⁶⁾, and, even then, the projected and announced visit was often delayed ⁷⁾. On account of that regular presence in the College, Campensis requested his protector Dantiscus to send his letters to Goclenius, who would take care of them during his frequent absence ⁸⁾.

C. A TRUSTWORTHY FRIEND

That regular residence in the College made almost naturally Erasmus' only real, sincere friend in the Netherlands', as Olah once was told ⁹⁾, into an ideal intellectual and social

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 94, sq; *Erasmiana*, II, 605, IV, 776; FG, 361.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 383.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 190-205.

⁴⁾ Cp. OlaE, 597, 599.

⁵⁾ Cp. OlaE, 576 (June 1536).

⁶⁾ Thus Goclenius was with Olah on March 27-29, 1533: OlaE, 328, 330, as also on and about March, 4, 1536, as he relates in a letter to Erasmus of March 21, 1536: GoclE, 19, r-20, v; Allen, XI, 3111, 15-168; cp. before, pp 95, sq.

⁷⁾ On Nov. 10, 1536, Goclenius announced to Olah that since several weeks he intended visiting him, but that he was prevented by *noua negotia*: OlaE, 594.

⁸⁾ Letter of Campensis to Dantiscus: April 27, 1531: DantE, 120.

⁹⁾ Letter of February 27, 1532: *Nec isthic vllum habeo vere syncerum amicum præter vnum Conradum Goclenium*: OlaE, 201; Allen, IX, 2613, 23-24.

agent. It was Goclenius who arranged everything that Erasmus wanted to be done in the Netherlands : when the edition of St. Augustine's works was preparing, he was, for years, the intermediary between the chief editor, in Basle, and his collaborator in Brabant, Martin Lips ¹⁾; he provided books and documents necessary to that worker in or near Louvain, and forwarded the texts and comments, when ready, to Basle or Freiburg ²⁾. He kept Erasmus informed about whatever might interest him, and he took to heart his name and fame and welfare as if they had been his own ³⁾. In return he was favoured with the deep affection and full confidence of the famous Humanist ⁴⁾, who addressed to him, already on April 2, 1524, when fear of death was besetting him, a *Compendium Vitæ* to help to dissipate all doubt and suspicion about his birth and his early years ⁵⁾. In a letter of the same date, he explained to Goclenius his view of two quarrels, the memory of which haunted him : one, with Hutten, and, the other, with Eppendorf, — which only actually began in dread earnest four years later ; that *Compendium* was to save his name and fame if it ever should be necessary ⁶⁾ : yet neither *Vita* nor letter seems to have been required, for they were only published in 1607 by Paul Merula ⁷⁾. Even for the authenticity of his writings Erasmus had placed his reliance on Goclenius : in his will of January 22, 1527 ⁸⁾ he had

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 71-75 ; Lips often wrote to Erasmus in Goclenius' room : *MonHL*, 534, 560.

²⁾ LipsE, 766 (1524), 752 (1525), 772-73 (1525), 791-92 (1528).

³⁾ For the safety of the addressee, in case letters might get intercepted, Goclenius, at times, addressed his messages to the fictitious person *John Decimarius*, of Constance : Allen, v, 1296, 35 ; P.S. Allen, *Some Sixteenth Century Manuscript Letter-books* : London, 1914 : 7-8.

⁴⁾ Cp. RhenE, 428 ; *ErasLaur*, 1, 292-93, &c ; *ErasDrum.*, 1, 381.

⁵⁾ Allen, 1, pp 46-52, 575-78 ; *ErasRen.*, 61, 229 ; *ErasEm.*, 4, 267, 458.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1437.

⁷⁾ *Vita Des. Erasmi Roterodami ex ipsius manu fideliter repræsentata* : Leyden, 1607. Cp. Hessels, 1, 652, 743, 912 ; Sandys, II, 306.

⁸⁾ In that will, Erasmus bequeathed to Goclenius the gold and silver coins, as well as the six silver cups which he had under his care ; no doubt, in the understanding that he should use the money according to Erasmus' instructions : Allen, vi, p 504 ; that sum was largely increased two years later : cp. before, pp 386-8 ; and P. S. Allen, *Erasmus's Money & Rings in 1534 (Bodleian Quarterly Record* : II, 1918) : 142.

expressed the wish to have all his *Lucubrationes* reprinted by J. Froben according to the *Catalogus* he had drawn up : the text was not to be changed ; only the printers' mistakes, or his own evident errors were to be set right. Moreover the quotations of authors, books, and chapters were to be indicated carefully. That work was to be entrusted to some of his best friends : Henry Glareanus, Conrad Goclenius, Beatus Rhena-nus, Boniface and Basil Amerbach, or Simon Gelenius, — namely, to three, or, if possible, to two of them, if the executors judged it proper. He evidently wanted Goclenius for that work ¹⁾, judging by the indemnity stipulated for him : Glareanus and Gelenius were to be paid only sixty or forty florins, but, 'Si Conrad. Goclenius dignabitur Basileæ huic negotio præesse, volo illi, numerari quotannis coronatos centum vsque ad quadriennium, præter id quod dederit typographus si quid dare volet' ²⁾. In the will of February 12, 1536, Goclenius was entrusted with the disposal of a large part of Erasmus' fortune, for which he had not to give any account ³⁾.

The letters between the two friends, especially in the six or seven last years, are impressive documents, testifying to

¹⁾ He mentioned that wish to Goclenius, in his letter of April 2, 1524 : Rogabis quid officii a vobis postulem. Non onerabo psalteriis et anniuersariis, sed obnixe rogo vt inter vos partiti operas, omnes lucubrationes meas euoluatis, et in ordinem digestas et emendatas committatis Frobenio excudendas. Hoc sciebam te tua sponte facturum pro tua erga me pietate : Allen, v, 1437, 141-145. Cp. *ErasRen.*, 63 : that text does not really convey a sarcastic remark on the services and anniversaries for the deceased that are practised in the Catholic Church, as the pun on *officium* might imply ; he has full confidence that his intimate friend will, at his death, fulfil the religious *officium* to the extent of his ability. He only states that, instead of making expensive foundations for pompous and costly funeral services, such as he disapproved of in the Colloquy *Funera*, he wishes to have part of his fortune used for a castigated edition of his writings, which he was at liberty to do.

²⁾ Allen, vi, p 504. In his second will Erasmus does not mention any more the edition of his works ; still by August 20, 1536, the executors Boniface Amerbach and Beatus Rhenanus had decided to carry it out.

³⁾ Allen, xi, p 365, 43-45 : Pecuniam apud Conradum Goclenium depositam, illi in Brabantia dispensandam relinquet, quemadmodum ei mandaui.

their cordial veneration, illimited confidence ¹⁾, and brotherly love, and, from 1521 on, they form perhaps the most important portion of the whole correspondence, as they reveal in all truth and sincerity the entire mind and heart of the Great Humanist, which is so often elusive in his connections with others. And yet those letters represent only a small percentage of the messages that passed between the two men, for the amanuenses, when they were reliable, — and so were most of those who were sent to Basle by Goclenius ²⁾, — brought from one to the other such most confidential tidings which it was not safe to entrust to paper and writing ³⁾. As the most confidential of Erasmus' friends, he was as the centre of all those who, interested in the great Humanist, resorted to him for reliable information whenever rumours spread about his death or his return to Brabant ⁴⁾. Letters and messages for Basle and Freiburg were freely entrusted to him, as he kept up a constant connection, and, on the other hand, knowing his friend's sensitiveness, which grew more particular as age advanced, he requested and urged all the acquaintances to contribute a letter to the *fasciculos literarum* to be dispatched ⁵⁾, just as Erasmus, too, prepared such bundles

¹⁾ That results from the fact that Erasmus entrusted to Goclenius a considerable part of his fortune, as results from his declarations of August 28, 1533 and of April 8, 1534 : GoclE, 34, r, v ; Allen, x, 2863 ; Goclenius gave a counter-statement on Sept. 17, 1533 : *BbBasle*, C. VIa. 71 : 109-110 ; cp. before, pp 385-89.

²⁾ E. g., Cannius, Talesius, Coomans, not to mention van der Dilt, Viglius or Hector Hoxvirius.

³⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, xv. — Most interesting are the six last letters from Goclenius to Erasmus, preserved in manuscript in Basle Library (GoclE, 10-22, 26-27), namely those of May 10, 1528, July 26, 1533, February 25, August 10, September 28, 1535, and March 21, 1536 : Allen, vii, 1944a, x, 2851, xi, 2998, 3037, 3061, 3111.

⁴⁾ E. g., in a letter of March 10, 1525 to Cantuuncula (*MonHL*, 56 ; VOO, vii, 197), Vives expresses the joy felt when, from Goclenius, he learned the inanity of the rumour about Erasmus' death. Eight years later, on September 2, 1533, Haio Cammingha relates to Erasmus that, having heard nothing about him, he decided to send his messenger to Goclenius to inquire : FG, 228, 21-24.

⁵⁾ As example may be recalled how on July 14, 1530, Goclenius, after having written at length to Erasmus, waits before closing his long letter for the arrival of Vives, Laurin and other personages, invited to

for Louvain ¹⁾, from where they were distributed to old friends and, occasionally, to new acquaintances, such as the William of Horion, Lord of Ordange, father of one of the *Trilingue* inmates ²⁾).

It stands to reason that Goclenius was on excellent terms with all Erasmus' friends who belonged to the Netherlands or were in some way connected with them : foremost amongst them with Thomas More, who, up to 1521, was a frequent visitor. In the summer of 1521, writing from Anderlecht, Erasmus introduced Goclenius to More as a most valuable friend, worthy to be wholly loved from the fulness of his heart ³⁾. 'Scis', he wrote, 'nuper institutum Louanii Trilingue Collegium. In eo publice Latinas literas maxima cum laude summo totius Academiæ fructu profitetur, ea morum integritate comitateque vt literas quas docet, etiam apud illos reddat gratiosas qui prius aversabantur. Ingenium argutum, quod feliciter sui specimen præbuit, etiam in his disciplinis quas solenniter tradunt in scholis publicis. Sales habet, sed prorsus Atticos, ac lepidis fabellis vel tecum certare queat. In carmine peculiarem quandam habet gratiam, nusquam non dilucidus, nusquam non dulcis et amœnus. Nec est vllum argumentum tam inamabile quod illo tractante non mitescat. In prosa oratione sic est sui similis, imo sic est sui dissimilis, vt illius soluta legens putes eum prorsus alienum esse a carmine. Ad amicitiam plane factus videtur : quam si semel cum eo coieris, non est quod metuas ne quis casus eam dirimat' ⁴⁾. Erasmus ascribes to his very character such faith in friendship as lacks and ignores all ambition and envy ; he is, moreover, free from all moodiness in his dealings, as well as from all

Peter de Corte's doctorate : cp. *sup.* p 133 ; those friends, as well as Barlandus, replied that they had hardly any news to impart ; only John of Heemstede offered a message : Allen, VIII, 2352, 341-48, 368-72, 2353, 2-7.

¹⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Goclenius, Freiburg, December 14, 1531 : Interim dum ille abest Basileæ, ego adorno literarum fasciculos (amongst which one to Giles de Busleyden, another *Theologis Lovaniensibus*) : Allen, IX, 2587, 84-85, 2588.

²⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Will. of Horion (cp. before, pp 232-33), April 21, 1533 : Allen, X, 2795 ; a copy of his *Explanatio Symboli*, 1533, inscribed to W. Horion, is now in Trinity Coll. Library, Cambridge.

³⁾ Allen, IV, 1220, 11-12 ; *ErasDrum.*, I, 381-82.

⁴⁾ Allen, IV, 1220, 17-31.

spirit of lucre, although, he adds, if due honour was given to great men as is done in Italy, 'Goclenius noster totus aureus esset'. He finishes his letter with the assurance that soon both parties will thank him for bringing them together, 'quod nuper accidit', he concludes, 'in Francisco Craneueldio ¹⁾, qui vnum sic te totum possidet vt illi prope-modum inuideam' ²⁾).

That letter was evidently written with the purpose of creating a friendly connection between Goclenius and Thomas More, who was expected to come to Calais and to Bruges in August 1521 ³⁾. For although no other date but *Anderlaci* is given, it is evident that it belongs to the months which Erasmus spent in the neighbourhood of Brussels. In a letter of June 11, 1521, to Richard Pace, he was the first to mention, from there, More's appointment as *Regis Thesaurarius*, as well as his projected visit in August ⁴⁾. Possibly at Goclenius' own request ⁵⁾, or, maybe, to encourage him to go and make the personal acquaintance of the great Englishman whilst he was in the Netherlands, Erasmus wrote those lines *Clarissimo Eqviti Aurato Thomæ Moro, Serenissimi Regis Anglorvm a Thesavris* ⁶⁾. That introduction does not seem to be identical with the letter to Thomas More to which Erasmus referred in his message to Richard Pace, dated from Brussels, on July 5, 1521, implying that he is writing more news to More : 'Cetera cognosces e Mori litteris' ⁷⁾ — since nothing whatever is treated besides Goclenius' praise and recommendation. The letter to Pace, like that to William Blount, and one to More, which is now lost, were, it seems, despatched by a messenger met by chance : 'forte oblato tabellione' ⁸⁾, on, or soon after, July 5, 1521. The proper recommendation was

¹⁾ *Cran.*, xlix, 115, d-g.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1220, 31-52 ; MoreE, 103.

³⁾ Brewer, III, 1481-1514 ; *GeldColl.*, 14, 116-123 ; *Cran.*, 11 ; &c.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1210, 10-14.

⁵⁾ This seems implied by the way in which Erasmus announces to Goclenius that he recommended him to More : Allen, iv, 1223, 37-39.

⁶⁾ More, however, was never treasurer, which office then was filled by the Duke of Norfolk, and, after him, by his son ; he was merely under-treasurer : *MoreChamb.*, 30 ; Allen, iv, 1210, 10.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1218, 46.

⁸⁾ Allen, iv, 1219, 139.

probably written afterwards, in the latter part of that month, or in the very first days of August, when Erasmus also started a missive in which, after praising his restful country residence ¹⁾, he congratulates Goclenius and his colleague Rescius for promoting the cause of languages by their modest and erudite teaching and by their exemplary probity ²⁾, — in the same sense as he had done in the recommendatory letter. He does not appear to have had the time to finish and dispatch that missive to Goclenius; for it was continued at Bruges, where he added : 'Moro depinxeram tui imaginem, adeo nihil affingens de meo vt quædam etiam prætermiserim. Malo enim vt hoc nomine mecum expostulet, vbi mutua consuetudine vterque alteri noti fueritis. Miro quodam desiderio tenetur videndi tui', — which evidently implies that he had then seen and spoken to More. 'Cum scribes ad eum', he adds, 'gratulaberis illi et dignitatis et fortunæ accessionem', namely his under-treasurership : the letter is then dated from Bruges on August 12, 1521 ³⁾.

As a result of the friendship knitted up in consequence of Erasmus' introduction, Goclenius dedicated, on October 29, 1522, his translation of Lucian's *Hermotimus* to More, who effusively thanked him in November ⁴⁾. No doubt a regular connection was established by means of the amanuenses, who were sent almost at regular intervals from Basle and Freiburg to England, and who, on their unavoidable calls at the Louvain *Trilingue*, took and brought back messages, such as are implied in some of More's letters to Cranevelt ⁵⁾, and in the one he wrote to Erasmus on October 28, 1529 : 'Cetera omnia audies e Quirino ⁶⁾, quem accurate omnibus de rebus edocui' ⁷⁾. Coming from England on that visit,

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1222, 1-13.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1222, 14-36.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1222, 37-46.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 542-43; *GocCor.*, 9.

⁵⁾ Such as that of July 14, 1527 : *Cran.*, 242, 6-11, and that of February 22, 1526 : *Cran.*, 177, 1-5.

⁶⁾ Quirinus Talesius : cp. II, 310, 488-501.

⁷⁾ Allen, viii, 2228, 11-12; in the same letter, referring to some *negocia*, namely his succeeding to Wolsey as Chancellor, he adds : *Ea cuiusmodi sint, e Quirino tuo intelliges* : *ibid.*, 2-3.

Talesius brought to Goclenius a letter from More, dated from Chelsea on November 12 of that year ¹⁾, in which he refers to the St. Augustine-edition, which was then quite ready ²⁾, and to the messenger who was taking on his return journey to his master the letter just mentioned ³⁾.

When, a few years later, More was cruelly sentenced to death, it was Goclenius, who, placed more favourably to learn the news and the details of the sad event than Erasmus was, sent him word about the tragic execution of his *alter ego* in his letter of August 10, 1535 ⁴⁾; already on August 31, Erasmus had that part of the letter copied out to be sent to Peter Tomiczki, Bishop of Cracow ⁵⁾. In another letter, dated September 28, 1535, Goclenius sadly points out the veracity of what he had already announced, by adducing the testimony of Cornelius de Schepper ⁶⁾ and, moreover, by the transcript of a more detailed narrative which had reached Mary of Hungary's Court ⁷⁾. That narrative was a report made in July 1535 by William Rastell, a nephew of the martyr, who, as a lawyer, had access to Court and to the documents. It was sent to Erasmus, or may have been translated, more faithfully than shapely, into Latin; at any rate Erasmus edited it, after altering and arranging it into the *Expositio Fidelis*, which, printed about the end of 1535 or the beginning of 1536, was considered until recently as the history of his Great Friend's martyrdom ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ The original, now reposing in Leyden University Library, Ms B.P.L. 885, is written by an amanuensis, but has a postscript by More : *GocCor.*, 26.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2157, *pr.*, 2222, 25, 2227, 7-42.

³⁾ Quirinus Talesius, who had reached London on October 24, 1529, remained there rather long; he was at Tournai on his return journey on December 7, but arrived in Freiburg only in the first days of 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2223, 25, 2239, 2253, 37-38.

⁴⁾ *GocLE*, 16, *r* ; Allen, XI, 3037, 92-113 ; *ActaMori*, 23-25.

⁵⁾ *Cp.* *ActaMori*, 25 ; Allen, XI, 3049.

⁶⁾ He had received a letter from Eustace Chapuys, Imperial ambassador in England, and he related the intelligence to his great friend John Dantiscus, then Bishop of Culm, in his letter of October 27, 1535 : *DantE*, 312.

⁷⁾ *GocLE*, 17, *r* ; *ActaMori*, 33-34, 37, *sq* ; Allen, XI, 3061, 32-38.

⁸⁾ *Cp.* *ActaMori*, 37-96, 105-137.

3. GOCLENIUS' INFLUENCE

A. FATHERLY KINDNESS

Very few letters to or from old students of Goclenius have been preserved : still they are quite representative. On May 11, 1528, he promises to Hector Hoxvirius, councillor at Franeker ¹⁾, that he will take care of his brother Ausonius ²⁾ as he had done of him ³⁾. On February 4, 1533, he once more writes to Hector ⁴⁾, thanking him for his greetings and those of Haio Herman Hompen ⁵⁾ and Haio Cammingha ⁶⁾, sending a book as present by the messenger ⁷⁾, and inquiring about whether he has received the latest collection of Erasmus' letters ⁸⁾. A similar solicitude for the interest of his former hearers is shown in a letter of January 26, 1532, to the Papal Legate Jerome Aleander, who was leaving the country after having provisionally engaged John of Dordrecht, who had requested his parents' permission ; their consent had been granted, and so Goclenius asks the Prelate whether he is still expecting the young man, who would start, otherwise, on a useless journey, and lose the scholarships he enjoys ⁹⁾. He even went as far in his concern as to ask his old pupils whether the conditions promised to them, were actually realized, as he did in October 1538 for Andrew Masius ¹⁰⁾, who had accepted a position through him ¹¹⁾.

In his preoccupation for their welfare Goclenius makes even his former students attentive to their own advantage : when Damian a Goes ¹²⁾, who was as fortunate as to live in

¹⁾ Cp. II, 163-66 ; LanzPap., 385, sq.

²⁾ Cp. II, 453-55.

³⁾ Gabbema, 517-19 ; GocCor., 22.

⁴⁾ Gabbema, 519-20 ; GocCor., 43.

⁵⁾ Cp. I, 393-94, II, 13-15.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 455-60.

⁷⁾ Viz., the recently issued *Dialogus Marphorii & Pasquilli*.

⁸⁾ He calls it *Neopaleæ*, namely the *Epistolæ Palæonæoi* : Freiburg, J. Emmeus, September 1532 ; Allen, I, p 601.

⁹⁾ Bb Vat., MS Lat. 6199, f 91 ; Brom, II, 33-34 ; Aléandre, 361 ; cp. before pp 32-33 ; GocCor., 39.

¹⁰⁾ Cp before, pp 282-90, 427-28.

¹¹⁾ Letter of Andrew Balenus to Masius, October 17, 1538 : MasE, 3.

¹²⁾ Cp. before, pp 50-71.

Erasmus' household, left him for Italy, and requested from his Louvain friend a recommendation for some Padua professor, he received an unconditional objurgation in reply : 'Quid', he asked on June 10, 1534, 'tota Italia tibi præstare poterit, quod non multo cumulatus suppeditet unus Erasmus?' He even called those who had given him that bad counsel, 'crocodilos, hyenas, & aspides' ¹⁾. Two years later, Goclenius thanked Goes on July 12, 1536, for his kind messages, although he regrets he cannot accept his nephew as boarder, as the number fixed by the University must not be exceeded ; he will, however, keep in touch with the boy, whom he has entrusted to the good care of Barlandus ²⁾.

Although ready to help and advise his former hearers, Goclenius could make a nice distinction for his recommendations. A Franciscan had the audacity to ask for an introduction to Olah after having attended only a few lectures : the letter he got, on March 28, 1534, is decidedly cold ³⁾. On the contrary, the old student Francis van der Dilt ⁴⁾ received on January 2, 1534 ⁵⁾, a most enthusiastic introduction to the same Olah ⁶⁾, to which was even joined a copy of his *Oratio Gratulatoria* to the Emperor, of 1533 ⁷⁾. Of that young man's 'amoenissimi mores' is provided as proof a letter, which he asked Melanchthon to write to Goclenius, one day, that, returning to the Netherlands, he had been entrusted with a missive to him by Erasmus, February 5, 1528, to be handed at Iena on his way home. On March 23, 1528, Melanchthon consequently wrote a letter, in which he referred to John Reifenstein ⁸⁾ and Eoban Hessus ⁹⁾, and to their esteem of Goclenius' lessons, but highly praised Dilt himself for attributing most thoughtfully to his Preceptor the honour of his excellent intellectual development ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ GoesO, c 2, v-c 3, v ; *GocCor.*, 51 ; *MonHL*, 619.

²⁾ GoesO, c 4, v-d 1, v ; *GocCor.*, 59.

³⁾ OlaE, 484 ; *GocCor.*, 50 ; cp. before, p 457.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 171-76, 301-2.

⁵⁾ OlaE, 438-39 ; *GocCor.*, 47.

⁶⁾ OlaE, 438-39.

⁷⁾ Namely, the praise of Charles V for liberating *Pannonia* from the Turks (Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1533) : cp. II, 174.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 133-34.

⁹⁾ Cp. II, 32-37.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. MeE, I, 947 ; MeECle., 419 ; *GocCor.*, 20.

B. PROVIDENT WISDOM

Goclenius' unconditional recommendation of Francis van der Dilt proved highly welcome to Olah, who considered friendship as the most agreeable boon of life : he therefore thanked the Professor very profusely on January 15, 1534 ¹⁾, expressing a wish to be adorned and enriched by more of such connections ; at the same time he sent him a letter from another of his former hearers, Cornelius de Schepper, which had just arrived. It shows how the old students in their later life, even in most absorbing offices, thought of their Louvain master, and applied on a large scale the golden lessons of truth and adequate efficiency they had received chiefly from him. Indeed, it was not only a literary busy-body, constantly on the watch for an occasion to obtrude himself on people's attention, — such as the Bergues monk William Lapidanus ²⁾, who mentioned Goclenius in his letters wherever he could ³⁾; — but even a great ambassador, like de Schepper ⁴⁾, who was just then called upon to solve questions on whose settlement the fate of nations depended. That noble and glorious son of the *Trilingue*, who took the defense of the ill-fated King of Denmark ⁵⁾, and faithfully stood by the unfortunate Queen Isabella, when Christiern II had gone on his wild-geese chase to recuperate his realm ⁶⁾, had been taken, at her untimely decease, in her brother's service. He had been entrusted with embassies to Poland and to different parts of Germany ⁷⁾, and was, about that time, at work in France for Charles V ⁸⁾. Yet, for certain through Olah, — and, consequently, on Goclenius' advice, — he had become the

¹⁾ OlaE, 444 ; *GocCor.*, 48.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 114.

³⁾ E. g., his letters to Olah of June 7, and September 18, 1534 : OlaE, 510, 523.

⁴⁾ On April 3, 1534, he requests Olah to recommend him to Conrad Goclenius if he should write to him : OlaE, 486.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 249, a, b ; also before, II, 166-71, 609, sq ; *AltRel.*, 139-145 ; Seck, I, 266, a.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 54, a, b, 64, 25, 182, a ; *AltRel.*, 158, sq, 161.

⁷⁾ *LanzPap.*, 41-43, 197-201, 224-31, &c. Cp. also *AltRel.*, 334, 384, 531, 533.

⁸⁾ *LanzPap.*, 179-82.

constant adviser, the intimate counsellor, of Mary of Hungary, in so far that, by 1537, he was told to correspond with her and the Empress by cipher ¹⁾; if, by the end of 1539, Charles V could safely cross the realm of his antagonist on his way to Ghent, instead of risking the dangerous sea-route, or the even more perilous way through Germany, it was due for a large part to the reliable and clear-sighted interference of the trustworthy de Schepper ²⁾).

No less influence was exercised on the country's history by that other great *Trilinguist*, Viglius ³⁾). In several of his missives and writings of that time, that rising celebrity gratefully recalls the lessons of Goclenius, which he shared with George of Egmont, then Bishop of Utrecht ⁴⁾, and the councillor Florent de Griboval ⁵⁾; he even wrote down the most unequivocal praise of his way of teaching ⁶⁾ when it was called into question by the spiteful Louis Kiel Carinus ⁷⁾. On December 17, 1536, Viglius replied to his beloved Professor from Speyer, and to his recommendation of another old student, Erasmus' former amanuensis Charles Harst, who was appointed as councillor to the Duke of Cleves and Jülich ⁸⁾. He had already sent a brief answer by Daniel Mauch ⁹⁾, when Harst himself, who was journeying to Louvain, his wife's native town, wished to take along with him a letter to their common preceptor ¹⁰⁾. Those missives give the impression that all those who had listened to Goclenius' lessons, formed as it were one big family, united by their veneration for their erudite and fatherly Master. Nor was it a passing whim or a mere compliment : certain it is that Goclenius had a large share in the gratitude which

¹⁾ Cp. Schepper's despatch to Charles V, Moulins, September 26, 1537, and instructions from the Emperor to de Schepper, Barcelona, before March 17, 1538 : cp. Peyre, 37.

²⁾ *MarHon.*, 112, 108-117.

³⁾ Cp. II, 98, 145-50, 433-5, 449-50 ; Hoynck, I, i, 7, 67, 71.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 123-25 ; Hoynck, I, i, 67.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 155-58 ; Hoynck, II, i, 223.

⁶⁾ Letter dated Speyer, December 17, 1536 : Hoynck, II, i, 228-230 ; cp. before, pp 464-66, also II, 114-15, 391-92, 530, 616.

⁷⁾ Cp. I, 392-93 ; II, 26-28.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 142-45.

⁹⁾ Cp. before pp 364-65.

¹⁰⁾ VigIEB, 34 ; *GocCor.*, 63.

made Viglius write, on November 8, 1556, when he was at the summit of the power in the Low Countries : 'Non sinam... Collegii Trilinguis Professores munificentiae Regiae esse expertes, cum non ignorem quid illi Scholae debeam, ex qua non exiguum incrementum studiis meis accessisse confiteor' ¹⁾).

That appreciation of Goclenius' great services prompted all and everyone to proclaim his merits. So did Angelus Andreas Resendius, the Portuguese poet ²⁾, when he addressed to him his *Epitome Rerum Gestarum in India a Lusitanis anno* [1530], in the form of a letter, dated from Louvain, June 21, 1531, which Servatius Zassenus printed 'Ad signum Regni Coelorum' in July of that same year ³⁾. Some time before already, Resendius had dedicated to Goclenius a poem that criticized the enemies of the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾, his *Carmen Eruditum et Elegans... aduersus stolidos politioris literaturae oblatratores*; Erasmus had it printed in Basle by Jerome Froben and Nicolas Episcopius, in September 1531 ⁵⁾, without the poet's knowledge, which entailed some trouble for him from his own Dominican 'confratres', at whom the squib was levelled. He, moreover, sang the praise of his great Master in his *Encomium Urbis & Academiae Louaniensis*, dedicated 'Conrado Goclenio latinae linguae in Collegio Trilingui Buslidiano Louaniensi Doctori', on September 15, 1530 ⁶⁾ : he describes his graceful reading, as well in the language of Samos as in Latin; he adds that the explanations on the texts of Cicero or of Virgil, give the impression as if the comments were imparted by the old authors themselves; he further shows that the Professor is excellent both as poet and as orator, mastering thoughts

¹⁾ Letter to Peter Nannius : Hoyneck, II, i, 380.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 395-403.

³⁾ In 4°, sign. A⁴-D⁴ : NijKron., I, 1792.

⁴⁾ Especially the Dominican Eustace van der Rivieren, of Sichem, dean of the Faculty of Theology, who delivered a disagreeable oration at Peter de Corte's doctorate, July 12, 1530 : cp. before, pp 133, sq.

⁵⁾ *CatSél.*, 510 ; cp. before, II, 399, sq.

⁶⁾ It was printed by J. Grapheus, at Antwerp, in 1530, as sequel to Dantiscus' *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva* (in 8°, sign. a⁸ b⁸ c⁴) : NijKron., I, 683 ; VAnd., 400-402.

as well as feelings, and uttering them with sweetness and charming wit : he calls him *Scholæ nostræ Trium Linguarum Princeps & Ornamentum* ¹⁾).

Another of his pupils, Nicolas Grudius, also celebrated Goclenius in a poem, which was edited amongst his *Funera*, in his, and his two brothers', works ²⁾). Although not being his disciple, Alard of Amsterdam ³⁾ evidently wanted to attest his indebtedness to the great Professor, whom he highly praised in a letter prefixed to his edition of Rudolph Agricola's *De Inventionē Dialectica* and *Lucubrationes* ⁴⁾) : 'Goclenio Canoni Antverpiensi', dated from Cologne, January 12, 1539, adding his excuse for having been compelled to hurry the publishing of his *Selectæ aliquot Similitudines* ⁵⁾).

C. APPRECIATIVE GRATITUDE

Whilst showing his great ability as teacher and his fatherly affection to all his disciples, Goclenius also disclosed a cordial gratitude to all those who favoured the *Trilingue* and humane studies ; he tried to oblige them at all times with a serviability that put to work his manifold qualifications, which otherwise might have been ignored. He placed at Nicolas Olah's disposal his great acquaintance with metrical technicalities, suggesting aptly and discreetly corrections for some of his verses ⁶⁾) ; he helped him with his sound literary judgment, and brought out in several letters ⁷⁾) a most

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 396, sq. — As an example of wit may serve the question he asked Nicolas Clenardus, who had left for Paris in the summer of 1530, wearing the rather broad-brimmed hat, generally worn in Brabant, and had come back in the beginning of 1531 with the diminutive head-gear that was the fashion in the French capital : 'Goclenius rogabat, num peregre caput perdidissem' : *ClénCorr.*, I, 104, 253-57.

²⁾ *Poemata* by Nic. Grudius, Had. Marius and Joannes Secundus (in the edition of Leyden, 1609) : 138-39 ; the poem was reprinted in *DelPoBel.*, II, 640.

³⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 96, a-f ; and before, I, 490-93, &c.

⁴⁾ Cologne, Joannes Gymnicus, 1539 ; the letter takes up ff a 2, r-a 4, v, of the first volume ; cp. *AgriCorr.*, 308-309.

⁵⁾ Cologne, J. Gymnicus, 1539 : Paquot, XI, 409-10.

⁶⁾ Cp. Nannius' letter to Olah, October 18, 1536 : *OlaE*, 593.

⁷⁾ *OlaE*, 594 and 599-600 ; Nov. 10, 1536 and June 1, 1537.

appreciative judgment on the work of the great prelate : along with the naturalness of his style, he praised the riches of the information supplied by the *Athila*, as well as by the *Chorographia Hungariæ*, both of which impart to the world a wealth of interesting facts of the history of his native country, and most suggestive sketches of things and life in those, until then, unknown parts of the world. He promised his help in providing a correct text of the poems, if they were to be printed, which he strongly advised, as the genuine *patriæ laus* deserved to dwell, not in obscurity, but '*in maxima luce*' ¹⁾. He thus also taught Olah to help and encourage literary work, — not only that of his secretary James Jespersen ²⁾, but that of men he met in the various places where the Court led him, such as, at Binche, the teacher and dramatic writer Peter Philicinus ³⁾, and his friend Livinus of Brecht ⁴⁾.

From Olah's correspondence it also follows that Goclenius took a lively interest in mathematics and astronomy, in which his pupil Gemma Phrysius ⁵⁾ illustrated himself. It happened that Camillus Gilinus, secretary of Duke Francis Sforza, of Milan, who had spent some time at Court with Olah, wished to possess a *Globus cœlestis*, no doubt recommended by Gemma, by whom he had been taught the theory of the rings or belts, and the working method ; yet, it was Goclenius who took care of the execution of the apparatus by the Louvain '*artifex*' ⁶⁾. For certain, Goclenius' interest in

¹⁾ OlaE, 599 ; Nannius communicated to Olah the judgment about the poems which Goclenius gave in his conversation : letters of June 30, Sept. 28, 1537 and April 1, 1538 : OlaE, 600, 604, 616.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 173, 244-47, 413-14.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 268-69 ; he wrote some *versiculos ex tempore fusos* to Olah, announcing prosaically the sending of works by Murmellius and Ovid : OlaE, 487.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXII.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 542-65.

⁶⁾ Letter of Olah to Gilinus, Brussels, April 13, 1534 : *Globus ille coelestis nondum perfectus est. Goclenius artificem sollicitat. Sed scis vafriem hominum Brabantinorum. Ultra præfinitam mercedem nescio quid pluris somniat : dicit te non satisfacisse Gemmæ, quod tibi annulorum artificium et legem demonstrarit* : OlaE, 488. Gilinus refers again to his *globus* on July 31, and August 12, 1534 : OlaE, 503, 505.

cosmographic requisites was not merely accidental : for when Bartholomew de Grave, the Louvain printer ¹⁾, wrote to John Dantiscus on February 3, 1531, about a '*sphera*' which he had ordered and which was to be ready in eight days, he mentioned that Goclenius would take it to Brussels ²⁾).

Goclenius also evinced a great interest in art : when he made Dantiscus' acquaintance on the memorable visit of several courtiers to the *Trilingue*, in March 1531 ³⁾, he showed him the portrait of Erasmus *graphice et ad viuum expressum a Joanne Hoelpeyno*, and the great ambassador expressed the wish to have a copy made of it at Mechlin. On April 27, Goclenius offers him the original by Holbein as a *symbolum* of his friendship and his gratitude, rather than giving it to have it copied ; for an *imago ex imagine*, he says, is generally made worse ⁴⁾. He adds to that gift Charles V's *εἰκόνα* in plaster, — no doubt, a medal ⁵⁾, — offering to have it cast in a finer material if it should please. The picture of his great friend gave such joy that Dantiscus was afraid of accepting it ⁶⁾. So, on May 12, Goclenius, repeated his offer, and promised to find out the exact date at which the portrait was made ⁷⁾. He also was going to send him the casts of the Emperor, requesting, in return, one of a medal of Dantiscus himself, like that which John Campensis had received ⁸⁾. Since, in the following weeks, Dantiscus

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 106, and II, 623, 626-7.

²⁾ DantE, 107.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 16, sq.

⁴⁾ DantE, 121.

⁵⁾ It may be that this '*effigies Cæsaris*' was by Goclenius' former student Joannes Secundus, who made several ; still it is hardly probable : for Dantiscus was on very familiar footing with the young artist, who afterwards even offered him several of his medals of Charles V ; there consequently was no need of Goclenius' interference for some copies of that *simulacrum* : cp. Simonis, 70-73 ; and II, 439.

⁶⁾ Dantiscus had promised to Goclenius to return to Louvain, as results from Campensis' letter of May 12, 1531 : DantE, 126.

⁷⁾ DantE, 127. To that letter of Goclenius, Glenardus joined one, also to Dantiscus, DantE, 125, dated from the *Collegium Scolastici* (namely Henry de Houterlee) May 11, 1531, mentioning Goclenius and Gemma, and returning thanks to Dantiscus for what he was doing in the — long lasting — lawsuit for the Diest preferment : *MonHL*, 420-423.

⁸⁾ The British Museum possesses a leaden cast of a full-face medal of Dantiscus, made at his promotion to Bishop of Culm, 1531, when he was 45 and 9 months : it is the one represented as n 2 on *Pl v* in

once more expresses the intention of returning Erasmus' picture on account of its great value for Goclenius, the latter replies on June 2, that he could not take it back on any account; it would afterwards be most disagreeable to him: whenever he should look at it, he should remember that Dantiscus had refused it. Moreover he assures that he is so intimate 'cum Hoelpeyno' that he could ask from him whatever he liked. He consequently hoped soon to show to Dantiscus a picture made that very year, and let him choose whichever he prefers; he also thanks the ambassador for having recommended for a promotion, and for having helped by his experience, his former pupil Cornelius de Schepper ¹⁾, 'quem', he says, 'fraterno animo plurimis annis complexus <sum>': — another instance of the fatherly concern of the famous professor ²⁾.

On August 16, 1531, Goclenius apologizes for a delayed answer, and thanks Dantiscus for having obtained for him the Emperor's favour ³⁾: — no doubt the interference of the *primariæ preces* for the obtainment of the Hougaerde prebend ⁴⁾. Although, for that nomination Goclenius was not without competitor, as he mentions on January 21, 1532 ⁵⁾, he does not despair of success. Meanwhile, as he humorously remarks, he has started behaving himself more magnificently, displaying the Circassian furs — 'Sarmaticæ pelles' — with which Dantiscus presented him: if the Hougaerde affair should not prosper, he would have to come down again to

Simonis. The Royal Library, Brussels, preserves a leaden cast of another medal of Dantiscus at 46: Simonis, *Pl III*. There is hardly any doubt about the ascription of those two medals, and of a third, also of 1531, of Dantiscus to Janus Secundus, who was then on most intimate terms with the ambassador, in so far that Secundus' poems *De Pace dudum Cameraci confecta ac Caroli V Imp. Coronatione*, were printed together with Dantiscus' *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva*, in 1530, by John Grapheus, at Antwerp: Nijkron., I, 683; Simonis, 54-58; Hill, 62.

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 166-71.

²⁾ DantE, 132; *GocCor.*, 32.

³⁾ DantE, 154; *GocCor.*, 34.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 97-98; John Dantiscus had interested in Goclenius the imperial secretary Alonso de Valdes, one of Erasmus' great friends.

⁵⁾ DantE, 188; *GocCor.*, 38.

the rank and file ! A still more important item in that same letter is the reply to Dantiscus' question what to do about Resendius' attack on Vives' criticism of licentious poetry, which seems to have displeased the great diplomatist ; although Goclenius was not exactly on affectionate terms with the Spanish author, he advised Dantiscus not to impair his reputation, which would harm the humanistic movement, but suggested changing all the names, in case the satiric poem could not be suppressed ¹⁾).

A similar nobility of character is shown in a letter which Goclenius wrote on July 24, 1534, after nearly two years of silence ²⁾, to which Dantiscus had made him attentive through his former student Daniel Mauch ³⁾, then Secretary to Bishop George of Austria. He apologizes for his remissness in writing, pleading overwork, and once more expresses his gratitude for the Hougaerde prebend ; he then provides news about Gemma ⁴⁾ and Erasmus, but especially about his former colleague John Campensis ⁵⁾ : he had left the *Trilingue*, and, although the executors of Busleyden's will apparently took his departure as a riddance, Goclenius remained faithful to him, and declared himself ready to do what he could to make his return possible : 'Quod si veterem conditionem requirat, non deerit illi nostra opera' ! ⁶⁾ — In the following years, Goclenius is occasionally mentioned in Dantiscus' correspondence : so, on February, 24, 1536, de Schepper is requested to greet the *eruditissimum* professor ⁷⁾ ; whereas, on December 12, 1539, Gemma refers to Goclenius' decease, and mentions Nannius as his '*non æque facundus*' successor ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. II, 400-402 ; *GocCor.*, 38.

²⁾ DantE, 290 ; *GocCor.*, 52.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 364-65. — In his letter of July 26, 1534 to Dantiscus, Mauch sends greetings from Goclenius and Gemma : DantE, 292 ; on April 16, 1534, Mauch announces how the rumour of Dantiscus' death had saddened Goclenius : DantE, 286.

⁴⁾ On July 26, 1534, Gemma also sends a letter with Goclenius' greetings to Dantiscus : DantE, 291.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 190-208.

⁶⁾ DantE, 290 ; *GocCor.*, 52.

⁷⁾ DantE, 319.

⁸⁾ DantE, 407 ; *GemFrisius*, 406-7.

4. GOCLENIUS' DEATH

A. ILLNESS & DECEASE

Although Goclenius had not been suffering from the epidemic of 1538, for certain not as much as his colleagues ¹⁾, it had not left him quite untouched : by the end of the year he complained about a bad headache and, in the beginning of January 1539, he fell seriously ill ²⁾. He had always kept in excellent health : 'nec viginti ejus anni', Nannius said, 'quasi senio superveniente, quicquid de flore juventutis amiserunt'. Up to the last months he had felt most buoyant, as results from the fact that, as late as June 26, 1538, he had bought an hereditary annuity of eighteen Rhine florins from the University, when a voluntary help to be offered to the Emperor, was gathering amongst the professors and the members ³⁾. As a most conscientious man he did not want the Institute, nor any one of his students, to suffer from a possibly protracted absence from the desk, and he, consequently, applied to Busleyden's executors, or the *provisores* of the Institute for a younger man to fill his place as long as his illness lasted.

Most probably he himself proposed Peter Nannius, who, since the autumn of 1535, had been teaching Latin in Louvain with great success ⁴⁾; he had taken a conspicuous part in the *Quodlibeticæ* of 1535 ⁵⁾, and he had published already several books which testified to a sound knowledge of

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 530.

²⁾ Nannius, *Oratio Funebris... pro... Goclenio*.

³⁾ *LibAct VI*, f 185, r; according to the regulations (*ibid.*, f 183, r, sq), the annuity was obtained by the payment of a share in the free subsidy offered to Charles V, June 12, 1537 : *FUL*, 5345 : cp. *inf.*, p 583.

⁴⁾ He taught first in the College of St. Jerome, on the 'Lei', and afterwards took a house where he kept boarders, in which undertaking he was helped by his brother : Polet, 9-11 ; cp. II, 178.

⁵⁾ His oration, *De Bello Turcis inferendo*, was printed in 1536 : Paquot, xiv, 63 ; Polet, 70, sq ; NijKron., I, 1585. It contained letters from Nannius to Nicolas Olah, Dec. 29 and 31, and from Olah, Dec. 30, 1535 : *OlaE*, 565-67. He was, for a time at least, busily corresponding with Olah, whose poems he corrected, and, especially, praised enthusiastically : *OlaE*, 565-620. Cp. before, pp 537, 561.

Rome's language and literature ¹⁾. Whereas he was on excellent terms with Rescius, Nannius could not call himself a 'familiaris' of Goclenius, although his 'amicus', as he confided to Nicolas Olah on March 10, 1537 ²⁾. He was entrusted with the Latin lectures on January 6, 1539 ³⁾, to the disappointment of several others who wanted the place that Goclenius had made so conspicuous ⁴⁾.

No doubt the sudden stepping back of the man, who had been teaching so very regularly during so many years, and had only just turned forty-eight, gave a surprise to everybody. Unfortunately the illness took a fatal turn; it was attributed to exhaustion from relentless labour. The headache that had hampered him for some time, was found to be caused by a malignant tumour, '*apostema sceleratum*', which developed into an inflammation of the throat. One of the doctors who attended him, promised recovery; still as his state was rather perilous, he sent word to his seven brothers, honest but poor

¹⁾ Viz., — besides the commemorative poems on Erasmus : cp. before, pp 405, sq ; — a drama, *Vinctus*, 1522 : Polet, 33, sq ; NijKron., I, 1584 ; the annotations on *Theophilus' Institutiones*, and the *Apologia*, 1536 : Polet, 128, sq ; NijKron., I, 1583, 2002, II, 3938 ; *Demosthenis et Æschinis Epistolæ*, rendered into Latin, February 1537 : Polet, 96, sq ; NijKron., I, 696 ; translations of four Homilies of St. Basil : Febr. 1537, and March 1538 : Polet, 94, sq ; NijKron., I, 255, II, 2383.

²⁾ OlaE, 598.

³⁾ According to the accounts, the wages were paid to Nannius on January 6 and on July 6 : voer zijnen <Nannius> sallarijs van eenen halfuen jare verschenen vj januarij 1539 stilo brabantie (= 1540) ; ...gegeuen... pieteren Nannio... voer zijnen sallarijs van eenen halfuen jare verschenen den vjen Julij lest leden <1540> : *ManBorchI*, 27, r, v, 28, r ; *ManBorchII*, 34, r. In the *Trilingue* the professors' fees were paid, not at the end of the academic semesters, but on the anniversary days of their appointment, and six months later, — except when substantial changes were brought about in their working. It therefore seems certain that Nannius started actually teaching on January 6, 1539, and the statement made by Valerius Andreas that he gave his first lecture on February 1, 1539, taking as subject Horace's *Ars Poetica* (VAndEx., 50, sq), has to be understood as the first lecture in his own right as the regular Latin professor of the *Trilingue* : Paquot, xiv, 59 ; NèveMém., 150.

⁴⁾ Adrian Junius, in *Batavia Illustrata* : Dordrecht, 1652 : 395-96, states that the newly appointed Nannius '*invidiam apud multos excitatam extinguere non potuit*'.

men, in the County of Waldeck, each of them with a numerous family ; and invited them to come and witness the making of a will, as it was very difficult for foreigners, especially for Germans, to draw up an unexceptionable testament in Brabant ¹⁾).

Unfortunately, long before they could arrive, the patient was plagued suddenly by treacherous catarrhs in the throat, which caused a strangulation ²⁾), from which he died on January 25, 1539 ³⁾). Nannius, who had been his frequent visitor in his last days, reports that, in his trouble, he found a consolation in the conscientiousness of a life of self-sacrifice, saying : 'En quem finem habent nostra studia ! Canescimus ante senectutem ; morimur ante fata nostra : dum publicæ juuentuti consulimus, male consulimus vitæ nostræ ! Sed bene impensum est quicquid studiosis impenditur !' ⁴⁾

B. GRATEFUL APPRECIATION

Goclenius' mortal rests were entombed in St. Peter's, and a funeral monument was erected, which represented his features, and had the following inscription :

CONRADO GOCLENIO,
Mengerichufano,
Liberalium Artium
Trilinguisque Collegii Latino
Profeffori facundiff.
Ac Conferuatori optimo,
Necnon Canonico Antverpienfi,
Amici poss.

¹⁾ Letter of John Altenanus to Boniface Amerbach, October 28, 1539 : *GocCor.*, 70 ; Allen, x, p 417, 10, sq.

²⁾ In his letter to Amerbach, John Altenanus wrote, on Oct. 28, 1539, about Goclenius' illness and death : '...Goclenium...stragulatam subito malis catharris guttur occupantibus. Apostema sceleratum caput aliquot mensibus turbarat, sed ipse medici cuiusdam promissis expectarat sanitatem... Cæterum vir bonus subito extinctus...' : Allen, x, p 417, 9, sq, 17 ; *BbBasle*, MS C. VI^a. 71 : 111, r.

³⁾ Opmeer, I, 461, a, 476 b ; *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 75.

⁴⁾ Nannius' *Oratio Funebris* ; *NèveMém.*, 148.

Obiit ipso die Conuerſionis S. Pauli
Sub horam primam pomeridianam
Anno a Chriſto nato MD. IX. XXXIX.

VIII. Kal. Febr.

CONRADVS jacet hic GOCLENIVS, alter Eraſmus
Ingenio, lingua, moribus atque fide.
Hunc lugete virum Græcæ Charitesque Latinæ,
Et decus amiſſum Buſlidiana Domus.
Ille Scholarum auxit pomæria lata Louanij,
Traxit eo omnigenum millia multa virum.
Immatura quidem rapuit te Parca diſertum,
Vix dum condideras integra luſtra decem.
Præmia ſed voluit Chriſtus tibi digna labore,
Et feſtinatas reddere delitias ¹⁾.

Besides an apt praise, that inſcription mentions the popularity of the man, who, by his attractive ways and his wiſe moderation, had made humaniſtic ſtudies moſt welcome and agreeable ²⁾ : Eraſmus' name, which, twenty years before, had often been held up to the horror of the audience from the pulpit of St. Peter's, was now for ever glorified on a monument in that very church as the acme of excellence.

Amongſt the numerous epitaphs and elegies, which, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, were attached to the pall on the day of the funeral, or ſtuck on the valves of St. Peter's by friends and admirers, one by Alard of Amſterdam was particularly welcome, as, no doubt, it mentioned the intereſt of the great linguist and philologian in quite different branches, ſuch as hiſtory and geography, with all the recent diſcoveries, eſpecially thoſe in aſtronomy, which explains how he helped to provide his acquaintances with inſtruments conſtructed in Louvain ³⁾ :

Ecquid in omnigenis Naturæ dotibus vſquam eſt,
Ingenij Præſes quidue Minerua parit,
Quod non ingenio ſtudioque GOCLENIVS omne
Prendit & abſoluit non fine iudicio ?
Quicquid habent nitidi diuina poemata cultus,

¹⁾ VAndEx., 50, sq ; SweMon., 206-7 ; Foppens, 188, sq ; they, however, do not mention that Alard of Amſterdam is the author of this epitaph, as is ſuggeſted in NèveMém., 144.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 539-40, 551 ; II, 115.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 561-62.

Exprimit hoc doctis vndique carminibus.
 Omnia Rhetorici tenuit præcepta nitoris,
 Astrorum motus commemoratque situs.
 Nouit Athlantiaci metiri pondus olympi,
 Quæque sub ambobus tenditur ora polis.
 Quicquid in historijs sacris iuxtaque profanis
 Scriptum est, excussit, calluit, edidicit.
 Ornando eloquio natus, natusque fugandæ
 Barbariæ, cuius maximus hostis erat.
 Multis implicitus curis, multoque labore
 Fractus et exhaustus, hac requiescit humo. ¹⁾

Probably on the day of the funeral, a solemn *Oratio Funebris* was delivered by Peter Nannius ²⁾: it proves an elaborate piece of rhetoric, in which, after announcing that he will rather make use of the story of the deceased than of eloquent considerations, he abruptly changes his mind: since the Master's life is too well known, he merely will console his hearers in their bereavement. To that effect he brings forward all possible oratorical common-place topics, turning his oration into a formal style exercise, which only sounds sincere at those few moments when it evokes the self-sacrificing professor, or invites the audience to store his teachings and good examples in their hearts. That disappointing *Oratio Funebris*, which might be used for any other devoted teacher, seems to have been conceived merely as an extravagantly ornamental and rhetorical exhibit, exclusively designed to show to all listeners and readers what a clever rhetorician was going to fill the Latin chair! ³⁾

¹⁾ *SweMon.*, 207; *VAndEx.*, 50.

²⁾ The oration was kept, it seems, thanks to the care of Guy Morillon: *cp. sup.*, p 48, and printed under the title of *Petri Nannii Funebris Oratio habita pro mortuo Conrado Goclenio*: Lovanii, Excudebat Servatius Zassenus Anno m. d. XLII. *Cp. Polet*, 50-51, 274-75; *Lindeb.*, 237-38: the mention of the little significance, which this author attaches to the *Trilingue*, is the repetition of the groundless opinion of its initial adversaries: nor was it a 'collection of particular pulpits': this *History* proves that it was an actual part of the University, which got more glory and efficiency through it than by any of the five initial Faculties.

³⁾ *Adr. Junius*, in *Batavia Illustrata* (Dordrecht, 1652): 395-96, judges Goclenius superior to his successor: 'iniqua æmulatione', he writes of Nannius, 'difficiliore imitatione, successor datus Conrado Goclenio,

C. THE INDEBTEDNESS OF THE *TRILINGUE*

To be true, to all right-minded hearers that hollow-sounding *Oratio* must have proved that they and the Institute had lost, in the humble and self-forgetful erudite, a most precious Master : *he* never thought of his own glory, but only of the truth, the knowledge and the learning he was to communicate to youths, so as to develop them into noble-minded, generous, and highly accomplished men. Far from accepting, like Nannius, a glorious succession, he generously had started his professorate when things looked despairing ; when almost the whole University was opposed to the *Trilingue*, which, like a crank vessel launched in a heavy sea, was expected soon to capsize. Yet, with his upright, but conciliatory, character, his sound common sense, and his prudent foresight, he had a salutary influence as well on his colleagues as on all his students ; he managed to create, almost at once, an atmosphere of placid, zealous study, which soon changed all hostile prejudice into benevolent appreciation. *He* made Humanism liked and admired, even by those who had loathed it at first. Yet he never was beguiled by a momentary calm, as if all opposition had disarmed ; in fact, the onslaughts became less dangerous as years went on, and, little by little, all opposition died out. Whenever an ill-advised colleague caused the old animosity to flare up, he managed to lay it before it could turn against the *Trilingue* ¹⁾, and he succeeded so well that he himself never experienced anything but deep veneration and growing appreciation from all and each of the University

literatissimo, & omnibus Oratoriæ facultatis numeris prope perfecto viro, invidiam apud multos excitatam extinguere non potuit' : Paquot, xiv, 62 ; Nève*Mém.*, 151. — Justus Lips' judgment-(*Epist. Miscell. Cent. III*, 87 : Antwerp, 1605 : 92) about 'Petro Nannio, qui primus honestum ibi (i. e., Lovanii) ignem accenderat', which is expressed in a private letter, is only an unwarranted assertion, contradicted by the far more weighty judgment of Erasmus, who knew Goclenius thoroughly, whereas Lips had hardly any data to compare with the typically elegant, but turgid style of his successor.

¹⁾ Cp. *EraSpain* : 288 (the offensive was not prepared just then : it was nine years old), 449 (the veto only referred to the Dominican convent) ; Goclenius' warnings in his letters of 1527 and 1531, were only pictures of what might happen if the danger were not averted.

members ¹⁾. And, with all that, the Latin professorate which was his, was considered as immaterial, as accessory ; in the founder's mind it was to be remunerated far less than the others ²⁾ ; yet by his zealous endeavour, by his thorough erudition and by his brilliant exposition, which was long a bye-word in the University ³⁾, — all enhanced by his affable manners, — he made Busleyden College into the very glory of town and land. At a time one of his colleagues may have been disregarding active teaching on account of abstruse study ⁴⁾ ; another may have even neglected study for pecuniary considerations ⁵⁾ : Goclenius proved *the ideal teacher*, who gave to all who were entrusted to his care, or who even wished to attend his lectures, the fulness of his rich qualifications and experience, as well as the benefit of his great heart and the powerful stimulation of his example. For twenty years he was the prop of the *Trilingue*, its life and its soul : it was almost identified with him ; and the Institute became, like himself, the most beneficent and generous organism to Nation and Humanity, from the sign of contradiction that it had been.

The restless activity as teacher, which, from 1528, made Goclenius even double his lectures for want of standing room for his hearers ⁶⁾, left him hardly any time for publishing more than was strictly necessary for his own lessons. It thus happened that, overtaken by an untimely decease he could not, as he may have contemplated, communicate his theory and the rich store of his experience during a final period of

¹⁾ The difficulties sketched by *ErasRott.*, 111-15, 152, and copied by subsequent authors are completely wrong interpretations of natural facts : the difficulty at Goclenius' appointment was merely a displeasure of Barlandus, whose candidate had been put aside : cp. *Cran.*, 62, a, 95, c-j, 96, c-d ; *Daxhelet*, 15-16, 273 ; the wrong construction is repeated in *BB*, v, 250, 16 ; *Massebieau*, 142 ; *F. Nève, Recherches sur le Séjour... d'Érasme en Brabant* : Louvain, 1876 : 36 ; *Lindeb.*, 238 ; &c. — The so-called persecutions on account of his religious opinions : cp. *Clénard*, 22 ; *Altmeyer*, I, 324-25 ; *Pirenne*, III, 309 ; &c, are unwarranted, and merè misinterpretations of indisputable texts. Cp. II, 109, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. *Test.*, 19 ; II, 102, 108, &c ; and before, pp 531, 538 ; in the *Collège de France*, Latin was not even taught officially.

³⁾ *NèveMém.*, 149.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 154-184.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 105, *sq.*, 123, *sq.*

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 347.

well-earned rest : he was not thinking of the end, but of the necessity of making himself irresistibly beneficial to all those who came within the range of his influence ; fortunately his example was such that, in their turn, they continued his work through space and through time ¹⁾. For his spirit went on animating the College long after he was laid to rest : the life he had imparted to it remained actively salutary to several generations of students ; it kept the Institute sound and flourishing, notwithstanding the threats of an unavoidable ruin brought out soon after his tomb had closed ²⁾ ; and it formed many worthy emulators : eminent amongst them was his disciple and second successor Cornelius van Auwater ³⁾, who also joined a wealth of substantial attainments as linguist and a wide range of knowledge, to most beneficial pedagogical abilities and, above all, to an unlimited devotion to his teaching and to his students ⁴⁾.

5. HIS SUCCESSORS

A. 'PROVISOR' DE CORTE

Without doubt Goclenius had been surprised by death. He certainly had expected to work a few years longer before taking a well-earned rest, thanks to his savings, with the

¹⁾ As an example may be quoted what John Sturm wrote on March 29, 1565 to Simon Ostermann : namely that he feared to deserve Goclenius' sentence who blamed a man, who aptly commented on Cicero's *Officia*, 'et in una re peccabat : non animi vitio, sed corporis valetudine : is versus postremus in epigrammate : Qui docet officium, non facit officium' : meaning that he should also give the good example — as Goclenius did : *EpClassArg.*, 120 ; cp. before, p 545.

²⁾ Cp. further, § 6.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 270-81 ; Kuiper, 40, 69.

⁴⁾ Cp. for Goclenius' life and work : *Mol.*, 604-605 ; *Miræus*, II, 29 ; *SweABelg.*, 179 ; *VAndEx.*, 47-50 ; *BibBelg.*, 141 ; *Vern.*, 145, 310 ; *VAnd*, 279, 102, 284, 400-402 ; *PF*, 481 ; *BaxH*, VIII, 24-25 (, and their tributaries : e. g., *NèveMém.*, 143-49, 151, 298, sq, 332 ; *NèveRen.*, 76, 139-140 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 506) ; *FG*, 361 ; *Allen*, IV, 1209, pr ; *Cran.*, 95, a-j, & passim ; *MonHL*, passim. Also, although more summarily treated, *RhenE*, 428 ; *JovEl.*, 221 ; *BatawMart.*, 67 ; *SaxOnom.*, 39, 584 ; E. C. Waasserbach, *Hamelmann's Werke* : Lemgo, 1711 : 196 ; Sandys, II, 215 ; *Dolet*, 259 ; *ClénCorr.*, II, 23 ; *MoreE*, 112, pr ; *Murmell.*, 17, 53.

hope of continuing his devotedness to study and students by publishing some of the conclusions of a most active life. The very fact that, conscientious man as he was, he had not yet finished distributing the money which Erasmus had entrusted to his custody, is evident proof that he judged it safe to continue devoting all his attention to his primary duty, instead of neglecting it for a service for which there did not seem to be any hurry. With all that, he was most provident, as clearly results from the fact that, whereas he had himself accepted the administration of the Institute provisionally ¹⁾, since the two last executors of Busleyden's will were unable to come and appoint a successor to Judocus van der Hoeven, he had normalized the situation, so that, at his untimely decease, two regular 'provisores' stepped in without delay, replacing the two executors, who, once more, were unable to interfere personally and attend to the urgent interests of the College, Bartholomew van Vessem being afflicted with illness ²⁾ and Adrian Josel with infirmities, which prevented him from coming to the College before September 1540 ³⁾. Although the provisional arrangement about his own nomination as actual manager of the Institute had become definite, as things went smoothly and prosperously, Goclenius had no confidence in the 'provisional state' of the head-mastership, and, instead of waiting for the events, he approached at least two of the three personages whom the Founder had indicated in his Will as supervisors of the College, namely the parish priest or *plebanus* of St. Peter's, and the President of the theological disputations ⁴⁾, and made sure of their acceptance, so that they might be ready to interfere whenever circumstances would require.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 383, sq; although accepting only the title of 'Vice-president', Goclenius enjoyed the same right and power as his three predecessors, as well as the wages due to the presidency: 'Item den seluen <viz., Coenraet Goclenij> pro vicepresidentia van dese jaere terminerende den x^{en} dach Septembris An^o xv c xxxviii lx Rh. fl.' : *AccGocl.*, 37, r.

²⁾ He died at Mechlin on April 29, 1539, *stilo leodiensi* : cp. *AccEdel.*, 2, v : and further Ch. XXI, 1, c.

³⁾ Cp. *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

⁴⁾ *Test.*, 73 : ... huius... jnstituti Provisores statuo Curatum Sancti Petri Louaniensis; Magistrum nostrum ordinarie seu communiter Præsidentem jn disputationibus Collegij <theologorum>, &c.

The first of those dignitaries was, at the time, Peter de Corte, Curtius, who, as professor of languages, and, later on, of philosophy, in the Lily, had been for several years Erasmus' *conviva*; after November 1522, when he succeeded to John de Neve, jointly with John Heems, as *Regens* of that Pedagogy, he had assured the Great Humanist that the Lily, far from losing anything of the old affection for him, had even gained a lot: 'Nullum hic sacrum fit sine Erasmo', he wrote; 'nihil absque Erasmo doctum, nemo non hic Erasmo suam eruditionem refert acceptam' ¹). At William Joannis Lamberti of Vianen's death, on November 20, 1529, he was appointed *plebanus* of St. Peter's ²), and in that quality he was invested with a lecture in divinity ³). On February 27, 1530, he was elected University Rector, and, on July 12 following, he promoted Doctor of Divinity ⁴). In 1531 he sold his interest in the Lily to his colleague John Heems, devoting himself entirely to theology and to his charge until 1561, when, on December 26, he was consecrated Bishop of Bruges; he took possession of his diocese on February 8, 1562. He vanquished various difficulties by calm dignity and patient energy, until his appointment to Provost of St. Donatian's, on September 3, 1564, gave him the necessary power to establish his and his successors' authority. He died at Bruges on October 17, 1567, leaving scholarships in the Lily and in Houterlee College, Louvain ⁵).

It was hardly possible to conceive a better fitted man for the office of *provisor* of the *Trilingue* than the earnest, prudent, and erudite Curtius, who, amid the passionate contending of headstrong conservatism and improvident innovation, gave an example of judiciousness, combining sensible humanism and sound divinity. He showed a staunch friendship to Erasmus: when, by April 1524, his books were superseded in some of the Louvain schools by other classics,

¹) Letter of January 21, 1525: Allen, vi, 1537, 10-14.

²) Cp. II, 83, 230, 257, 261, 290; that dignity was also solicited by Nicolas Glenardus: cp. before, p 185.

³) VAnd., 77, 78.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 132-35.

⁵) Cp. before, II, 83, *sq.*, 256, &c; *Cran.*, 83, *a-h*, 109, *a*, 118, *a-b*, 186, *a*, and the authorities quoted.

de Corte kept them in the Lily ¹⁾, where he even had a public teaching of Greek started, on January 1, 1528, by John van den Cruyce ²⁾. No wonder that the solemnity of his *aula doctoralis* on June 12, 1530, did not prevent the narrow-minded Eustace of Sichem to criticize the principles which the new Doctor in Divinity was well known to cherish and to promote wherever he could ³⁾.

B. 'PROVISOR' TAPPER

The office of president of the theological disputations, which entitled to that of second *provisor* of the *Trilingue*, was then held by Ruard Tapper. Born at Enkhuizen, February 15, 1487, he matriculated in Louvain on June 11, 1503 ⁴⁾, and promoted Master of Arts in 1507, being classed the second ⁵⁾. He studied theology whilst teaching physics and logic at the Porc, in which quality he was admitted, on December 22, 1511, to the Academic Senate as a member of the Faculty of Arts ⁶⁾. On June 3, 1516, he promoted Licenciate, and on August 16, 1519, Doctor, of Divinity. The Faculty of Theology, in which he entered, granted him the right to lecture on September 30, 1519, and appointed him, on November 21, as president of the College of the Holy Ghost ⁷⁾, to replace Martin van Dorp, who had resigned in September ⁸⁾. He was a very proficient professor of divinity, and one of the few intimate friends of John Briart, whom he succeeded at his

¹⁾ Allen, VI, 1537, 24, sq; de Jongh, *49.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 257, a-b, 8-12; II, 84: Erasmus congratulated Curtius on the excellent result, as he announced to Cranevelt on March 25, 1528.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 132-35.

⁴⁾ 'Riwardus nannonis de enchusen traieci. dioc.': *LibIntIII*, 105, r.

⁵⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 68; he had passed the test of *logica determinatio* on November 5, and of *physica determinatio* on December 5, 1503: *ActArtV*, 209, v, 273, v.

⁶⁾ He had been 'nominated' by the Faculty of Arts to the first vacancies collated by the Chapter of Our Lady, Utrecht, April 28, 1515, and by the provost of St. Martin's, of the same town, August 3, 1517; on May 30, 1517 he was a priest, when elected procurator for the '*Natio Hollandica*': cp. *LibNomI*, 74, v, 119, r, 122, r, 123, v, 124, r.

⁷⁾ Cp. de Jongh, *41, *43, *44, xlii.

⁸⁾ *MonHL*, 225-227; de Jongh, *44; *Cran.*, 24, b.

death, January 8, 1521, as president of the *disputationes sabbatinæ*. Those debates about matters explained in the lectures, were held in the College of the Holy Ghost, and were chiefly attended by the students of that house. For over twenty years Adrian of Utrecht had been, with great success, the leader of those discussions on each 'ultima septimanæ', until called to the Archduke's Court. He was succeeded by Briart, who kept up the great tradition of those *disputationes* ¹⁾ : founders of new colleges chose their leader as *provisor* ²⁾, whereas the spreading of heresy made their work even more important; Tapper organized them about 1530 into a regular training, which, on September 27, 1540, was made obligatory by the Faculty for all future bachelors ³⁾. On May, 3, 1545, Cornelius Andrieszoon van Stryen, inquisitor at The Hague, who was in a position to gauge their necessity and their efficiency, endowed them with an annual income of 27 Rh. florins for the president's fees ⁴⁾. Transferred in 1593 from the Holy Ghost College to the School of Divinity, the *Sabbatinæ* have continued during several centuries, and are still held at present, — which is the best proof of their vitality and usefulness.

In October 1533, Tapper abandoned the presidency of Holy Ghost College to John Doye ⁵⁾ : he meanwhile had succeeded Godschalk Rosemondts ⁶⁾ as regular professor and canon of St. Peter's, and had acted in several proceedings against heretics. At the decease of Nicolas Coppin ⁷⁾ he became dean of St. Peter's Chapter and vice-chancellor of the University ⁸⁾. That office, together with the excellence of his teaching, gave him a great authority, which he conscientiously used for the welfare of Church and country in the critical time in which

¹⁾ Briart, 395, v.

²⁾ Thus Nicolas le Ruistre, Bishop of Arras, who erected the College of Arras, on September 15, 1508; Henry de Houterlee, who founded one by his will of December 29, 1510; and Jerome de Busleyden.

³⁾ VAnd., 80; Mol., 1016, 3.

⁴⁾ FUL, 1667; BN, s.v. Tapper.

⁵⁾ Cp. I, 528.

⁶⁾ He died on December 5, 1526 : cp. I, 356.

⁷⁾ He died on June, 16, 1535 : cp. I, 404, sq, 564, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. Goclenius' letter to Erasmus of August 10, 1535 : GoclE, 15, r; Allen, xi, 3037, 37; MonHL, 571.

he lived. He formed a pleiad of disciples ¹⁾, and although his chief interest lay in divinity, and he neither was endowed with easy speech, nor literary sense ²⁾, yet his broad and sound views made him live on excellent terms with humanists like Peter Nannius ³⁾ and Alard of Amsterdam ⁴⁾; even Erasmus' great friend Thierry Martens published his *Quotlibetica* in 1520 at a time when the controversy between divines and linguists was at its highest ⁵⁾. It is interesting to note how, in his earnest efforts to prepare his disciples to the struggle, he did not stand obstinately by the old order, ignoring the necessities of the moment, such as had been pointed out in Erasmus' writings. He formulated the teachings of the Church into thirty-two, later into fifty-nine, dogmatic articles, so as to exclude all doubtful doctrine and undue innovations, and made them the matter of his lectures and of his *Explicationes Articulorum*; he thus replaced to advantage Peter Lombardus' *Liber Sententiarum* ⁶⁾, which the humanists had criticized

¹⁾ Such as Peter de Corte, John van der Eycken, of Hasselt, Francis van de Velde, Sonnius, Josse van Ravesteyn, of Thielt, Martin Bauwens, of Rythoven, Matthew Galenus, William van der Linden, Augustin Huens, Adam Sasbout, Michael de Bay and John Hessels.

²⁾ Tapper suffered from a difficult and halting speech, and lacked all refinement in dress and manners; he thus became the butt of bitter jests in William Nesen's squibs, the *Bilinguium Dialogus* and the *Epistola de Magistris Nostris Louaniensibus*, 1519-20, as well as, forty years later, in the *Apotheosis* (1559) : cp. I, 569-72, 585-86; *BibRefNe.*, I, 567-636.

³⁾ He dedicated to Tapper on January 1, 1537, his *Homilia in Sanctam Christi Nativitatem* of St. Basil : Polet, 251-52, 94; on March 13, 1547, he was requested by Livinus Ammonius to offer his greetings to the Dean of Louvain : Polet, 296, 43, sq; and, on January 23, 1549, he inscribed to Tapper and the two other *provisores* of the *Trilingue* his *De Æternitate Mundi* : Polet, 74, 302-305.

⁴⁾ He inserted two letters to Tapper in his *Dissertatiunculæ Tres* : Antwerp, 1541 : cp. *Cran.*, 96, e; *Lindeb.*, 224.

⁵⁾ Iseghem, 314; that *Questio Quotlibetica de effectibus quos consuetudo operatur in foro conscientiae*, pronunciata publice Louanij (December 1520), was reprinted by Michael Hillen, Antwerp, 1520 : *NijKron.*, II, 3917.

⁶⁾ Louvain, Martin Verhasselt, 1555-57; they were dedicated to Philip II on his marriage with Mary Tudor. Those *Explicationes* were considered as the most authoritative enunciation of the Catholic dogmas before the decisions of the Council of Trent : Gough, 740; de Jongh, 181, sq.

so bitterly. He wanted to fight error by instruction, and he unequivocally condemned the cruel laws against heretics, which, as he said, may cut off some branches, but leave the root intact. He advocated a renewal of the life and discipline of the whole clergy. In many other matters he held equally sound and prudent views, no doubt feeling conscious that, although a far-sighted divine, there were many things outside his ken which were not to be condemned as bad because he ignored them. He certainly was conscious of lacking a literary taste : yet before censuring anything that was unfamiliar to him, as some of his colleagues were rash enough to do, he, to all appearance, wisely asked the advice and the opinion of those in whose wider knowledge and sagacious judgment he had full confidence. One unimpeachable proof has survived by chance, in the shape of a letter in which Adrian Amerot replies to a request of Tapper about literary books, and makes a fit distinction between those which can be safely used in public lessons, and those which might be helpful and advantageous only for private study ¹).

The greatest service he rendered was, certainly, the advocating and the practical realizing of a renewal of the life and discipline of the clergy, as the only means to repair the damage caused by pernicious examples ²); to ensure it, he proposed the creation of new dioceses, as those that existed were far too extensive to allow of an efficient management. The new bishops were to be men of religious action, and not any longer creatures of princely or courtly favour; they were to be real '*episcopi*'; and, on that account, they were entrusted with the appointment of their priests, which had been left too long in laymen's hands. He proposed to employ for the subsistence of the new prelates and their staff, the riches accumulated during several centuries in abbeys, which, instead of being used for the religious welfare, served chiefly

¹) Cp. further, Ch. XXIV, 3, 4.

²) *Orationes Theologicæ variæ...*; *Aureum Corrolarium de veris afflictæ hæresibus Germaniæ, ac potissimum Belgicæ causis, una cum... remediis...*; *Refutatio quorundam Falsorum Remediorum Aulicorum, cum explicatione Veri Remedii, ad Belgicam ab hæresibus liberandum potissimum comparati* : edited by his disciple Lindanus : Cologne, L. Alectorius, 1577.

as reversions for the sons or favourites of great families. Not one single humanist had ever condemned so effectively the bad customs that were running rank all over the Church, as this cold, matter-of-fact theologian, who even seemed to lack all fire and insight. Yet, he not only condemned, but administered the death-blow to the secular wrong custom; he managed so well with Charles V and Philip II, and further with Paul IV, that what had been vainly attempted before, was realized : his disciple and friend Francis van de Velde, *Sonnus*, obtained on May 12, 1559, the bull that sanctioned the creation of the new dioceses. That measure, to be true, caused the upheaval of the rich abbeys and of the greater part of the nobility against the King and his Spanish defenders : which allowed the discontented of all kinds and the never-wanting lawless element in the nation, to break loose into irrepressible riots. Yet, it also caused the renewal of sound religious life, that foundation of order and social calm, which Belgium has enjoyed from the reign of Albert and Isabella down to the present time, except for those periods of oppression by foreign powers, — which made it even stronger and more effective. The humble man, who thus influenced the fate of our nation more than any of its monarchs ever did, was not to see, down here, the success of his endeavours : he died, on March 2, 1559, in Brussels whereto he had been requested by Philip II for his help and advice ¹).

If Peter de Corte, on account of his sympathy with learning and humanism, was an ideal *provisor* for the *Trilingue*, Tapper was no less so, on account of his sound judgment and his keen foresight; he, moreover, showed a fatherly interest, not only in the Institute when it was endangered by Rescius' parricidal lawsuit, but even in its teaching,

¹) *Ruardi Tappert, Omnia, quæ haberi potverunt Opera* : Cologne, Birckman, 1582; cp. H. de Vocht in *BN*, and there references quoted; also *BelgArch.*, *Et&Aud.*, 1177³; *MalGrCons.*, 825 : 52; *Guicc.*, 50, 193; *Gabbema*, 119 (from Cardinal R. Pole, London, Jan. 14, 1555), 534, 543; *HepH*, 146-47; *Paquot*, v, 319, sq, vii, 403, &c; *SchelAH*, i, 385; E. van Roey, *Les Sciences Théologiques*, in *Le Mouvement Scientifique en Belgique* : Brussels, 1908 : II, 500-501, with portrait.

its methods, and in the very handbooks that were used ¹⁾).

Busleyden's Will prescribed a third *provisor* : the prior of the Louvain Carthusians ; at the time it was Francis of Edam : he was a schoolmaster when he entered the order in 1513 ; he was of a size which gave him the name Goliath. After having been sacristan and procurator in the Louvain Carthusian Convent, he was, for a while, preacher and spiritual director of the nuns of St. Ann, near Bruges. At the death of Prior Theodoricus Persyn, on October 21, 1532 ²⁾, he was chosen his successor : he died on December 2, 1539 ³⁾, and Thierry Symons, of Heemstede ⁴⁾, brother of Erasmus' correspondent John ⁵⁾, was elected in his place. Neither Francis of Edam, nor Thierry van Heemstede is ever mentioned in the documents of the *Trilingue* : so it seems as if the third *provisor* had not yet been invited to enter upon his duties, and as if the last of Busleyden's executors, van Vesseem and Adrian Josel, had decided to apply only to the *plebanus* of St. Peter's and to the President of the *Sabbatinæ*, at least for as long as one of them was alive ⁶⁾. In fact their position in the very active centre of the University allowed them to judge people and things far better than the executors, and even than the Prior of the Louvain Carthusians : the welfare of the *Trilingue* was sure to reap the benefit.

¹⁾ Cp. Amerotius' reply to a letter of his on that head : Ch. XXIV, 3, 4.

²⁾ Thierry Persyn, of Amsterdam, who had studied in Louvain, entered there the Carthusian convent in 1509, and was elected second prior in 1525 ; he died from an epidemic in 1532. He was Dorp's friend and protector, and to him Gerard Morinck dedicated a biography of the deceased professor, June, 30, 1526 : *MonHL*, 123, 254-61, 281, sq ; *ChronCartLov.*, 456, v, 462, r ; *Mol.*, 303 ; &c. — He probably was related to Hippolytus Persyn, councillor of The Hague, who succeeded Everard Nicolai as President of Friesland (cp. *Cran.*, 292), and who became President of the Utrecht Province ; he was one of the *Novemviri* in 1564, and died at Utrecht about the end of November 1568 : *Hoyneck*, 1, i, 186, ii, 494, 11, i, 190, 360-63, ii, 46.

³⁾ *Mol.*, 304 ; *ChronCartLov.*, 453, v ; *MonHL*, 284-85.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 284-85 ; *ChronCartLov.*, 453, v ; *Mol.*, 302 ; cp. before, p 75.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 75-77 ; *MonHL*, 259, 284-85, 287, 471.

⁶⁾ Bart. van Vesseem died on April 29, 1539, and Adrian Josel paid a visit — probably the last, — to the *Trilingue* in September 1540 : *AccEdel.*, 2, v ; *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

C. PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATOR

The two *provisores*, de Corte and Tapper, at Goclenius' death, no doubt, sent for the two executors : unfortunately van Vesseem was himself dangerously ill, and the Antwerp Canon Adrian Josel was not able to come. They may have given their advice, though, and suggested that, like at van der Hoeven's decease, the oldest professor Rutger Rescius should be requested to become provisional administrator as vice-president. That measure allowed them to give due consideration to a decisive appointment, whereas, in the mean while, the affairs, entrusted to a man who had been in the *Trilingue* from the very beginning, would most likely be looked after well ¹⁾).

Apparently Rescius accepted the charge quite readily ²⁾; it even seems that, informed by the notary Matthew Cogge, Goclenius' manager and book-keeper, he lost no time whatever in claiming some rents or charges, which had been due during Goclenius' presidency. It explains how, even after he had been replaced by Edelheer, some money was still paid to Rescius ; unless it may be caused by personal acquaintance with the tenants or agents, who, after all, may have preferred dealing with the last remaining of the original staff ³⁾).

¹⁾ Unfortunately there was the enormous difference between the acquaintance of Goclenius, who had lived the life of the College for twenty years, and that of Rescius who came there only for his lectures, and had been as a stranger for more than fourteen years.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 21.

³⁾ Thus about March 27, 1539, the rent due to the *Trilingue* by James van Ghistele, or de Traseignies, of Nivelles, was paid by that collector to Rescius : *AccEdel.*, 16, r : Item voer den sallaris van meesteren Rutgheerde Rescij... den seluen... gèlaten op tghene des hem verschijnen sal ende verschenen mach zijn zedert den lesten dach Februarij lestleden de xlv Rgs bij hem gehadt van heeren ende meesteren Jacoppe van ghistele oft anders geheeten van traseignies van nijuele omtrent xxvij marcij lestleden blijckende bij zijnen hantscriften viz xlv Rgs. — That rent was one of 100 'peters', payable by John Clutinck, or Cloetinck, substantiated on the lordships of Samme, 'Oestkerke' and 'Glabeker', by a deed of 1505, which his daughter Jane, wife of Nicolas Wittaert, sold to Nispen and van Vesseem on February 10, 1518 : *Inv.*, 22, v, 23, r, 30, r, v. By 1530 the rent was payable by Philip Clutinck,

The first affair in which Rescius was involved by his administration, — and which influenced his life and character ever after, — was the realization of Goclenius' estate. It was known by everybody that the quiet, modest worker had gained much money, and spent very little, and that he had not made a will ¹⁾. As was the custom in such cases, the University Rector took into his hands the interests of the nearest of kin : consequently the professor of Canon Law, Michael Drieux, an old student of the *Trilingue* ²⁾, who was invested with that dignity at the time, ordered the promoter Matthew Cogge to make at once an inventory of the belongings of the deceased in the presence of the College authorities. Matthew Cogge, who was fully acquainted with Goclenius' affairs, as he had helped him in his management ³⁾, secured the official service of a University notary, either of Giles Martini ⁴⁾, or of John Altenanus ⁵⁾, as well as the customary witnesses for such notarial deeds, and started drawing up the inventory in the presence of the College *provisor* Peter de Corte and of the provisional administrator Rutger Rescius.

Lord of Fauquez, an estate situated under Virginal and Ittre, and was still substantiated by lands of the three lordships Samme (under Braine-le-Château and Virginal), Oisquercq and Clabecq, places situated in the triangle between Halle, Nivelles and Soignies. The amount was paid in 1530 by the Lord of Fauquez himself : *ManHoev.*, 1, r ; by 1533 it was acquitted by his agents, who got the money from the amount of taxes gathered at those places : they were paid a certain percentage by the *Trilingue*, as results from what was remitted to Laurent Manny, canon of Nivelles, in 1534 : *AccHoevII*, 42, r ; to James Drua, in 1540 : *ManBorchI*, 51 ; as well as to James of Ghistele, steward of Nivelles Abbey, whom Goclenius had requested to collect outstanding debts : *AccEdel.*, 17, v. In 1540, the College had even to go to law to compel some of the tenants of the Lord of Fauquez to pay overdue amounts : *ManBorchI*, 47, v, 52, r.

¹⁾ He had sent for his brothers to be present at the drawing up of that testament, but died before they arrived : cp. before, pp 566-67.

²⁾ Cp. II, 421-22, and before, pp 481-82. Drieux had been elected Rector for the third time by his Faculty on Aug. 31, 1538 : *ULDoc.*, I, 265.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 383.

⁴⁾ Giles Martini, a native of Gembloux, who had promoted bachelor in both laws, was appointed University notary on August 29, 1538 : *VAnd.*, 52 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 328 ; he died before August 1541, for on August 8 of that year the *Trilingue* paid some money to his widow : *ManBorchI*, 49, v.

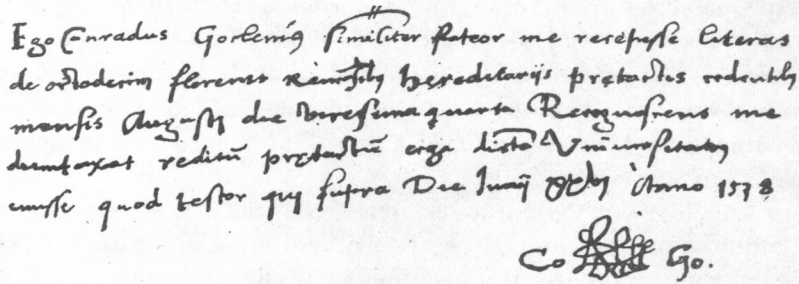
⁵⁾ Cp. further, p 591.

In Goclenius' rooms they found a rich store of furniture and of vestments, and especially a fine set of Latin and Greek books. The latter highly interested Andrew Masius in 1554 : they had, by then, become the property of an Altenaus or Altenanus, the preceptor of a young nobleman at the Court of the Duke of Cleves ¹⁾).

The inventory, moreover, was enlarged by an enormous amount of gold and silver coins, and by a great number of silver and gilt cups and ornaments, which generally are not met with in the rooms of a professor. Still it was known that Goclenius was rich : when in the summer of 1538 the University wanted to raise money for a voluntary contribution to the Emperor ²⁾), and sold rents to her members, Goclenius bought, on June 26, a rent of eighteen Rhine florins, whereas

¹⁾ On June 12, 1554, Masius writes to the young nobleman Henry von der Recke, tutored by 'Altenaum', that he regretted that, when he was the last time at Cleves, he had not the chance of making that preceptor's acquaintance, the more so since he had been given through Matthias, his servant, the hope of buying some of Goclenius' books, especially the Greek ones : *Fecerat per meum familiarem Matthiam [Fischer] mihi spem impetrandi a se, si quid esset singulare, potissimum græce, inter Coclenii libros, verum ne tu prior deflores vereor* : MasE, 174 : the editor proposes *deflectas* instead of *deflores*, although there is no need to change, as *deflores* gives an excellent sense : namely that Masius is afraid that the best of the collection has already been secured by von der Recke. Instead of identifying *Altenaûs* with John Voss, of Altena, canon of Xanten, who died on March 9, 1563 : MasE, 175, 287, it would be much nearer verisimilitude to suppose him to be the son of the Louvain notary John Altenanus ; for, on account of his acquaintances in his native land, such as Conrad of Heresbach, and the many ties between Louvain and the Court of the Duke of Cleves and Jülich, where there was the councillor Charles Harst, who had married a young lady of Louvain, he possibly had managed to find a place for him in that Court. He moreover may have had every opportunity to buy Goclenius' books, as he was the representative of the heirs, who can hardly have been partial to the other professors of the *Trilingue*. Amongst those who, in 1534, were nominated by the Louvain Faculty of Arts to first vacancies, was a John Altenanus, no doubt the preceptor of von der Recke : *LibNomI*, 322, v.

²⁾ In the *Acta*, that operation, by which the University collected money against life-rents, *Reditus hereditarii venditi... ad Suppositos*, is said to have produced about 1827 Rh. fl. by annuities ; the names of the investors are given, and several receipts of the documents are inserted : *LibActVI*, 183, r, 185, r, sq ; *LibActVII*, 280.



Ego Conradus Goclenius similiter fateor me recepisse literas
de octodecim florenis Renensibus hæreditarijs præactis cedentibus mensis
Augustij die vicesima quarta Recognoscens me dumtaxat reditum præ-
tactum erga dictam Vniuersitatem emissem quod testor quj supra Die Junij 8th Anno 1538
Co. Go.

Goclenius' Purchase of an Annuity on the University
LibActVI, 185, r

his colleagues got only a half, or one third, of that amount ¹⁾. He had, indeed, tutored many students amongst the sons of the most conspicuous families that resorted to Louvain, and, for some of them, he even took care of their material welfare and expenses. On that account he did not only receive the fees for his lessons, but presents of silver or gilt cups, and other valuable objects, as his old pupil Cornelius Suys, President of the Holland Council, declared in the last days of April of 1547 ²⁾. The things inventoried were provisionally left in their places until the heirs, who had been sent for during Goclenius' illness, would reach Louvain; only the money and the valuables were gathered in a big strong chest and duly locked up.

¹⁾ Ego Conradus Goclenius similiter fateor me recepisse literas de octodecim florenis Renensibus hæreditarijs præactis cedentibus mensis Augustij die vicesima quarta Recognoscens me dumtaxat reditum præ-tactum erga dictam Vniuersitatem emissem quod testor quj supra Die Junij xxvj Anno 1538 Co. Go. : *LibActVI*, 185, r.

²⁾ He declared that he paid to Goclenius 20 to 24 *Rh. fl.* — whereas, for the board and lodging in the College, he only paid 40 'philipei', or 50 *Rh. fl.* I mo scio, he added, alios plus, alios minus D. Goclenio exoluisse, idque vel in pecunia numerata vel in poculo argenteo deaurato alioque quouis simili munere : *StudAtt.*, § 26. The accounts refer to a present in the shape of a bed which Goclenius sold, on February 21, 1531, to the College : xxj februarij anni... xxxj dedj mgro Conrardo pro vno lecto ad eum pertinente Collegio vendito ad taxam expertorum, quod taxatum fuit per henricum de bossuto et eadem die soluj iij *Rh.* : *ManHoev.*, 5, v. Similarly the quantity of rye, which at Goclenius' death was sold to the College, may have been another present : Jerst gecocht ende gehadt vanden procureur der erfgenenamen wijlen meester coenraets goclenij x halsteren Roge costende elck halster viij3 stuu. viz. tsamen iij Rgs v st. : *AccEdel.*, 15, v.

6. RESCIUS' MANAGEMENT

A. THE TEMPTATION

The display of wealth hoarded up by the thrifty professor ¹⁾, had a depressing influence on one of the attending witnesses of the inventory, Rescius, who himself was continually in pecuniary difficulties. On that account, more than for the love of erudition, he had ventured to set up as printer ²⁾, and soon paid less attention to the intrinsic value of his publications than to the author's generosity, or the commercial desirability of the books, which he always tried to enhance by various tricks and shifts ³⁾; it deeply saddened his great friend Erasmus and other favourers of learning ⁴⁾. In his letters to his friend Nicolas Clenardus, Rescius naturally expressed his envy of more prosperous printers, like Judocus Badius, in Paris ⁵⁾, or more fortunate colleagues, like Goclenius, with his rich prebends ⁶⁾, and even of Clenardus himself, royally paid as he was at the Court of Portugal ⁷⁾. The answers that have been preserved, show how frequent were the utterances of that bitter grievance: 'Lamentatus es non-nihil in epistolis tuis', Clenardus wrote from Evora, on March 23 <, 1535>, 'et dum aliorum mihi fortunam commemoras, tanquam sortem tuam deploras. Ego te contra ditiozem illis omnibus, et feliciorem dico' ⁸⁾. On October 2, 1536, he congratulated Rescius on the birth of a second son, and stated that he had felt real pleasure in his words: 'Hæ sunt præcipuæ opes meæ' ⁹⁾. Still they were probably hardly more than a sarcastic remark; for Clenardus recalls his old principle: 'Non simus miseri ante tempus', and, after some considerations, comes to the conclusion: 'Proinde, mi Rutgere, ne te crucient multorum divitiæ!' ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 11.

²⁾ Cp. II, 623, sq. and before, pp 106, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 108-18, 125, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 109, sq, 125-30.

⁵⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 89, 27.

⁶⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 45, 6, sq.

⁷⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 89, 29, sq. &c.

⁸⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 46, 38, sq.

⁹⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 88, 1, sq.

¹⁰⁾ *ClénCorr.*, I, 89, 20.

That allusion and the similar remarks in the correspondence of those friends, show that the *angustia rei familiaris* of Rescius, which he wished to remedy somehow or other ¹⁾, was embittering his mind, and constantly goading him on ²⁾. It is drastically illustrated by several entries in the accounts of the successors of Goclenius, who, no doubt, lacked the thoughtful and lenient generosity of that kind colleague : thus sums of money were advanced to the improvident professor by order of the *provisor* Peter de Corte on his salary ³⁾, of which several amounts were paid before they were due by Nicolas van der Borch ; at times they are so small and insignificant that they seem advanced to a thriftless wretch, or a whimsical child ⁴⁾ ; others are far more important, and even look like authoritative seizures of his salary by debtors, such as the steward of Ghempe Convent ⁵⁾, or his very partner Bartholomew de Grave ⁶⁾, against whom he had a

¹⁾ *ClénCorr.*, 46, 45, sq ; the mention of the *causifici* is, no doubt, an allusion to one of the numerous lawsuits which Rescius resorted to : *MotJuris*, 40.

²⁾ On March 23 <, 1535>, Clénardus wrote to Rescius : *Habent se res tuæ iam melius, spes est fore, ut aliquando sese habeant optime* ; still on Oct. 2, 1536, things were not much better : for another letter is sent to make him patient in his straitened circumstances : *ClénCorr.*, I, 46, 52, 88-89.

³⁾ About March 27, 1539, Rescius had received 45 *Rh. fl.* from the agent James of Ghistele, Traseignies (*sup.* 581), on rents in the region of Nivelles ; that sum was left to him as an account of his fees ; and on October 10, 1539, the executors of the President Edelheer advanced 36 *Rh. fl.* to him on Peter de Corte's order : *AccEdel.*, 16, r. The *MotJuris*, 37, 38, shows that he already had started asking for advances on his wages from 1521.

⁴⁾ Thus President van der Borch advanced 30 *Rh. fl.* on August 28, 1540, and, on Oct. 3, following, 6 *Rh. fl.* ; on July 20, 1543, he noted that he had paid him four times 6 *Rh. fl.* : *ManBorchI*, 28, r ; *ManBorchII*, 34, v.

⁵⁾ *Des hebbe ick onder gehouden xij Rh. xix st. die ick van zijnent <viz., Rescius> wege geuen moet den Rintmeester vanden clooster van ghempe ende het recepisse daeraf leueren mgro. Rutgero* : March 1542 : *ManBorchII*, 34, r.

⁶⁾ *Item op den iiij^{en} dach van meerte <1540> gegeuen meester Bartholomeus grauio den boeckuercoopere jnden naem ende op goede rekeninghe vander gaygien ende sallarys verschenen mgr^o. Rutgero reschio den griecshen professeur p^a martii. xxRgs.* : *ManBorchI*, 27.

lawsuit about that time, which apparently turned out to his disadvantage ¹⁾).

B. THE OCCASION

It happened that, in those eventful days, whilst the inventory was making, before Goclenius was buried, a chest reached the Institute, which contained various deeds and documents referring to the Foundation. They had been, up to then, in van Vessem's keeping, and, during his fatal illness, he dispatched them to the College. The chest was accepted by Rescius, who paid the boatman for the fare ²⁾), and had it placed in the library. As it was locked, he, at once, sent a messenger to Mechlin to fetch the key ³⁾), since he probably was looking out for a way to avail himself, in his plight, of part of the hoard gathered by his colleague. Without waiting for the return of his messenger, he caused a locksmith to break open the lock, and to make him a key to the collection of documents, which he started examining ⁴⁾). He had no need of those deeds to find out the chief pretext which he used in claiming part of Goclenius' wealth, namely that, in the first plan of the Institute, the inmates were to pay a certain requital for the advantage of learning Latin at the table with the professors, who were to get equal parts of that profit ⁵⁾). Indeed, for over two years, he had been Erasmus' fellow-boarder in the Lily : he occupied the room underneath that of the great Humanist ⁶⁾), whose daily meals he shared, and

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 40.

²⁾ *AccEdel.*, 18, r : gegeuen meesteren Rutgero van eener kisten der collegien toebehorende van mechelen te louene te bestellen vj st. — Den scepman die de selue brocht iiij3 st.

³⁾ *AccEdel.*, 18, r : Item gegeuen... eenen bode tot mechelen-gesonden om den sloetel van der kisten te halen dair de brieven van der collegien inne waeren iij st.

⁴⁾ *AccEdel.*, 18, r : eenen slootmaker om de kiste op te brekene ende eenen sloetel te maken tsamen ix st.

⁵⁾ *Cp. Test.*, 47 ; that disposition was cancelled by the Executors on Febr. 6, 1522 : *cp. Mut.*, 1, 7 ; and *sup.*, II, 106-108.

⁶⁾ That is what Rescius declared to his pupil Henry Ravestein, *Coracopetræus*, of Kuyck, *Cuccensis*, who noted it down at Nijmegen, on October 27, 1569 ; that statement was reproduced by G. J. Vossius, *Aristarchus*, I, 28, and *EOO*, I, 911 : Audiui M. Rutgerum Reschium,

whose company and talk he then enjoyed, being treated, not only as a confident, but almost as a son ¹⁾. He thus must have become acquainted with all the details and particulars of the *Trilingue* as they had been schemed by the Founder, and as, notwithstanding the obstinate opposition and material difficulties, they actually were worked out under the inspiration and the supervision of Erasmus in that eventful period between the starting of the three lectures, September 1, 1518, and the entering into the newly-erected building, October 18 of the year 1520.

Yet Rescius, who, in February 1522, had been advised of the changes brought about by the Executors to some stipulations of the Will, and, in particular, the abolishing of the yearly pound to be paid by the inmates for their advantage of learning Latin at table from their professors ²⁾, pretended to ignore both the order and its cancelling, and simulated having discovered that source of profit by reading the Founder's Testament ³⁾, as if he had never seen it before. He therefore had the document copied ⁴⁾; and yet that Will,

Professorem Linguae Græcæ in Collegio Buslidiano, apud Lovanienses, meum piæ memoriæ præceptorem narrantem se habitasse in Liliensi Pædagogio, una cum Erasmo plus minus biennio, eo superius, se inferius cubiculum obtinente : cp. before, II, 81.

¹⁾ In the first days of January 1518, Paschasius Berselius, writing from Liège, to Erasmus, then in Louvain, asks at the end of his letter : Saluta, si me amas, filium tuum ac meum fratrem Rutgerium Rescium : Allen, III, 748, 46-47, no doubt alluding to the familiar jokes of the Erudite with his friend, Martens' corrector, and himself : Allen, III, 674, 46-47. Ludolph Coccius, of Bielefeld, writing from Ratisbon on July 9, 1532, to Erasmus, mentions that he was taught Greek in Paris, after Aleander left, by Rescius, who had followed his lessons, and he recalls the familiar title : Tum Rutgero Rescio, quem filium appellitare soles, priuato sum vsus preceptore : Allen, x, 2687, 11-12.

²⁾ *Mut.*, I, 7, and *sup.*, II, 103-9; the *MotJuris*, 20-22, 34, sq, 54, &c, insists on the fact that Rescius not only knew, but accepted the results of the *Mutationes*. ³⁾ *Test.*, 47; *MotJuris*, 31, sq, 33, 51-52.

⁴⁾ *AccEdel.*, 18, r : Item den voirs. meesteren Rutgero vanden testamente te doen vuytscriuen van wijlen meesteren clasz van busleyden ... xxiiij st. : — that *clasz* is probably a mistake for Jerome, who was already an unknown personage to Edelheer's executors; nor is there known a Nicolas de Busleyden whose will had, about 1539, any bearing on the College : Nicolas, the son of Giles de Busleyden, died only in 1559 : *Busl.*, 22; *Brug&Fr.*, VI, 296.

or, at least, the part of it referring to the Institute, must have been amongst the papers of the managing presidents and at the disposal of all the professors from the beginning ¹⁾. The occasion was excellent : by dint of his office, Rescius had a right to examine all the deeds and documents of the College, and could, at will, employ them to his advantage, or — get them out of the way : in fact the supposition was afterwards expressed that he made such use of his place of confidence, that no papers which might have been prejudicial to his plan, remained in the archives when he left the office ²⁾. Circumstances favoured him : he was the last survivor of the small group of persons who had been intimately connected with the *Trilingue* : Stercke and Goclenius were gone, Giles de Busleyden had passed away in the same year as Erasmus ³⁾; and of the Executors nobody remained except van Vessem, who was dying, and Adrian Josel, who had never been greatly interested in the affairs of the College. The new *provisores* were complete strangers, and had to learn even the most elementary stipulations of the Founder's Will : so had his colleagues : for Andrew van Gennep kept aloof from the life of the College, and Nannius was only just appointed. There was every likelihood to make a substantiated claim on the strength of the *una libra grossorum*, which every inmate had to pay in return of the advantage derived from the conversation with the three professors, amongst whom the sum thus gathered was to be distributed in equal portions ⁴⁾. He pretended never to have received that share, which was to be paid yearly ; he naturally did not mention the *Mutationes* which had abolished that disposition ⁵⁾, but made it look as conclusion that Goclenius, as the chief professor, had kept all that money without ever dividing it with his colleagues. That way Rescius provided the appearance of an

¹⁾ Public rumour accused Rescius in 1539 of having taken away from Goclenius' papers, and of having destroyed, the act of donation of Erasmus' money : cp. further. Ch. XXI, 3, c.

²⁾ Cp. *MotJuris*, 21, 28, 31, 36 ; fortunately some documents were found afterwards at Mechlin, amongst Vessem's papers.

³⁾ He died in Brussels, on July 14, 1536 : *Busl.*, 21.

⁴⁾ *Test.*, 47.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Mut.*, 1, 7 ; *MotJuris*, 25, 41-45.

explanation of the large hoard found in his possession ; for he had come as a poor young man into his office, and even, according to the terms of the Founder's Will ¹⁾, he had been paid only half of the fees of the two other professors : the inference suggested evidently a claim to part of the money found in the room of the deceased for the only one of the original colleagues that had survived. The supposition was equivalent to a dire accusation of a man, who, throughout his life, had been most generously helpful to his Greek colleague on all occasions ²⁾, and certainly was so upright of character, that he would not have coveted a dime, even from an enemy, let alone from Rescius. Still greediness in so far possessed the latter, that, although he had not quite made up his mind how exactly he was going to formulate his claim ³⁾, he wanted, at any rate, to make sure of, at least, part of the tempting hoard : he entered the room of the deceased soon after the body had been taken away for the funeral, and removed the chest with valuables to abscond it in some secret corner of the *Trilingue*, pretending to take care of it for the benefit of the College.

C. THE RETRIBUTION

It is evident that such removing, for which Rescius must have had some helpers, could not remain a secret very long ; it certainly was severely judged by the numerous friends of Goclenius, who felt that a suspicion of his honesty was thus expressed by one who, for long, had been fully ignorant of the affairs of the College. For during fourteen years, nearly, Rescius had been a stranger to the life of the *Trilingue*, except for his lectures ; it looked very dubious that he now should try to uphold the College at the evident disadvantage of the heirs. Fortunately the interests of all the next-of-kin of the deceased were in the care of the Rector, according to the academical laws and traditions ; nor was it long before

¹⁾ *Test.*, 19.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 319, sq.

³⁾ It was only later on, after thoroughly examining the documents, that he called the heirs before the Court : cp. further, Ch. XXII.

Michael Drieux ordered his promoter to claim the chest, and to enjoin Rescius to produce it on pain of excommunication. As compliance with that injunction was refused, the Rector did not waste any time, but, at once, broke a secular custom, and requested the Louvain mayor to send his serjeants-at-arms to seize upon Rescius, and take him to prison. Rescius, who was just then at his lecture, showed that he was more impressed with the dread of imprisonment than with that of the excommunication, and he at once indicated the hiding-place, so that the chest was taken away there and then by the promoter, and placed under the Rector's own custody ¹).

Rescius' rash action had several unforeseen results. It happened that John Altenanus, the Louvain notary, who, on account of his German origin, was also called *Allemanus*, by confusion with his family name ²), had been appointed their procurator by the heirs, when they were informed of their brother's decease. Feeling that the rest of Goclenius' property was not at all in security in the College of which Rescius was administrator, he requested the Rector to allow him to have it taken away, especially since the *provisores* approved of that removal. The Rector refused, however, to grant that permission, and decided that the books and the other belongings were to remain in their places until the heirs should arrive ³).

¹) *MotJuris*, 11-12.

²) John Altenanus, or Allemanus, as he is called in the *Motivum Juris*, was a native of Altena, to the West of Waldeck, in Westphalia, where Goclenius was born at Mengerlinghausen, in the neighbourhood of Arolsen. He was at work as a notary in Louvain, and, as Goclenius' friend, he naturally was entrusted with the representation of the heirs, his countrymen. He probably had also to look after the interests of the Duke of Cleves and Jülich, and, as thus, he was well acquainted with Conrad of Heresbach, who, in the difficulty about Erasmus' money, wrote to recommend him to Boniface Amerbach : he himself mentioned Charles Harst and Vlatten : letters of October 28 and November 6, 1539 : *AmerMs.*, 111-117. His son, John, who became preceptor of Henry von der Recke, at the Court of Cleves, had some of Goclenius' books as late as 1554 : *MasE*, 174-75 ; he evidently was different from the Johann Voss, of Altena, who, already in 1554, was dean of Cleves and Canon at Xanten († March 9, 1563) : *MasE*, 175, 221, 287 ; cp. *sup.*, pp 545, 583.

³) *MotJuris*, 12.

The undue hiding of the precious chest, which, very likely, stirred tongues and imaginations, called to mind to many of Goclenius' intimate friends and pupils, that he had been entrusted with the distribution of a large part of Erasmus' fortune, which trust had not yet been carried out entirely : Lambertus Coomans, who had brought and taken messages on that account between the *Trilingue* and Basle, was probably still in Louvain to testify to it ¹⁾, and legacies, like that of two hundred Rhine florins to St. Peter's, although announced and promised by Goclenius, had never been paid out ²⁾, owing probably to overwork and to his dilatory character. No doubt, that question of right and justice was given due attention to, now that the treasure was in safety in the Rector's guard.

The surprising boldness shown by Rescius, who took the law in his own hands, and even refused acquiescing with the authoritative injunctions of the Rector, in so far that the latter had to resort to the otherwise objectionable interference of the civil power ³⁾, made it clear to the *provisores* that they could not any longer leave the management to a man who, in the very first days of his office, had shown himself unworthy of their trust, and who did not find even an upholder among the staff of the College ⁴⁾. They therefore hastened to appoint an actual president, their choice falling on James Edelheer, Licentiate in both Laws, who, at once, entered on his duties, in so far that the account of his administration started with the day after Goclenius' death, January 26, 1539 ⁵⁾, as if Rescius had never exercised any power at all.

*
* * *

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 394-400.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 393, *GocCor.*, 67, and Ch. XXI, 3.

³⁾ During the four centuries of its existence before the French Revolution, there had always been in the University of Louvain a strong opposition to any interference of the town authorities in her affairs, and above all in her jurisdiction on professors and students, like in all matters of discipline : cp. FUL, 345, 5531, 5637, and, even for the taxes, 5378-5392 ; also Vern., 43, sq, 53, sq ; VAnd., 49, 53, 55, &c ; *ULPrivCon.*, 2-20, 50, sq, 593-609.

⁴⁾ They agreed to the request of Altenanus about the removal of Goclenius' belongings : cp. before, p 591.

⁵⁾ *AccEdel.*, 1, r.

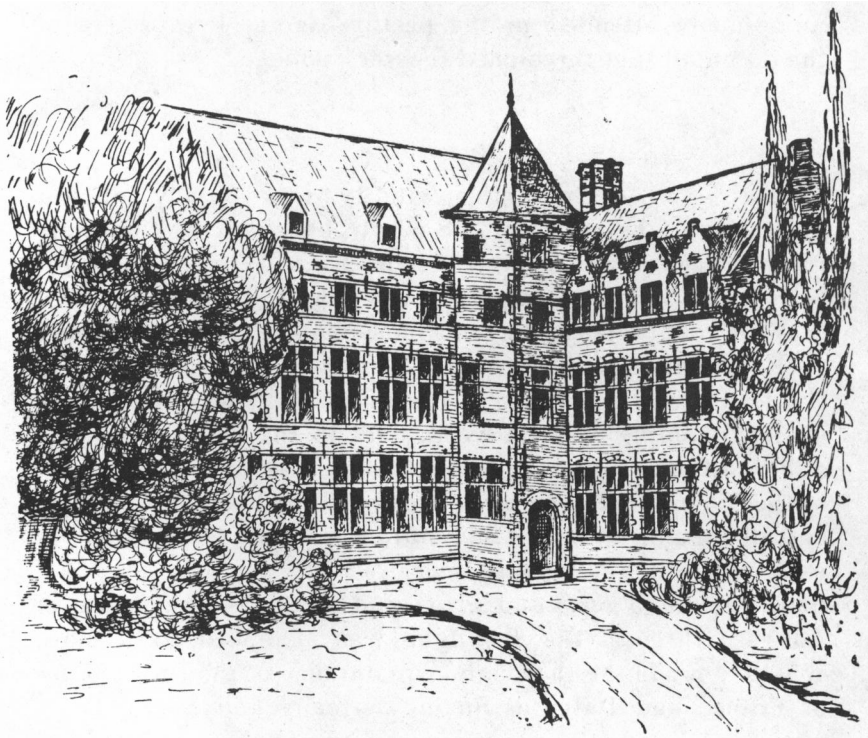
This xxth Chapter, and especially its closing part, sounds ominous for the *Trilingue* on account of the sad loss of the man who effectively was *Scholæ Princeps et Ornamentum*, and of the sudden defection of the oldest collaborator. Instead of bringing the news of Rescius' resipiscence, the next will have to relate the ignominy of his continuous efforts to ruin financially the very Institute that made and developed him into a valuable philologist. Yet, although in this distressing world of ours, generous efforts are not always victorious in the heartless struggle against blighting egoism and wolfish cupidity, the History of the *Trilingue* can book, for the next years, an uninterrupted ascent to success and prosperity : for the most effective teaching was regularly given and numerous attended in the Lecture-Room, irrespective of the downfall that threatened the very College.

That proof of invincible vitality was largely, if not exclusively, the result of the admirable work of Goclenius during twenty years, in which he not only realized in himself the ideal of a progressive professor, but even animated the work of his colleagues, so as to respond to the increasingly rising demands of the auditors. He was, in fact, the *Princeps*, the leader and promoter of the grand Institute by his irresistible example of ideal work, both to the other professors and to all his hearers, in so far that he was the *Ornamentum* of the School, and even made the *Trilingue* itself an exquisite embellishment of the *Alma Mater* and of the Nation. It explains how, a few years later, — when the seed sown had had the time to germ and grow and ripen, — the praise of Louvain through the *Trilingue* was enounced by a man, who had made the thorough acquaintance of the Universities of France and Italy, of Spain, Germany and England ¹⁾ :

¹⁾ Andrew Schott (cp. before, pp 278-79), writing, on May 5, 1581, to Plantin about the decease of two professors of the *Trilingue*, Cornelius Valerius van Auwater and Theodoricus Langius : PlantE, vi, 262-63.

‘Alibi quidem collegiis opes affluentiores; alibi fortasse studiosorum frequentior numerus, sed otiosorum. Est ubi singulæ disciplinæ uberius doceantur; at nusquam, credo, gentis humanitas maior, vel civium in litteratos vehementior affectus. Nusquam cæli clementia salubrior: nusquam omnes simul disciplinæ tanta diligentia fideque, reiectis quæ ad inanem ostentationem & sophisticen pertinent, docentur, quam LOVANII’.

THE END OF THE THIRD PART



View of the College from the garden (reconstruction by M. de Muynck, arch., 1935).

APPENDIX IV

GOCLENIUS' CORRESPONDENCE

A. LIST

- 1519**
1. Ant, May 21 : *f* Peter Gillis : Lecto carmine, quo *inf.*, p 599
- 1521**
2. And, June 8 : *f* Erasmus : Velim te meminisse A, iv, 1209
3. And, [July 5] : Eras. *t* More : Maiorem in modum A, iv, 1220¹⁾
4. Brg, Aug. 12 : *f* Erasmus : Equidem existimabam A, iv, 1223
- 1522**
5. Basle, Febr. 6 : *f* Erasmus : Amo profecto Melchiorum A, v, 1257
6. Basle, June 16 : *f* Erasmus : Accepi tuas literas A, v, 1292
7. Lv, June 26 : *t* Erasmus ²⁾ : Dii istis scelestissimis A, v, 1296
8. Tril. Lv, Oct. 29 : *t* More : Oppido me pudet *inf.*, p 600
9. Ld [, Nov.] : *f* More : Misit ad me pridem *inf.*, p 601
- 1523**
10. Basle, Sept. 25 : *f* Erasmus : Quum per Hilarium A, v, 1388
- 1524**
11. Basle, April 2 : *f* Erasmus : 'Αναγίνωσκε μόνος ³⁾ A, v, 1437
12. Basle, Oct. 13 : *f* Erasmus : Franciscus Berckman ⁴⁾ A, v, 1507
13. Basle, Oct. 15⁵⁾ : *f* Erasmus : Emoriar ni quod A, vii, 1890

Abbrev. : cp. p 614, & *f*(rom), *t*(o), A(l)len, And(erlecht), Gabb(ema).

¹⁾ By that letter, ll 10-52, Erasmus introduced Goclenius to Thomas More; cp. before, pp 551-53.

²⁾ Addressed, for safety, to 'Jo. Decimarius, Constantiæ' : *sup.* p 548.

³⁾ Cp. about this famous *Epistola Secretissima*, and the trouble it caused with Eppendorf, HutE, II, 403-6; Enders, iv, 92; *ErasLaur.*, I, 392, sq, 459; and before, p 548.

⁴⁾ By this letter Erasmus constituted Goclenius as his deputy to have a debt owing by Francis Berckman settled; it is followed in (Merula's and) P. Scriverius' *Magni Des. Erasmi Vita* (Leyden, 1607), by the act transferring that same debt to Campensis, who, as already mentioned, was moving about much more than Goclenius, and may even have desired it as a means to obtain some books from Berckman : cp. before, II, 307-8, 614; probably the two documents were unduly joined.

⁵⁾ This letter, dated 'Lovanii, Id. Octobr. Anno c15 10 xxvii' in *Era-Vita*, 196-98, most probably belongs to that month-date of 1524, and was, no doubt, written in Basle : cp. before, II, 301-10, showing the necessity of that change.

- 1525 ¹⁾
 14. Basle [c. Oct.] : f Erasmus : Hic Thomas Greuy A, vi, 1641
- 1526
 15. *Tril.* Lv, Nov. 12 : t Erasmus : Quod hoc tempore A, vi, 1765
 16. Lv, Dec. 10 : t Erasmus : Quod nuper diuinabam A, vi, 1768
- 1527
 17. Lv, Jan. 13 : : t Erasmus : Cum Franc. Berckmann. A, vi, 1778
 18. Lv, Aug. 18 : t Erasmus : Franciscum Dillfum A, vii, 1857
 19. Lv, Nov. 7 : t Erasmus : Animum tuum erga A, vii, 1899
- 1528
 20. Jena, March 23 : f Melanchthon Melo, i, 947 ²⁾
 21. Lv, May 10 : t Erasmus ³⁾ : Iamdudum magnopere A, vii, 1994a
 22. *Tril.* Lv, May 11 : t Hoxvirius ⁴⁾ : Ex epistola tua Gabb, 517
 23. Lv, Aug. 16 : t Erasmus : Per Cannium nihil A, vii, 2026
 24. Lv, Oct. 7 : t Erasmus : Vix tuis literis A, vii, 2063
- 1529
 25. Lv, Sept. 15 : f Resendius ⁵⁾ : ResendO, 13-5
 26. Chelsea, Nov. 12 : f More : Eruditionis laudem MorE, 180 ⁶⁾
- 1530
 27. Lv, July 14 : t Erasmus : Scripsit ad me A, viii, 2352
 28. Lv, Aug. 28 : t Erasmus ⁷⁾ : Incredibilis est A, ix, 2369
- 1531
 29. Lv, Febr. 13 : f Resendius ⁸⁾ : ResendO, 26-7
 30. *Tril.* Lv, Apr. 27 : t J. Dantiscus : DantE, 121 ⁹⁾

¹⁾ In the beginning of 1525, Goclenius wrote to Vives, who was then in Oxford, that the rumour about Erasmus' death was unfounded, as Vives related to Cantuincula on March 10, 1525: *MonHL*, 55-57.

²⁾ Cp. *MeLEcle.*, 419; *Cran.*, 139, d; FG, 361; and before, p 556.

³⁾ Cp. Allen, vii, 1994, 69-86; *MonHL*, 469.

⁴⁾ Goclenius rejoices in the gratitude of his devoted old pupil Hector, and promises to take care of his brother Ausonius or Aesgon: cp. before, II, 163-66, 453-55.

⁵⁾ Dedication of *Encomium Vrbis & Academiae Lovaniensis*: printed as sequel to Dantiscus' *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva*: Antwerp, J. Grapheus, 1530: *NijKron.*, i, 683; *ResendO*, i, 15-21; cp. *sup.*, II, 395-96.

⁶⁾ The letter mentions the presence in England of two old students of Goclenius, the ambassador Christopher Carlowitz (cp. *sup.*, II, 390-93) and Erasmus' amanuensis Quirinus Talesius (*sup.*, II, 493-94, 488-501).

⁷⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 510.

⁸⁾ The letter is a dedication to Goclenius of the poem *Des. Erasmi Encomium*: *ResendO*, 26-27, 28-42; *ErasPort.*, 29; and before, II, 397.

⁹⁾ Goclenius expresses his joy at having made Dantiscus' acquaintance, and offers to him the original portrait of Erasmus by Holbein, instead of the copy promised; he joins to it a carved image of the Emperor: cp. before, pp 562, sq; *MonHL*, 420; *Hipler*, 481.

31. Lv, May [12]	: t J. Dantiscus :	DantE, 127 ¹⁾
32. Lv, June 2	: t J. Dantiscus :	DantE, 132 ²⁾
33. Lv, June 21	: f Resendius : (Res gestæ in India) ³⁾	ResendO, Ccl, r
34. Lv, Aug. 16	: t J. Dantiscus :	DantE, 154 ⁴⁾
35. Lv, Nov. 23	: t Erasmus : Animum tuum in	A, ix, 2573
36. Lv, Dec. 2	: t J. Dantiscus :	DantE, 181 ⁵⁾
37. Frb, Dec. 14	: f Erasmus : Censuris Sorbonicis	A, ix, 2587
1532		
38. Lv, Jan. 21	: t J. Dantiscus :	DantE, 188 ⁶⁾
39. Lv, Jan. 26	: t J. Aleander : Joannes Dordrac.	Brom, II, 33 ⁷⁾
40. Lv, Febr. 22	: t Vulcanius : Næ tu homo es	inf., p 602
41. Camb, [March]	: f Vulcanius : Modestiæ rectius	inf., p 603
42. Frb, May 3	: f Erasmus : Agunt hic duo	A, x, 2644
1533		
43. Lv, Febr. 4	: t Hoxvirius ⁸⁾ : Paulus Veriensis	Gabb, 519
44. Lv, July 26	: t Erasmus : Oblectauit sese ⁹⁾	A, x, 2851

¹⁾ Goclenius rejoices in having pleased Dantiscus by Erasmus' portrait, of which he will try to find the exact date. He announces his visit, and requests a 'leadene' medal of his protector, whose message he has given to Clenard : cp. before, p 562 ; *MonHL*, 420 ; Hipler, 483.

²⁾ Goclenius hears with pleasure that, through Dantiscus, de Schepper is entrusted with an embassy ; he will ask his friend Holbein for another portrait of Erasmus, so that Dantiscus can choose ; he repeats his request for a leadene cast of Dantiscus' medal : cp. before, pp 562, sq, 557-58 ; *MonHL*, 420.

³⁾ Resendius inscribes to Goclenius his *Epitome Rerum Gestarum in India a Lusitanis, anno superiori...* m. d. xxx (Louvain, S. Zassenus, July 1531), arranged as a letter to his former master : cp. before, II, 397 ; *Nijkron.*, I, 1792.

⁴⁾ Goclenius excuses his delay, and sends thanks through de Schepper for Dantiscus' interference, and for recommending him to Valdes for the Hougaerde prebend : cp. before, pp 97, sq, 563.

⁵⁾ Goclenius thanks Dantiscus for his present and his intercession with Valdes ; he pleads for Campensis in his illness, and will do what he can to make him accept the offer : cp. before, pp 180, sq ; Hipler, 490.

⁶⁾ Goclenius suggests prudence and preventing Resendius' attack on Vives and his criticism, either by suppressing the libel, or, at least, by changing the name, e. g., into *L. Chariteus Gurdus* : cp. before, p 564, and II, 401 ; he hopes for the Hougaerde prebend. Cp. Hipler, 492.

⁷⁾ The original is in the Vatican Library, MS. Lat. 6199, f. 91 ; cp. *Aléandre*, 361. — Goclenius recommends one of his students for the case Aleander still wants a secretary ; he requests a reply, and promises to write to Erasmus what has been suggested : cp. before, pp 32, 555.

⁸⁾ Goclenius thanks Hector, also his friends Hompen and Cammingha, and sends news : cp. II, 15, and before, p 555.

⁹⁾ Whilst Mary of Hungary is hunting in Soignes Forest, Olah stays with Goclenius at the *Trilingue*.

45. Frb, Aug. 28	: f Erasmus ¹⁾	: Vt aliquod habeas	A, x, 2863
46. Frb, Nov. 7	: f Erasmus ²⁾	: Quo modo te saluto?	A, x, 2876
1534			
47. Lv, Jan. 2	: t N. Olah ³⁾	: Non solum boni	OlaE, 438
48. Brs, Jan. 15	: f N. Olah	: Non possum non	OlaE, 444
49. Lv, March 15	: t J. Froben	: Remitto tandem omnia	inf., p 605
50. Lv, March 28	: t N. Olah	: Scio me impudenter	OlaE, 484
51. Lv, June 10	: t D. a Goes ⁴⁾	: Siccine tu, mi	inf., p 606
52. Lv, July 24	: t J. Dantiscus		DantE, 290 ⁵⁾
1535			
53. Lv, Febr. 25	: t Erasmus	: Proximis nundinis	A, xi, 2998
54. Lv, Aug. 10	: t Erasmus ⁶⁾	: Binas literas tuas	A, xi, 3037
55. Basle, Sept. 2	: f Erasmus	: Balthasar Austriacus	A, xi, 3052
56. Lv, Sept. 28	: t Erasmus ⁷⁾	: Balthasar a Kienring	A, xi, 3061
1536			
57. Lv, March 21	: t Erasmus	: Raritatem literarum	A, xi, 3111
58. Basle, June 28	: f Erasmus ⁸⁾	: Scribe, inquis, Cancellario	A, xi, 3130
59. Lv, July 12	: t D. a Goes ⁹⁾	: Tuis literis, mi D.	inf., p 607
60. Lv, Aug. 19	: t B. Amerbach ¹⁰⁾	: Mortem Erasmi nostri	A, x, p 410
61. Basle, Sept. 1	: f B. Amerbach ¹¹⁾	: Quod autem τοῦ	A, x, p 423
62. Lv, Nov. 10	: t N. Olah	: Nescio quis genius	OlaE, 594
63. Speyer, Dec. 17	: f Viglius	: Ad literas tuas	inf., p 609
1537			
64. Lv, June 1	: t N. Olah ¹²⁾	: Athilam tuum cum	OlaE, 599
1538			
65. Lv, Sept. 1	: f Alard of Amst.	: Quemadmodum agricola	inf., p 610

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 385-88, and further, Ch. XXI, 3, v, for the money entrusted to Goclenius, for which he sent a receipt on Sept. 17, 1533. This letter was found in 1539 amongst Goclenius' papers, and sent to Bon. Amerbach by the University on Oct. 15, 1539.

²⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 49-50.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 556.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 556; *MonHL*, 619.

⁵⁾ Goclenius thanks for message through Daniel Mauch, and especially for the Hougaerde Canonry obtained; he sends news of Gemma, Campensis and Erasmus: cp. before, p 564; Hipler, 508.

⁶⁾ Goclenius sends, by Lambert Coomans, the news of the death of Fisher and of More: *ActaMori*, 23-25; and before, p 554.

⁷⁾ Goclenius sends the narrative of More's death: *ActaMori*, 37, sq.

⁸⁾ Erasmus' last letter.

⁹⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 619.

¹⁰⁾ *BbBasle*, MS. G². II, 67, 52.

¹¹⁾ *BbBasle*, 'Erasmuslade', C. f. 14, v.

¹²⁾ Cp. before, p 561.

66. Basle, April 7	Amerbach to Louv. Univ.	A, x, p 412
67. Lv, Aug. 4	G. Loyden to Mary of Hungary	<i>inf.</i> , p 612
68. Basle, Oct. 2	Amerbach to Louv. Univ.	A, x, p 414
69. Lv, Oct. 15	Louv. Univ. to Amerbach	A, x, p 414
70. Lv, Oct. 28	John Altenanus to Amerbach	A, x, p 417
71. < > Nov. 6	C. Heresbach to Amerbach	A, x, p 421
72. Basle, c Nov. 16	Amerbach to Louv. Univ.	A, x, p 416
73. Basle, Dec. 2	Amerbach to Louv. Univ.	A, x, p 416
74. Basle, Dec. 2	Amerbach to Altenanus	A, x, p 420
75. Basle, Dec. 2	Amerbach to Heresbach	A, x, p 422

B. TEXTS

1. PETER GILLIS TO GOCLENIUS

Hodæporicon (May 1519), f e 2, v

Antwerp,
May 21, 1519

PETRVS AEGIDIUS ¹⁾ CONRADO GOCLENIO S. D.

Lecto carmine, quo lucubrationum Erasmicarum indicem
texas, non potui non adamare tuam indolem non tantum
quod argumento fauerem, verum multo magis, quod inge-
nium & eruditionem raram admirarer. Primum quam
5 splendide reddis carmine, quæ ne in soluta quidem oratione
solent habere dignitatem, deinde quo artificio connectis
res tam multas inter se non cohærentes. Vt fluit inaffectedus
sermo, nusquam salebrosus, nusquam inani verborum
congerie lectorem onerans. Hæc sanum arguunt ingenium,
10 quodque tibi sit in manu. Quænam huius regionis maligni-
tas, sibi ipsi inuidenti? Talia ingenia domi cum habemus
negligimus, imo deprimimus, & e longinquo accersimus

¹⁾ Aegidius] Antwerp town secretary : cp. before, II, 66-67.

1. lucubrationum] viz., '*Lucubrationum Erasmicarum Elenchus per Conradum Goclenium Vuestphalum liberalium artium professorem*': it was added to a reprint of *Helii Eobani Hessi Hodæporicon*, which had been published in Erfurt, January 1519, in result of a visit of two fervent Humanists, Eobanus Hessus and John von Werter, to Erasmus and the *Trilingue*, in the autumn of 1518 : cp. II, 31-35. The pamphlet was reproduced in Louvain by Th. Martens in May 1519, and the *Lucubrationes*, as well as this letter and some poems, were added : ff e 3, r-g 2, r ; cp. II, 35, 36, and before, p 542 ; NijKron., I, 764.

poetastros, aut rhetorculos, quos non ob aliud admiramur, nisi quod exotici sint. Quod perinde est, ac si medicus cum
 15 in horto domestico herbas habeat efficaciores, malit tamen easdem deteriores ex Arabia aduectas magno emere. Nec dubito quin multos tui similes habeat Louanium felix, ni suis bonis inuideret. Tametsi malum hoc, paucorum morbo reor imputandum, quorum contagium plures, vt fit, inficit.
 20 Si principibus nostris vel is animus esset qui mihi, vel iudicium idem, Goclenius inauraretur etiam. Mei versus mihi displicere ceperunt, posteaquam ad tuos contuli. Bene vale Gocleni charissime.

Antuerpiæ, xii. Calendas Iunias. An. M. D. XIX.

8. GOCLENIUS TO THOMAS MORE

Hermotimus, 1522 : a 1, v-a 4, v¹)

Trilingue, Louvain,
 October 29, 1522

CONRADUS GOCLENIUS CLARISSIMO VIRO THOMAE MORO,
 SERENISSIMI REGIS ANGLORUM A THESAURIS, SALUTEM DICIT
 PLURIMAM.

<Goclenius excuses a long silence, which he had wished to break by more than a mere letter : > Gestiebat animus non epistola tantum, verum maiori aliqua literarum tessera, amicitiam tecum auspicari. Iamque in id toto pectore incubueram, vt dispicerem quippiam, quod instar arrabonis esset initæ recens amicitiae, et perpetuae meæ in te symbolum obseruantiae... Deprecaturus igitur culpam diutini silentii, misi ad te Luciani Samosatensis *Hermotimum*... quem ego, ingenii et styli exercendi gratia, e Græco in Latinum sermonem conuertii¹). <The occasion of the version and the argument are explained ; the result is offered to More : > Tu vero, mi More, suscipe hilari vultu hunc libellum tibi inscriptum, mnemosynon noui amici, sed qui officio, amore, et obseruantia nulli veterum sit concessurus. Vale.

Louanii e Collegio Trilingui, quarto calendas Nouembres, Anno Christi Millesimo quingentesimo Vicesimo secundo³).

19 quorum| r might be a t

19 fit| possibly sit

¹) Dedication of Goclenius' *Luciani Hermotimus* : Louvain, Th. Martens, 1522 (Iseghem 324; NijKron, II, 3446) : cp. sup. pp 542-3; MorE, 112.

²) MorE, 112, 32-36, 40-44.

³) MorE, 112, 173-78.

9. THOMAS MORE TO GOCLENIUS

Brussels Original Manuscript ¹⁾London,
[November 1522]Goclenio ²⁾.

Misit ad me pridem petrus meus Egidius Lucianicum Hermotimum, Gocleni doctissime, a te uersum et nomini meo dicatum. Quem cum acciperem ualde sum equidem delectatus et tua in me humanitate et operis tum festiuitate
 5 tum stili elegantia in quo mihi uideris etiam cum greco perquam feliciter certare. Quocirca nihil me fefellit Erasmus noster cuius illustri et crebra de tua uirtute et doctrina predicatione prius mihi factus es charus quam notus. Jam uero postquam hoc accessit tanquam tuæ uicissim erga me
 10 charitatis ac beneuolentiæ pignus nec sane ob ullum meritum meum, etsi ante sic te dilexi ut supra non posse mihi uiderer, tamen nescio quo modo illi priori erga te amoris meo cumulum non exiguum accreuisse sentio. Itaque effeci tuis eruditis lucubrationibus alijs quoque apud nos complu-
 15 ribus ostensis ut plures preterea hic amicos habeas ac admiratores ingenij tui. Ego autem si quid usu uenerit in quo uel tibi uel tuorum ulli gratificari aut commodare potero, declarabo quam mihi fuerit officium erga me tuum gratum et iucundum.

20 Vale, charissime Gocleni : mei omnes plurimam tibi salutem ab se ascribi rogarunt.

Londini.

Tuus quantulus est

Thomas Morus

Eruditissimo bonarum literarum professori, Conrado Goclenio, Louanij.

4. humanitate] after *it* erga me *is* crossed off

¹⁾ Archives of the Realm, Brussels : *Varia Soc. Jesu*, n° 20 ; cp. *Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique*, II, (1904) : 352, 10. It is reproduced in MoreE, 113 ; cp. before, pp 542-43, 553. The letter is entirely in More's hand.

²⁾ Written on left top corner in a different hand ; in fact the address is part of the first sentence.

1. Egidius] cp. *GocCor.*, 1.

2. Hermotimum] cp. *GocCor.*, 8, and before, p 543.

40. GOCLENIUS TO PETER VULCANIUS ¹⁾

Leyden MS. Vulc. 105, II, r

Louvain,
February 22 [, 1532] ²⁾

Næ tu homo es bene meticulosus, qui tam solícite velut
pendeas animj, ne me tuæ literæ offenderint. Jmo tu mihi
uidere non recte de animo in te meo iudicare qui id in
animum inducas tuum. Sed ut omíssa expostulatione omnj
5 rem tibi ipsam paucis dicam : hoc tibi persuade magnum
cumulum amorj in te meo accessisse posteaquam intellexi
officijs tuis te hero esse quam charissimum ; quamobrem
siquid nostj in quo gratum facere queam, vtere mea opera
liberaliter. Cogitaque non ideo me minus amare, quod
10 rarius scribo, sed ita obruj et domesticis officijs et non
effugiendis laboribus, ut cogar ferre non tantum in epis-
tolis istis officiosis desyderarj ab amicis operam meam, sed
plerumque etiam in necessarijs.

Bene vale, mi Petre carissime, et me tuo Patrono etiam
15 atque etiam commendato. Louanij octauo Calendas Mar-
tiales.

Tuus ex animo
Conradus Goclenius

Erudito Juuenj Petro Vulcanjo
Camberonæ

4. tuum] added over the line

19-20 Address on reverse

¹⁾ Peter de Smet, Vulcanius, of Bruges : cp. *Cran.*, 241, b-c ; II, 182-84 ; and before, pp 27, 488 ; Allen, ix, 2460, pr ; VulcE, 5, 131, 274, sq, 489-94, &c.

²⁾ The original letter has no year-date : still it is clearly 1532 : for Vulcanius' reply mentions the near at hand, or very recent, leave of Campensis, who accompanied Dantiscus on his return to Germany in the first days of March 1532 : cp. *GocCor.*, 41, 28-30.

14. tuo Patrono] Peter de Smet, Vulcanius, of Bruges, after studying at the *Trilingue*, was, for a time, preceptor to Charles Blount, son of William, Lord Mountjoy, thanks to the recommendation of Erasmus, with whom he had staid for some time in Basle.

20. Camberonæ] that name would suggest the town Camborn, in the most Western corner of Cornwall, if the great distance and the absence of all proof of connection with the Mountjoy family did not discourage

41. PETER VULCANIUS TO GOCLENIUS

Leyden MS. Vulc. 105, II, v ¹)

[Cambron, March 1532]

Conrado Go[clenius] ²)

Modestiae rectius tribuisses meum metum quam aut diffidentiae aut inq[uietudin]e : fieri enim potest ut vel clementissimis hominum importunitate quapiam vel scribere <responsum ad> reddendis literas, graue sit aut molestum quod ⁵ alias solet es[se] gratissimum. At qualesquales tandem literae illae fuere, placent eo impensius quod amicas illas literas ab amicissimo viro extorserint. Quid enim aut

² inq[uietudin]e the right hand top corner is torn off

³⁻⁴ <...> id.

⁵ es[se] id.

⁵ gratissimum] after it is added consuerat

⁷ amicissimo &c] in the left

margin is added : Quis enim non credet amico tam candido adiuuandisque studiosis adolescentibus nato ?

that identification. It is much more likely that the famous Cistercian Abbey of Cambron, near Mons, is meant : E. de Moreau, *Hist. de l'Église de Belgique*, III : Brussels, 1945 : 397, 400, 405, &c ; Pirenne, I, 295 ; &c. It is quite possible that Vulcanius staid at that famous sanctuary on a visit, maybe with his ward, whose father had been bailiff of Tournai, 1514-17 : *DNB* : cp. I, 313, sq, II, 182-83, 366, 490-93, 495 ; before, pp 254, 552 ; *Cran.*, II, 241, b, 242, a, &c ; *MonHL*, 9, sq, 48-50, &c ; Allen, I, 79, pr, VII, 2023, pr. — Peter Vulcanius abandoned his preceptorship in the last months of 1532, or the first weeks of 1533, when he was appointed Pensionary of his native town, for which Erasmus congratulated him on April 20, 1533 : *Cran.*, 241, c ; Allen, x, 2794, 12-17. By 1551, he was invested with that same office at Middelburg : cp. before, p 488.

¹) This reply to GocCor., 40, is written on the back of Goclenius' letter to Vulcanius : the writing of II 1 to 27 is most careless, being jotted down so as to serve as a rough draught ; in many places parts of the sentence are found over the line ; in others the text has been written out over what had been put down at first : several of those alterations between the lines, have been left unfinished as if they failed to please more than the original wording. — For this text and the variants added, the editor humbly requests the reader's indulgence : what after a long and careful testing of the puzzling preliminary sketch has been found to be most likely the author's arrangement, is given *in bona fide*. The lines 28 to 30 are very clear : they were written at foot of the page, in inverted order, by Vulcanius — or at any rate by a hand different from that of Goclenius.

²) The name is written at foot of the bulk of the reply, lower than the last words of l 27, although more to the left.

1. meum metum] cp. GocCor., 40, 1 : bene meticulosus.

6. literae] evidently the letter to which GocCor., 40, is the reply.

pulchrius studioso iuueni aut suauius in vita obtingere potest quam fauor & beneuolentia doctissimorum virorum ?
 10 Non tamen eo spectant nostræ epistolæ vt de animo in me tuo sim dubitaturus, nisi eum mutuis quoque literis aperias; sed quo magis summum erga te amorem demonstrent; neque vero aliud spectare potest Vulcanius, qui, si posset, ne dubita, quin omnium gratissimum fores expectaturus. Alia nonnulla scribenda fuerant; at non tulit temporis angustia. Dignius tamen quoque erat verboso, magniloquio dicam, encomio : nam veras tuas laudes vix vlla superauerit oratio, nisi et te illibenter tuas laudes audire scirem, & me haud lubentius quempiam apud sese predicare; quare non metuo vt hac in re oscitantiam nostram sis egre laturus. Hoc vnum superest vt nihil amori in me tuo patiaris dispendere, quod accreuisse nonnihil dicas : norunt Superi an iucundum fuerit Vulcanio : fuit certe iucundissimum officium habere tandem. In faciendo officio
 25 munifex obediens totus sum. At si quid ad cumulum illum, quem dixistj, addj potest, aut addas ilico, aut quo id pacto impetrarj queat significes. Vale mi Conra.

D. T. Camp. meo nomine valere iubebis : orabo ego obnixè Christum vt felix illi sit sua peregrinatio tam
 30 honesta ratione suscepta.

10 eo spectant &c] *over those words is written* : crede mihi si quam scribam epistolam
 10 de animo &c] *over the line* animj beneuolentiæ in me tuæ signum exigatur
 12 sed quo &c] *in the left margin* sed quo magis hisce pectoris perstet amoris inditium, repeated with little change below
 16 magniloquio dicam] *over the line*
 19 scirem] *over it* aut scissem
 28-30 D. T./suscepta] *at foot of page, but in inverse order, and in fine, clear writing*
 29 Christum] *before is crossed off* superos omneis

25. ad cumulum] Goclenius had written : magnum cumulum amorj in te meo accessisse : *GocCor.*, 40, 6.

28. Camp.] namely, John Campensis, the former Hebrew professor, who left Brabant in the first days of March 1532, in the train of Dantis-cus, so as to have his *Psalmorum Interpretatio* printed in Germany, and to be able to interview the great Hebraist Elias Levita : cp. before, pp 179, sq, 190, sq.

29. tam honesta ratione] Campensis had taken as aim of his studies the solving of the many difficulties in the Bible text, so as to help and bring real peace to the Christian world, and, more especially, lead back to the unity of the Church Melanchthon and all his followers : cp. before, pp 160, sq, 179, sq.

49. GOCLENIUS TO JEROME FROBEN

BbBasle, MS G¹. II, 66 : 348.Louvain,
March 15, 1534

Salutem plurimam.

Remitto tandem omnia tum Institutionum Oratoriarum tum Declamationum, tum etiam commentariorum exemplaria, doleoque vehementer quod animum tuum illorum desyderio torserim : quod nulla alia causa factum est, quam quod non sim ausus tantos thesauros nisi per certum aliquem ad te remittere. Cum eos abs te peterem, fuit animus aliquid in publicam vtilitatem elaborare ; sed interea me sic exercuerunt fortunæ, nihil relinquentes ocij, ut proposito nequiverim satisfacere. Quod si quis est isthic qui edendi fabij prouinciam velit suscipere, suppeditabo Altercationes Quintilianj, quarum Agricola meminit libro secundo Inuentionis dialecticæ, capite duodecimo, et libri tertij capite 15. Jtem Annotationes Pomponij Læti in Institutiones Oratorias, quanquam codex ille vetustus quem nuper ad te remisi, facile omnium annotationes superat, et velutj reddito sole omnium nebulas dispellit, ac diuinationis vanitatem arguit. Sed illud deplorandum est tot libros integros, ac tantas portiones quibusdam præterea in locis deesse.

Nusquam tamen maior medicina, quam ex illo narthecio poterit adhiberi Quintiliano, quanquam in Agricolaῦ ἀπογράφῳ non parum multa sunt restituta vulnera, sed delio natatore opus est, et subacto iudicio quod non protinus

1. Remitto &c] there seems hardly any trace of the projected edition of Quintilian by Goclenius in Erasmus' correspondence : the request by the Louvain professor, the sending of the documents from Basle, and the announcement of the abandonment of the plan, must have been conveyed by the amanuenses plying regularly between Brabant and Basle or Freiburg.

10. fabij] evidently M. Fabius Quintilianus.

13. Pomponij Lætij] Giulio Sanseverino Pomponio Leto (1425-1498), disciple of Lorenzo Valla, was as the leading spirit of the Roman humanists, and from his lectures started the Roman Academy. He brought out the *editio princeps* of Varro and Curtius, 1471, as well as annotated editions of various authors, Quintilian amongst them. Cp. Sandys, II, 92, sq, 97, 103, 114, 156, 491 ; Symonds, 359-62, 33, 161.

21-22 MS : in Agricola ἀπογράφῳ.

23. delio natatore] cp. Delius Natator : *ErAdag.*, 234, c.

omnia conuerrat, sed ex omnibus adhibito delectu optima
 25 quæque seligat : cuiusmodi ingenia tibi scio non deesse in
 felicissima ista Germania. De libris mihj dono mīssis
 maximam habeo, studeboque aliquando referre vel inuita
 fortuna. Bene vale.

Louanij, Idibus Martij Anno dñj M. D. xxxiiij.

30 Saluta Episcopium cui non minus quam tibi sum
 obnoxius.

Conradus Goclenius

Insigni viro Hieronymo Frobenio typographo
 Basiliensi aut Nicolao Episcopo
 Francfordiæ aut Basileæ

51. GOCLENIUS TO DAMIAN A GOES

GoesO, c 2, v-c 3, v ¹)

Louvain,
 June 10, 1534

CONRADUS GOCLENIUS DAMIANO A GOES S. P.

Siccine tu, — mi Damiane humanissime, — te proripis e
 Friburgo uelut canis e Nilo? & Erasmum nostrum, qui te
 non minore omnium disciplinarum cultu ornare potuit,
 quam ipse Nilus totam Aegyptum fœcundat, tam repente
 5 deserere in animum inducis? præsertim cum sitim discendi
 nondum expleueris. Quid autem tota Italia tibi præstare
 poterit, quod non multo cumulatiùs suppeditet unus Eras-
 mus? Nec te aliud iudicare certo scio, ac animo sane quam
 dolente causam mutandæ sedis tibi iucundissimæ intellexi.
 10 Dij autem superi & inferi malis exemplis perdant illos
 crocodilos, hyenas, & aspides, qui uirulentis linguis a tam
 optata conditione, quam per tot pericula petiisti te extru-
 dunt.

Patauij neminem habeo, cui te uelim commendare. Quod
 15 si apud Patauios te ulla commendatione indigere arbitraris,

27 habeo] gratiam *is no doubt forgotten*

33-35 on the reverse side

¹) Cp. before, pp 555-56, for the circumstances which inspired this letter.

2. uelut canis e Nilo] *ErAdag.*, 361, c.

est tibi ad manum nostri seculi Liuius, qui te non solum Patauinis, sed quotquot sunt per uniuersum orbem, uiris doctis facile commendatissimum efficere possit. Porro gratiam habeo maximam, ac pro indubitato coniunctissimi
 20 animi interpretor argumento, quod me de rebus tuis omnibus certiore reddere uoluisti. Gratius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquæ. In cæteris non dubito, quin ita sis attemperaturus studia tua, ne de nihilo conditionem apud florentissimum Regem, ut uulgas putat beatissimam, & multis tam
 25 optatam philologiæ & sapientiæ amore deseruisse uidearis. Oroque, ut si quando dabitur opportunitas, me etiam de reliquo peregrinationis tuæ certiore facias. Item si quid boni habes de Resendio nostro, nihil maiore cum uoluptate audiemus. Bene uale.

30 Louanij, 10. Iunij, Anno 1534.

59. GOCLENIUS TO DAMIAN A GOES

GoesO, c 4 v, -d 1 v ¹⁾

Louvain,
 July 12, 1536

CONRADUS GOCLENIUS DAMIANO A GOES S. P. D.

Tuis literis, — mi Damiane, — nihil potuit neque optabilius neque iucundius accidere, quæ ueluti oculis subiecerunt, mihi iam olim perspectum animi tui candorem, quo haud scio an unquam in uita repererim quicquam magis exoscu-
 5 landum. Verum illud unum mihi fuit acerbissimum, quod tibi rem honestissimam postulanti obsecundare ac morem gerere non potui, cum nulli mortalium æque cupiam grati-

¹⁾ The occasion of the writing of this letter has been referred to before, pp 242-43.

16. nostri seculi Livius] viz., Erasmus, who then was preparing a new edition of Livius (*EraBib.*, II, 39), which J. Froben brought out in 1535 (*in fol.*) On November 11, 1534, Bembo replied to Erasmus about a request of the printer Froben then at work at it, and announces that he will help, and look after, Goes : GoesO, c 3, v ; Allen, XI, 2975, 1-24.

21. Gratius &c] Ovid, *de Ponte*, III, 5, 18.

24. Regem] viz., John III, who transformed the schools of Coimbra into a university, taking the *Trilingue* as model : cp. *sup.*, pp 59, 372.

28. Resendio] Cp. II, 395-403.

ficari, uel potius pro ingentibus beneficijs referre gratiam,
 quam uni tibi, cuius amicitiam inter prima bona soleo
 10 commemorare. Obstant pacta nobis a primordio cum Aca-
 demia inita, quibus certus numerus conuictorum præscri-
 bitur, quem egredi nobis nullo modo licet. Franciscus
 autem Houerus ad Barlandum quam ad Rutgerum nostrum
 uidebatur propensior, posteaquam apud nos non erat locus,
 15 in qua re non habui cur illi repugnarem, præsertim cum
 diceret se agere e tuo præscripto. Accersam interim aliquo-
 ties tuum nepotem ad me, ut uideam quid promoueat in
 literis, additis calcaribus si uideatur indigere; quanquam
 in ea re Barlandum suo officio reor non defuturum, ego
 20 tamen nullam occasionem declarandi gratissimi animi
 mihi omittendam existimo. Id quod cumulatissime intelliges
 si quid unquam a me petas quod in meo uersetur foro.

Splinthero & Politæ conuictum tuum ex animo gratulor,
 ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοιον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοιον. Tua grauitate,
 25 modestia, ac singulari prudentia spero illis non mediocre
 incrementum ad naturæ industriæque studium, quo ad
 optima quæque contendunt, tua consuetudine & exemplo
 accessurum. Si tantum spatij dabit nuncius, scribam etiam
 ad illos, sin minus, tu obsecro in amicis salutandis mihi
 30 esto loco epistolæ, ac feliciter uale.

Louanij, Iulij 12. Anno 1536.

13. Houerus] Francis de Houwer (cp. before, p 243) had met Goes in Italy (cp. before, p 60), and had probably been requested to take care of the instruction of the *nepos* : l 16.

13. Barlandum] cp. before, pp 530-33.

13. Rutgerum] evidently Rescius.

23. Splinthero] Goes met Splinter van Hargen in Padua : cp. before, p 61 ; on his return to the Netherlands he married his sister Jane : their father Andrew, Lord of Oosterwyck, was an Imperial Councillor in The Hague ; their mother Catherine Suys, an aunt of Peter Suys : cp. before, 55, 61, II, 376-78 ; *MonHL*, 689.

23. Politæ] Joachim Polites, Borgher : cp. II, 475-77, 443, 577, 597-98, and before, pp 55, 61.

24. ὡς &c] *Odyssey*, P, 218 ; cp. *ErAdag.*, 80, B.

63. VIGLIUS TO GOCLENIUS

VigIEB, 34 ¹⁾Speyer,
December 17, 1536

Ad literas tuas, quas Carolus harstus abs te mihi attulit, Gocleni doctissime, raptim nuper per Danielem Mauchium respondi, qui omnino ut ad te scriberem voluit. Nunc vero cum ipse Carolus isthuc redeat, quem mihi diligentissime
 5 antea commendasti, non potui non aliquo rursus epistolio multam tibi conprecari salutem, et illum abeuntem rogare ut commendatione mei tuam in me benevolentiam presens confirmare velit.

Id quod, non alia ratione, facilius apud te efficiet quam
 10 si meam erga te ut preceptorem doctissimum devotionem observantiamque declaraverit. Ipse Carolus in susceptam provinciam totis viribus incumbit, et quamquam cujuslibet negotii potissima in aggrediendo difficultas fere sita est, ille tamen continuo seduloque studio novi istius incon-
 15 suetique muneris difficultatem brevi superaturus esse videtur. Meam certe in eo uti te jussisti sublevando voluntatem sua ipse industria anteverlit, neque mihi bene de se merendi locum relinquit. Bene vale, preceptor eruditissime.

Spiræ, 17 Decembris 1536.

¹⁾ Copy from the MS. 19145 of Royal Library, Brussels, pp 79-80, — itself a poor transcription; the evident — graphic — mistake, l 13 : *aggregiando*, has been corrected in this reprint.

1. harstus] that old amanuensis of Erasmus became councillor and ambassador of the Duke of Cleves & Jülich : cp. before, II, 142-45.

2. Mauchium] Daniel Mauch was about that time secretary to the Bishop of Brixen George of Austria : cp. II, 132, 550, 555, 567, and before, pp 364-65 ; U. Berlière, *Documents Inédits*, 1 : Maredsous, 1894 : 57. On October 17, 1536, he brought a letter to Viglius, at Speyer, from John Choler, to whom, in his reply on the next day, he related some details about Erasmus' legacies and Goclenius' share in their execution : Hoyneck, II, i, 222-23.

3. respondi] on the same day as this letter, Viglius wrote one to Carinus, who was then in Louvain, asserting his high esteem of Goclenius : it was probably taken to Brabant by Harst, like the present one ; cp. before, pp 463-65, and I, 392-93, II, 26-28.

65. ALARD OF AMSTERDAM TO GOCLENIUS

AgricO, I, a 2, r-a 4, v¹)Louvain,
September 1, 1538

ALARDVS AEMSTELREDAMVS CONRADO GOCLENIO

*litteratissimo moderatissimoque collegij trilinguis apud
inclytum Louanium professori, canonico Antuerpiensi. s. d.*

<Alard praises the great utility of Rudolph Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica*¹), which he brought in a 'quantumuis deprauato exemplari' from Deventer to Louvain, and which, after careful emending, he edits in answer to the general demand²).> Atque hoc est in causa, <he declares,> cur hunc uidere semper optauī diem, cum ex eruditioribus, hoc est tui ordinis professoribus, haud segnus in philosophia literatis ac bonis literis egregie uersatis, tandem aliquando prodirent qui Rodolphum non minus oratorem quam philosophum, cum dignitate, quam meretur summam, profiterentur, idque Louanij. Atque utinam tempus hoc sit unquam, quo tu per hasce uacationes publicitus auspicereris³), perinde atque mihi semel iterumque super ea re tecum serio agenti, pollicitus es te id breui præstaturum. Credo equidem non esse quod iure prætexas, cur minus stes promissis tuis. Tua enim unius eruditio abunde satis huic faciet professioni, ut magnificæ, ita a paucis seu potius nullo tentatæ. Egregium cum primis te artificem superioribus annis præstitisti. Principio in prælegendis rhetoricis Herennianis⁴). Deinde in M. Tullij partitionibus oratorijs. Ad extremum in eiusdem Maniliana

¹) Dedicatory letter to Alard's edition of Rudolph Agricola's *Opera* (Cologne, J. Gymnichus, 1539) : I. *De Inventione Dialectica* ; Paquot, xi, 410-11 ; SchottE, 70. ²) Cp. I, 156, sq. ³) Cp. before, pp 361, 560.

⁴) Besides the regular University lectures during the *Ordinarium*, from October 1 to June 29, *lectiones extra-ordinariæ*, or *Vacatiales*, were given from July 6 to September 30, with special examinations : FUL, 503, 506, 510 ; Mol., 935, 1015 ; *ULAnn.*, 1882, 424-8. That arrangement still lives in the denomination of *ordinary* and *extra-ordinary* professors, as the latter were generally beginners, — like Martin van Dorp, for his Comments on St. Paul's Epistles, from June 6, 1516 : *MonHL.*, 160 ; de Jongh, 132, — or obliging teachers, like Goclenius.

⁵) Cp. II, 111, sq, and before, pp 542, sq.

pariter & Miloniana ¹⁾. Nunc quæso eundem aut illo magis industrium præsta in inuentione dialectica, uberrimum fructum auditorio tuo frequentissimo literatissimoque allatura. Aggrederere o magnos (aderit iam tempus) honores. Audendum cum ipsa uocat res, forti ac fidenti animo auspicare; Minerua quæ tibi tum suggestit πειθῶ flexanimam, eadem nunc profecto aderit & hoc quidem præsentius aderit, quo honestior est professio. Perge itaque pulcherrimis cœptis dignum imponere colophonem. Ac tum quoque plane fortunatum esse Louanium nostrum non iniuria deprædicarim ²⁾.

<He hopes that, in imitation of Agricola, more attention will be devoted to the *Inventio dialectica*, as it is as helpful to the right understanding of law, medicine, and theology as of that of philosophy. Unfortunately, it is still neglected if compared with the useless quarrelling discussions.> Quin etiam uix ægreque credas, amicissime Gocleni, quam ab istis dissentiam, qui nolunt ab unoquolibet, sed tantum laurea magistrali donatis aut legi, aut profiteri Inuentionem dialecticam ³⁾. <Indeed, the treatise has been made unpopular by obscure comments, as well as by the obstinate and blind attachment to what *academici* have received, and to what they have practised in debates, and taught in their classes. He mentions the *barbara* & ἀπροσδιόνυσα... *dialectica*,... quæ olim ipse Rodolphus Louanij didicit ⁴⁾, & sic equidem didicit ut nemo citius, nemo felicius, nemo exactius ⁵⁾. He made that branch clearer, more efficient, more helpful to the acquisition of all other sciences, offering a means to replace the *pudenda sophisticæ argutatio*, by a way of studying than which *nemo tradidit... absolutius, felicius, adminiculatus* ⁶⁾. He points out the mutual benefit which philosophy derives from history and eloquence, of which, as Erasmus remarks, *accuratissime... scripsit... Agricola* in his fine treatises, in which> plurima cogitationi relinquuntur, pauca narrantur, & plus inest sensuum quam uerborum ⁷⁾...>

Louanij Calend. Septemb.

¹⁾ Cp. II, 111; before, p 544.

²⁾ Ll 24 to 40 of this letter in the original edition.

³⁾ Ll 66 to 68.

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 149, sq.

⁵⁾ Ll 157 to 159.

⁶⁾ Ll 186, 197.

⁷⁾ Ll 218, 231-32.

67. RECTOR GISBERT LOYDEN ¹⁾ TO MARY OF HUNGARYVigLEA, 37 ²⁾).Louvain,
August 4, 1539

REGIE MAIESTATJ

Illustrissime tue Maiestatis Literas legendas ad nos
pertulit Dñs Doctor Michael Driucius, nostre Vniuersitatj
suppositus, ex quibus percepimus Regiam tuam Maiestatem
eidem Dño Doctorj Michaelj mandasse vt sineret ex pecunia
5 D. Erasmj excipj et desumj summam ducentarum librarum,
quælibet ad quadraginta gross. estimata, Dño Decano sanctj
Petrj Louaniensis numerandam ; quodque ipse hac jn re
nullam committeret moram vel difficultatem faceret. Qui
quidem Dñs Michael confestim respondit sese Regie
10 Maiestatj jn omnibus velle, prout debet, parere, ac quod
per se non stat neque stabit quominus quod tua Maiestas
fieri jubet protinus fiat.

Verum quia iustantibus heredibus, aut saltem heredum
quondam D. Conradj goclenij procuratoribus, eandem
15 pecuniam sub eodem Dño Michaele sistj seu arrestarij
mandauimus ac eidem D. Michaelj pridem sub certis penis
jnhibuimus ne cuj jllam pecuniam vel eius aliquam partem
traderet ante huiusmodj arrestationis per nos facte subla-
tionem ; quodque postmodum occasione eiusdem pecunie
20 suborta sit lis jn concilio brabantie jnter Cesaree Maiestatis
procuratorem fiscalem et heredes dictj quondam D. Conradj
(que nondum est decisa) petiuit a nobis dictus D. Michael,

¹⁾ Gisbert Loyden, of Hertogenbosch, Licentiate of Laws, had been entrusted, on March 1, 1537, with a lecture on the Institutes 'juridice', which had been forbidden the year before to Rescius : *sup.*, pp 128-30 ; he was elected Rector on February 28, 1539, replacing Michael Drieux ; on August 30, he was succeeded by Jerome de Blioul (cp. II, 214) ; he thus took an active part in the difficulties resulting from Goclenius' succession : cp. *inf.*, Ch. XXI, 3.

²⁾ The original letter, taking up two pages, and having on the fourth the address, is now preserved in *BelgArch.* : *Audience, Missives of 1539* ; it still has the fine rectorial seal under paper, and the note : '*Ra te harlem viij in aug.*', viz., received at Haarlem, August 8.

2. Driucius] Michael Drieux, Loyden's predecessor in the Rectorial function : cp. before, pp 582, 590, sq.

. 6. Decano ... Stj Petrj] Ruard Tapper : cp. before, pp 575-80.

an dictis arresto et litis pendentia non obstantibus per nos
 liceret Regie tue Maiestatis literis parere et prescriptam
 25 summam prenominato Domino Decano numerare. Quibus
 per nos auditis et super hijs consultis Vniuersitatis deputa-
 tis (quos jn hoc mox accersirj jussimus), visum fuit
 procuratores heredum quondam .D. Conradj esse aduo-
 candos. Sed quia alter nunc a Louanio aliquot dies abfuit,
 30 cuius tamen repentinus expectatur reditus, et alter, si
 consentire vellet jn numerationem pretacte summe jnterro-
 gatus, respondit se jd facere non posse, neque mandatj
 fines excedere velle.

Arresto jtaque et litispendentia attentis, non potuimus
 35 jn partis collitigantis preiudicium et jlla renitente, jn
 numerationem pretacte summe auctoritatem nostram dicto
 Michaelj jmpertirj. Sed antea de premissis nostris literis
 Regiam tuam Maiestatem certiore reddere, ne vel nos vel
 dictus D. Doctor Michael (quj extra omnem culpam est) vt
 40 contumaces et jnobedientes apud eandem tuam Maiestatem
 accusemur vel coarguamur.

Supplicamus jtaque humillime Jllustrissime tue .Ma. vt
 nos et dictum D. Michaellem, quibus semper fuit et est
 (quatenus Juris Ratio permittit) tue Maiestatj morem gerere,
 45 vt par est, Rectaque postulat Ratio, excusatos hac vice
 habere dignetur, excusationumque nostrarum causas equj
 bonique consulere. Hijs bene valeat Jllustrissima tua
 Maestas, quam misericors Dominus jn semitam mandato-
 rum suorum semper dirigere dignetur.

50 Louanij, iiij^a Augustj 1539.

Ghisbertus Loyden a Buscoducis
 pro tempore Rector

Jllustrissime et Serenissime Dñe Marie
 Regine Hungarie, Bohemie, &a ac Sacre Ce. Mat^{ris}. jn
 germania Inferiorj Locum tenentj ac Regentj, &c.
 nobis jn primis obseruande et perpetuo colende.

25. numerare] Cp. the report of the difficulties, Ch. XXI, 3.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
<i>Trilingue</i> : architectural detail	<i>pp</i> 103
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	178
Entrance to the <i>Wendelsteen</i> (cp. II, <i>pp</i> 48, 52)	382
Doorway leading to Lecture Room.	457
Corridor leading to the <i>Wendelsteen</i>	529
Goclenius' receipt of an Annuity, June 26, 1538	584
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	594

CORRIGENDA

On p 61, n 2, l 3,	<i>please read</i>	Peter	<i>instead of</i>	Cornelius
»		1530 to 1539		1527 to 1532
» 240, l 1		Spinelly		Spinelli
» 280, n 3, l 4,		Brimeu de Meghen		Brimere de Meghem
» 327, l 2		strengthened		strenghtened
» 457, l 12		March 28		March 27
» 605, n 21-22		Agricolæ		Agricola

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHIEFLY USED IN THE NOTES

The Roman numerals, added to any of the abbreviations of the following list, indicate the volumes if in capitals, and the parts of those volumes if in minuscules; the figures and *italicized* Roman numerals indicate the pages — unless stated otherwise: viz., by the adding, at the end of the title, of an asterisk, *, when they are meant for letters and lines; or an ^o, for lines, e. g., in *MSS*; or an ⁿ, referring to the numbers used by the authors themselves. The sign *P. C.*, or *pag(ination) contin(ued)*, betokens that the paging of a book, which is stopped in the copies, is resumed and continued to the end. — The Roman letters, *a*, *b*, added to a number, refer to the obverse or reverse sides of a page or to the columns; the Italics *a*, *b*, *c*, &c, to the paragraphs of a preface (= *pr*) to a letter or a poem. The small figures indicate the lines; *bk*, *n*, *Pl(s)* stand for *book*, *note*, *Plate(s)*.

Ch. & Chs., followed by Roman figures, indicate the chief divisions in this work, of which this volume is the third part: references to passages in it, with the mention 'before', *sup.*, or *inf.*, quote the page or pages, preceded by *p* or *pp*; those to the preceding parts, are pointed out by I or II, and the number of the page(s).

In order to reduce the length of this list for the benefit of the text, a rather Procrustean method has been resorted to, liberating the titles from all superfluous wording: e. g., the mention that the treatises or the histories refer to the sixteenth century, the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation; or that the persons whose biography and letters are offered to the reader's attention, were foremost in their rank and period. On that account no author's name is repeated in the enouncing of the title if it is already expressed in the abbreviations or *sigla*; that of the editor or the translator is pointed out by *ed.* or *tr.* The number of volumes is indicated between brackets, without adding *vols.* Finally, the names of some towns which often recur, have been shortened: *Ant(werp)*, *Amst(erdam)*, *Brg (Bruges)*, *Brl (Berlin)*, *Brs (Brussels)*, *Camb(ridge)*, *Coi(mbra)*, *Col(ogne)*, *Edb (Edinburgh)*, *Frb (Freiburg i. Breisgau)*, *Frk (Frankfurt on Main)*, *Gt (Ghent)*, *Hdw (Harderwijk)*, *Innsb(ruck)*, *Knk (Königsberg)*, *Ld (London)*, *Led (Leyden)*, *Lg (Liège)*, *Lpz (Leipzig)*, *Ls (Lyons)*, *Lv (Louvain)*, *Mchl (Mechlin)*, *Mdr (Madrid)*, *Mnst (Münster, Westphalia)*, *Mun(ich)*, *NY (New-York)*, *Oxf(ord)*, *Pdb (Paderborn)*, *Pr (Paris)*, *Rat(isbon)*, *Stg (Stuttgart)*, *StO (St.-Omer)*, *Strb (Strassburg)*, *TH (The Hague)*, *Tr(eves)*, *Va (Vienna)*.

The academical *MS* documents referred to are those of Louvain University, 1427-1797, unless stated otherwise. Some usual abbreviations, such as *Acct* (account), *exc(ept)*, *indic(ated)*, and, of course, *CTril.* or *Tril* (Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense), are also employed.

- AcArExc.* = Excerpta ex Actis Fac. Artium, 1427-1797 : *Louvain MS.*
AccEdel. = Acct. of *CTril.* for Jan. 26-June 22, 1539 = FUL, 1450.
AccGoel. = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Sept. 10) 1537-38 = FUL, 1451.
AccHoevI = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Dec. 1) 1529-30 = FUL, 1451.
AccHoevII = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Dec. 1) 1533-34 = FUL, 1451.
AccMaroI = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Jan. 21) 1526-27 = FUL, 1450.
AccMaroII = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Jan. 21) 1527-28 = FUL, 1451.
AccMaroIII = Acct. of *CTril.* for Febr. 1 to Dec. 1, 1529 = FUL, 1451.
ActAcLov. = Acta Acad. Lovan. contra Lutherum (cp. *MönHL*, 235-6).
ActaMori = H. DE VOCHT, Acta Thomae Mori (*HumLov.* 7) : Lv, 1947.
ActArtV = Lib. V Act. Fac. Art. (Nov. 1482 Sept. 27, 1511) = FUL, 712.
ActArtVI = Extracts from *Liber VI Act. Fac. Art.* <lost> = FUL, 726.
ActArtInd. = Libr. VI-XIV Act. Fac. Art. Index (1511-1676) = FUL, 729.
Acuña = C. v. HÖFLER, Don Antonio de Acuña : Va, 1882.
Adagia = Adagia : Proverbiorum &c Collectio (*BB*, E, 139) : Frf, 1670.
ADB = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56) : Leipzig, 1875-1912.
AdriBurm. = C. BURMANNUS, Hadrianus VI : Utrecht, 1727.
AdriE = GACHARD, Corresp. de Charles V et d'Adrien VI : Brs, 1859.
AdriHöf. = C. v. HÖFLER, Papst Adrian VI., 1522-23 : Vienna, 1880.
AdriReus. = E. REUSENS, Doctrina Adriani Sexti : Lv, 1862.
AgricE = K. HARTFELDER, Briefe von Rudolf Agricola : Karlsruhe, 1886.
AgricO = Rod. AGRICOLÆ Lucubrationes (2) : Cologne, 1539.
Agricola = G. vd VELDEN, Rodolphus Agricola : Led, 1911.
Agricorr = ALLEN, Letters of R. Agricola (*EHR*, xxi, 302, sq) : 1906.
AgripE = AGRIPPA ab Nettesheim, Epistolæ (*Op. Omnia*, i) : Ls, c 1600.
AireSP = J. ROUYER, St. Pierre d'Aire : *Mém. Ant. Mor.*, x, ii : StO, 1858.
AleaE = J. PAQUIER, Lettres de Jérôme Aléandre, 1510-40 : Pr, 1909.
AléaJour. = H. OMONT, Journal du Card. Aléandre, 1480-1530 : Pr, 1895.
AléaLiège = J. PAQUIER, Aléandre et la Princip. de Liège : Pr, 1896.
Aléandre = J. PAQUIER, Jér. Aléandre, 1480-1529 : Pr, 1900.
Allen = P. & H. ALLEN, Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi (11) : Oxf, 1906-47*.
Almeloveen = Th. ab A-, Amœnitates Theol.-philologicæ : Amst. 1694.
Altamira = R. ALTAMIRA, Historia de España (4) : Barcelona, 1900-11.
Altmeyer = J. A-, Précurseurs de la Réforme aux Pays-Bas (2) : Brs, 1886.
AltRel. = J. ALTMAYER, Relations avec le N. de l'Europe : Brs, 1840.
AmerMS. = B. Amerbach's Docum. about Erasmus : *BbBasle*, C. VIa, 71.
AmHerb. = AMES & HERBERT, Typographical Antiquities (3) : Ld, 1785-90.
Anal. = Analectes p/s à l'Hist. Ecclés. de la Belgique : Lv, 1864-
Anima = J. SCHMIDLIN, Gesch. der S. Maria dell' Anima : Frb, 1906.
AnEmBr. = Annales d/I Société d'Emulation : Brg, 1839-
AntvAnn. = D. PAPEBROCHIUS, Annales Antverpienses (5) : Ant, 1845-8.
AntvDiercx. = Antverpia X^o Nascens et Crescens (7) : Ant, 1773.
AntvEpisc. = [J. FOPPENS] Hist. Episcopatus Antverpiensis : Brs, 1717.
AntwChron. = Chronycke van Antwerpen, 1500-1575 : Ant, 1843.
AntwHist. = MERTENS & TORFS, Gesch. van Antwerpen (8) : Ant, 1845-53.
APPENDIX IV = Goclenius' correspondence : sup. pp 595-613 : *GocCorr.*
APP(ENDIX) V = *NanOF.* *APP(ENDIX) VI* = *StudAtt.*
AschE = R. ASCHAM, Epistol. Libri IV. With J. Sturmii Epp. : Oxf, 1703.

- AugO = S. Aur. AUGUSTINI Opera Omnia (ed. Migne : 12) : Pr, 1841-49.
 Bahlmann = P. B-, Die Erneuerer des Antiken Dramas (2) : Mnst, 1893-6.
 BalaRef. = BALAN, Monum. Reformationis Lutheranae 1521-5 : Rat, 1884.
 Bale = J. B-, Index Britanniae Scriptorum (ed Poole-Bateson) : Oxf, 1902.
 BarlHist. = Historica Hadriani BARLANDI : Cologne, 1603.
 Barthold = F. B-, Geschichte der Deutschen Hansa (3) : Lpz, 1862.
 BatavDom. = B. de JONGHE, Desolata Batavia Dominicana : Ghent, 1717.
 BatavMart. = P. OPMEER, Historia Martyrum Batavicum : Col, 1625.
 BatGouv. = M. BATAILLON, A. de Gouvea du Coll. de Guyenne : Coi, 1927.
 Baumgartner = A. B-, Die Literatur der Christlichen Völker : Frb, 1925.
 BaxF = BAX, Fasti Acad. Lovan. (5) : MS 22173, BrsRL.
 BaxH = BAX, Historia Univ. Lovaniensis (11) : MS 22172, Roy. Lib., Brs.
 BB = Bibliotheca Belgica, by Ferd. van der HAEGHEN, &c : Ghent, 1880-
 BbBasle = University Library of Basle.
 BbCopenh. = Kongelige Bibliothek, København.
 BbCzart. = Biblioteka Pulawskiej XX. Czartoryskich, Cracow.
 BbUpps. = Bibliotheca Regia Upsalensis, Uppsala.
 BbVat. = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
 BeitBrieg. = Festschrift zu ... Theodor Brieger : Lpz, 1912.
 BeitClem. = O. CLEMEN, Beiträge zur Reformationsgesch. (3) : Brl, 1900-3.
 BeitKlette = Th. K-, Beitr. z. Ital. Gelehrtenrenaiss. (3) : Greifsw., 1888-
 BeitSchlecht. = Beiträge z. Renaiss. & Ref. an J. SCHLECHT : Mun, 1917.
 BelgAcM = Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique : Brs, 1820-
 BelgArch. = Doc. at the General Archives, Brussels.
 BelgChron. = CASTILLION, Sacra Belgii Chronologia : Ghent, 1719.
 BelgDom. = B. de JONGHE, Belgium Dominicanum : Brs, 1719.
 RelPU = GAILLARD, Influence de la Belg. sur les Prov.-Unies : Brs, 1855.
 Bergenroth = G. B-, Calendar of Statepapers... at Simancas : Ld, 1862-
 Berger = Samuel BERGER, La Bible au Seizième Siècle : Paris, 1879.
 Bergh = L. vd. B-, Corresp. de Marguerite d'Autriche (2) : Leyden, 1845-7.
 BerghAutr. = HALKIN, C. de Berghes et G. d'Autriche, Pr.-Ev. : Lg, 1936.
 Berlière = U. B-, Evêques Auxil. de Cambrai et Tournai : Brg, 1905.
 Bianco = F. v. BIANCO, Die Alte Universität Köln (2) : Cologne, 1856.
 BibBelg. = Val. ANDREAS, Bibliotheca Belgica : Lv, 1643.
 RibBelgMan. = SANDERUS, Bibl. Belgica Manuscripta (2) : Lille, 1641-4.
 BibRefNe. = Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica : TH, 1903-
 Bludau = A. B-, Die Erasm.-Ausg. des N. T. und ihre Gegner : Frb, 1902.
 Blunt = J. H. B-, Reformation of the Church of England (2) : Ld, 1896-7.
 BN = Biographie Nationale : Brs, 1866-1939.
 Bömer = A. B-, Lateinische Schülergespräche (2) : Brl, 1897-99.
 Bonilla = A. B-, Luis Vives y la Filos. del Renacimiento : Mdr, 1903.
 BrabCon. = A. GAILLARD, Le Conseil de Brabant (3) : Brs, 1898-
 BrabNobl. = (J. vd LEENE,) Noblesse du Brabant : Lg, 1705. P. C.
 BrArEc. = A. d'HOOP, Inv. d. Arch. Ecclés. du Brabant (6) : Brs, 1905-32.
 Brewer = Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. 1509-30 (4) : Ld 1862-.*
 Briart = Vita Io. Briardi Atensis, by G. Morinck : MorMS, 392, sq.
 Bridgewater = J. B-, Concertatio Eccl. Catholicæ in Anglia : Tr, 1589.
 BritMus. = British Museum Library, London.

- Brom = G. B-, Archivalia in Italia (3) : TH, 1908-14.
BrsRL = Royal Library, Brussels.
 Bruchet = M. BRUCHET, Marguerite d'Autriche : Lille, 1927.
Brug&Fr. = J. GAILLARD, Bruges et le Franc (6) : Brg, 1857-64.
BrugErVir. = A. SANDERUS, De Brvgensibvs Claris : Ant, 1624.
BrugHist. = Ad. DUCLOS, Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs : Bruges, 1910.
BrugInscr. = GAILLARD, Inscript. Funéraires de Bruges (3) : Brg, 1861-6.
BrugSDon. = Compend. Chronol. Cath. S. Donatiani Brug. : Brg, 1731.
 Brusch = A. HORAWITZ, Caspar Bruschius : Prague, 1874.
BruxBas. = <J. B. CHRISTYN,> Basilica Bruxellensis (2) : Mchl, 1743.
BruxHist. = HENNE & WALTERS, Histoire de Bruxelles (3) : Brs, 1845.
 Budé = L. DELARUELLE, Guillaume Budé : Pr, 1907.
BudERép. = DELARUELLE, Répert. d/l Corresp. de Budé : Toulouse, 1907.
 Bulæus = C. E. B-, Historia Vniuersitatis Parisiensis (6) : Pr, 1665-73.
BulBiB = Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge : Brs, 1845-
BullAcBelg. = Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique : Brs, 1836-
 Burman = P. B-, Sylloges Epistolarum (5) : Leyden, 1727.
BusbE = A. Gislénii BUSBEQVII Omnia quæ extant : Leyden, 1633.
 Buschbell = G. B-, Reformation und Inquisition in Italien : Pdb, 1910.
Busl. = H. DE VOCHT, Jerome de Busleyden (*HumLov.* 9) : Turnhout, 1950.
BuslGén. = de PATOUL, Généal. de la Famille de Busleyden : Brs, 1892.
 BW = van der AA, Biogr. Woordenb. der Nederl. (21) : Haarlem, 1852-78.
 Campbell = W.E.C-, Erasmus, Tyndale and More : London, 1949.
 CantE = A. RIVIER, Claude Chansonnette et ses Lettres : Brs, 1878.
 Cardauns = L. C-, Kirchl. Unions- und Reformbestreb. : Rome, 1910.
CartMan. = Fonds Cartulaires et Manuscrits, *BelgArch.* (ms. inv.)
 Cartwright = J. C-, Christina of Denmark, 1522-90 : Ld, 1913.
 Carvalho = J. de C-, Epistola de Clenardo a Colombo : Coimbra, 1926.
CarvMurça = J. d. CARVALHO, Diego de Murça (Bol. Bib. Univ.) Coi, 1927.
Casaubon = M. PATTISON, Isaac Casaubon, 1559-1610 : Oxf., 1892.
 CassO = Georgii CASSANDRI Opera (Ed. J. Cordesius) : Pr, 1616.
CatCloet = Inventaris van... boecken... jnden winckel van Jer. cloet...
 in de schipstrate naest de drie tonghen : Lv MS, c 1542.
CatCzart. = Catal. Codicum MS. Musæi Czartoryski (2) : Cracow, 1908-13.
CatHalle = Gesch. des Humanismus. *Katalog XLV von J. HALLE* : Mun.
CatLamb. = MAITLAND, Index of Archiep. Library at Lambeth : Ld, 1845.
CatSél. = J. WALTER, Catal. d/l Biblioth. de Sélestat, III : Colmar, 1929.
CatZür. = Catalogue : L'Art Ancien, S. A. Zürich.ⁿ
 Caullet = G. C-, Musiciens de N. D. à Courtrai : Courtrai, 1911.
 CeltE = H. RUPPRICH, Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis : Mun, 1934.
 Cerejeira = M. G. C-, Clenardo : Coimbra, 1926.
 Cheke = W. NATHAN, Sir John Cheke und Engl. Human. : Bonn, 1928.
CHEL = Cambridge History of English Literature (14) : Camb, 1907-16.
ChronCartLov. = Chronicon Carthusiæ Lovan. : MS 15043, *BrsRL*.
ChronMét. = E. vd. LINDEN, Évén. Météorologiques to 1834 : Brs, 1924.
ChronSMart. = Chronicle of St. Martin's, Louvain : MS 4239, *LouvArch*.
 Clénard = CHAUVIN-ROERSCH, Nicolas Clénard : Brs, 1900.
ClenCorr. = A. ROERSCH, Correspondance de N. Clénard (2) : Brs, 1940.

- ClenE = Nic. CLENARDI Epistolarvm Libri Dvo : Ant, Plantin, 1566.
 ClenHum. = H. de VOCHT, N. Beken Clenardus Humanist : Ant, 1942.
 Clusius, ClusE = F. HUNGER, Charles de l'Escluse (2) : TH, 1927-43.
 CMH = The Cambridge Modern History, I & II : Camb, 1904.
 CochlHum. = Carl OTTO, Joannes Cochlaeus der Humanist : Breslau, 1874.
 CochlSpahn = M. SPAHN, Johannes Cochläus : Berlin, 1898.
 CollRehd. = Rehdigersche Briefsammlung of Breslau Town Library.
 CollTorr. = TOURNEUR, La Collection L. Torrentius (medals) : Brs, 1914.
 CollUffWolf. = Suppellex Epistol. Uffenbach & Wolf, in Hamburg Libr.
 ConPri. = Hist. du Conseil Privé (2) : MS, BelgArch., ConPriv. 765-6.
 ConPriT = Tableau Hist. du Cons. Privé : MS, BelgArch., ConPriv. 768.
 Constant = G. C-, La Réforme en Angleterre (2) : Pr, 1930-39.
 ConstConc. = CONSTANT, Concession (des) Deux Espèces (2) : Pr, 1923.
 ContarE = F. DITTRICH, Briefe des Card. G. Contarini : Braunsberg, 1881.
 Cooper = C. & T. C-, Athenæ Cantabrigienses (2) : Camb, 1858-61.
 Coppens = J. C-, Het Bisdom van 's-Hertogenbosch (5) : H., 1840-44.
 Cordatus = H. WRAPPELMAYER, Tagebuch über Luther : Halle, 1885.
 CordO = K. KRAUSE, Evricivs Cordvs. Epigrammata, 1520 : Brl, 1892.
 CorpCath. = Corpus Catholicorum i/d Glaubensspaltung : Mnst, 1920-
 CorpInq. = P. FREDERICQ, Corpus Doc. Inquisitionis (5) : Ghent, 1889-02.
 Corsend. = J. LATOMUS, Corsendonca : ed J. Hoybergius : Ant, 1640.
 CorvE = P. TSCHACKERT, Antonius Corvinus (2) : Hannover, 1900.
 Cracow = L. LEPSZY, Cracow (transl. by R. Dyboski) : Ld, 1912.
 Cran. = H. DE VOCHT, Literae ad Craneveldivm (HumLov. 1) : Lv, 1928. *
 Cranmer = J. STRYPE, Memorials of Th. Cranmer (2) : Oxf, 1812.
 Creighton = M. CREIGHTON, Early Renaissance in England : Camb, 1895.
 Creizenach = W. C-, Gesch. des Neueren Dramas, II, III : Halle, 1901-11.
 CrenFasc. = Th. CRENIUS, Fascis Exercitationum (5) : Leyden, 1697-
 CTril. = Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense.
 Custos = J. ERNALSTEEN, Joannes Custos Brechtanus : Brecht, 1925.
 DantCar. = St. SKIMINA, Joannis Dantisci Carmina : Cracow, 1950.
 DantE = DANTISCI et Amic. Epistolæ : repertory by H. de Vocht : cp. Pref.
 DantKop. = F. HIPLER, Dantiscus u. Kopernikus, Gedichte : Mnst, 1857.
 DantSil. = J. DANTYSZKA, De Calam. Silva (Celichowski) : Poznan, 1902.
 Daris = J. D-, Les Églises du Diocèse de Liège (12) : Lg, 1878-85.
 Daxhelet = E. D-, Adrien Barlandus (HumLov. 6) : Lv, 1938.
 DBL = BRICKA, &c, Dansk Biogr. Leksikon (27) : Copenhagen, 1933-
 DébAgMod. = HAUSER-RENAUDET, Débuts de l'Age Moderne : Pr, 1929.
 DébEnCo = d. VOCHT, Débuts...Enseign. d/l Co. de Jés.: EtClass. XIII, 193-
 Delisle = L. D-, Procès-Verb. d/l Fac. Théol. de Paris 1505-33 : Pr, 1899.
 DelPoBel. = Delitiæ C. Poetarvm Belgicorvm (4) : Frf, 1614.
 Delprat = Brüderschaft des Gemeins. Lebens : tr. MOHNKE : Lpz, 1840.
 Denifle = H. D-, Luther und Luthertum (2) : Mayence, 1904-09.
 DiaBiTril. = Dialogus biling. ac trilinguium = App II (bef. I, 547-74). °
 Dirks = S. D-, Hist. Bibliograph. des Frères Mineurs en Belg. : Ant, 1885.
 Dittrich = P. D-, Plaut. u. Terenz in Pädagog. der Human. : Lpz, 1915.
 DivAL = Petri DIVÆI Annales Oppidi Lovaniensis : Lv, 1757.
 DivAntiq. = P. DIVÆI Antiquitates Belgarum : Lv, 1757.

- DNB* = Sidney LEE, Dictionary of National Biography (22) : Ld, 1908-9.
Dodoens = P. J. van MEERBEECK, Rembert Dodoens : Mechlin, 1841.
Dolet = R. C. CHRISTIE, Étienne Dolet : Ld, 1899.
Donk = F. RÜTTEN, Martin Donk, Duncanus, 1505-90 : Mnst, 1906.
DorpApol. = Dorpii Apologia Menardo Mannio, Abbati : *MonHL*, 61-112.
DorpCorr = Martin van Dorp's Correspondence, in *MonHL*, 351-93.
Drieux = A. de SCHREVEL, Remi Drieux, II^e Evêque de Bruges : Brg, 1898-
DuffCent. = E. G. D., A Century of English Book-Trade : Ld, 1905.
Duhr = B. D., Gesch. der Jesuiten in Dent. Ländern im xvi. Jh : Frb, 1907.
DürerD = WOLFF, Dürers Briefe, Tagebücher u. Reime : Lpz (Voigtl.)
EckDed. = Eckius Dedolatus : ed S. Szamolski : Brl, 1891.
EE = Des. ERASMI Epistolæ (2 ; = EOO, III) : Leyden, 1703.
EETS = Early English Text Society Publications : Ld, 1864-
EHR, EngHistRev. = The English Historical Review : Ld, 1886-
ElitCritEss. = G. Greg. SMITH, Elizabethan Critical Essays (2) : Oxf, 1904.
EllenbE = BIGELMAIR-ZOEPL, Nik. Ellenbog, Briefwechsel : Mnst, 1938.
EllLyr. = G. ELLINGER, Deutsche Lyriker des 16. Jhds : Brl, 1893.
Em&Misc. = P. LEOPARDI Emendationum & Miscell. L. xx : Antw, 1568.
EnchiPsal = J. CAMPENSIS Enchiridion Psalmorum : Lyons, 1536.
Enders = E. ENDERS, Martin Luthers Briefwechsel (17) : Frf, &c, 1884-
Ent. = L. ENTHOVEN, Briefe an Des. Erasmus : Strb, 1906.
EOI = Introductory matter to EOO, 1 (*pagination continued*).
EOO = Des. ERASMI Roterodami Opera Omnia (10) : Leyden, 1703-6.
EpClassArg. = J. STURM, Classicæ Epistolæ : ed J. Rott : Strb, 1938.
EpiClaVir. = Erasmi Epitaphia per Clarissimos Viros : Lv, 1537.
EpiVirLov. = Erasmi Epitaphia per Viros Acad. Louanien. : Lv, 1537.
EpMagNos. = Epistola de Mag. Nostr. Louan. = App III (*bef. I*, 583-602).
EpSel(C2) = Illustr. Viror. Epistolæ Selectiores Cent. II : Led, 1617.
EraBib. = F. vd HAEGHEN, Bibliotheca Erasiana (3) : Ghent, 1893.
EraCab. = ALONSO-BATAILLON, Erasmo. Caballero Crist. : Mdr, 1932.
EraCat. = Catalogi dvo Operum D. Erasmi. — Vita. Epitaphia : Ant, 1537.
ErAdag. = Des. ERASMI Collectanea Adagiorum Veterum = EOO, II : 1703.
ErAge = P. S. ALLEN, The Age of Erasmus : Oxford, 1914.
ErAllen = P. S. ALLEN, Erasmus. Lectures and Sketches : Oxf, 1934.
EraLouv. = H. D. VOCHT, Érasme & l'Univ. de Louv. : *ULAnn.*, 84, II, 91-
ErasBur. = M. de BURIGNI, Vie d'Érasme (2) : Pr, 1757.
ErasDrum. = R. B. DRUMMOND, Erasmus (2) : Ld, 1873.
ErasEm. = E. EMERTON, Des. Erasmus of Rotterdam : NY, 1899.
ErasFroud. = J. A. FROUDE, Life and Letters of Erasmus : Ld, 1905.
ErasInvl. = H. D. VOCHT, Invloed v. Eras. o/d Eng. Tooneellit. : Ghent, 1908.
ErasJort. = John JORTIN, The Life of Erasmus (2) : London, 1758-60.
ErasLaur = H. DURAND DE LAUR, Érasme (2) : Pr, 1872.
Erasme = H. de VOCHT, Érasme, sa Vie et son Œuvre : Lv, 1935.
Erasmiana = A. HORAWITZ, Erasmiana I-IV : Vienna, 1878-85.
EraSpain = M. BATAILLON, Erasme et l'Espagne : Pr, 1937.
ErasPen. = A. PENNINGTON, Life and Charact. of Erasmus : Ld, 1875.
ErasPort. = M. BATAILLON, Erasme et la Cour de Portugal : Coi, 1927.
ErasRen. = A. RENAUDET, Études Érasmiennes 1521-29 : Pr, 1939.

- ErasRott.* = E. ROTTIER, *Vie et Travaux d'Érasme* : Brs, 1854.
EraVita = D. Erasmi Vita & Epistolæ : ed P. Scriverius : Leyden, 1649.
EraVocht = L'Œuvre d'Érasme (*Renaiss. en Belg.*, 37-70) : Brs, 1945.
ErColTran. = H.D. VOCHT, *Earl. Transl. of Eras.' Coll.* (*HumLov.* 2) Lv, 1928.
Ermland = A. BÖTTICHER, *Bau- u. KunstDenkmäler i. Erml.* : Knb, 1894.
Et&Aud. = Fonds de l'Etat et de l'Audience : *BelgArch.* (*ms. inv.*)
ExTest. = Execut. Testamentariæ in Un. Lovan. 1485-1557 = FUL, 5613.
Excerpts = from *LibIntIII*, by H. DE VOCHT, (in *EHR*, xxxvii, 89-), 1922.
FallO = HOFFMANN, *Opusc. de Fr. de Bourgogne de Fallais* : *BulBiB*, 17.
Féret = P. F., *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris* (7) : Pr, 1900-10.
Fétis = E. F., *Les Musiciens Belges* (2) : Brs, 1848.
FG = J. FÖRSTEMANN & O. GÜNTHER, *Briefe an D. Erasmus* : Lpz, 1904.
Fisher = Fr. van ORTROY, *Vie du B. Jean Fisher* : Brs, 1893.
FlandAnn. = J. de MEYERE, *Annales Rerum Flandricarum* : Ant, 1561.
FlandCon. = J. FOPPENS, *Histoire du Conseil de Flandre* : Brs, 1869.
FlandIll. = A. SANDERUS, *Flandria Illustrata* (3) : The Hague, 1735.
FlandOHR = *Hommes Remarq. de la Flandre Occid.* (4) : Brg, 1843-49.
FlandScript. = A. SANDERUS, *De Scriptoribvs Flandriæ* : Ant, 1624.
Foppens = J. F. FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (2) : Brs, 1739.
FoxE = P. & H. ALLEN, *Letters of Richard Fox 1486-1527* : Oxf, 1929.
Franklin = A. F., *Diction. des Noms, Surnoms Latins (1100-1530)* : Pr, 1875.
Friedensburg = W. F., *Briefwechsel der Kathol. Gelehrten* : *ZKG*, 16-23.*
Fris = V. FRIS, *Histoire de Gand* : Ghent, 1930.
FrisScript. = Suffridi PETRI *De Scriptoribus Frisiæ* : Utrecht, 1730.
Froude = J. A. F., *History of England, 1529-88* (12) : London, (1870).
Fruin = R. F., *Archief der O. L. V. Abdij te Middelburg* : TH, 1901.
FugBrief. = V. KLARWILL, *Briefe a/d. Haus Fugger 1568-1605* : Va, 1923.
FugJac. = J. STRIEDER, *Jacob Fugger der Reiche* : Lpz, <1926>.
FugRom. = A. SCHULTE, *Die Fugger in Rom 1495-1523* (2) : Lpz, 1904.
FugZAlt. = R. EHRENBURG, *Zeitalter der Fugger* (2) : Jena, 1912.
FUL = H. DE VOCHT, *Inv. d. Archives de l'Un. Louv.*, 1426-1797 : Lv, 1927.ⁿ
Fulton = J. F., *Medical Bibliographers* : Philadelphia, 1951.
Gabbema = S. GABBEMA, *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ* : Harlingen, 1669.
Gachard = *Voyages des Souver. d. Pays-Bas, II (exc. indic.)* : Brs, 1874.
Gairdner = J. G., *The English Church from 1509 to 1558* : Ld, 1902.
GallChrist. = *Gallia Christiana* (15) : Paris, 1716-1860.
GandErVir. = A. SANDERUS, *De Gandavensibvs Claris* : Ant, 1624.
GandSJo. = N. de PAUW, *Obituarium Eccl. S. Joannis Gandavi* : Brs, 1889.
Geiler = L. DACHEUX, *Jean Geiler de Kaysersberg* : Paris, 1876.
GeldColl. = J. PRINSEN, *Collectanea v. G. Geldenhauer* : Amst, 1901.
Geldenh. = J. PRINSEN, *Gerardus Geldenhauer* : The Hague, 1898.
Gelder = H. E. van G., *Gesch. der School te Alkmaar* : Alkmaar, 1905.
GemFrisius = F. v. ORTROY, *Bio-Bibliogr. de Gemma Frisius* : Brs, 1920.
GesSterck = J. M. STERCK-PROOT, *Het Geslacht Sterck* : Amst, 1919.
Gestel = C. v. GESTEL, *Historia Archiep. Mechliniensis* (2) : TH, 1725.
Gillow = J. G., *Biograph. Dict. of Engl. Catholics* : Ld, 1887.
Givry = L. MARCEL, *Le Cardinal de Givry*, (2) : Prauthoy, 1926.
GocLE = C. GOCLENII *Epist. ad Erasmus 1526-36* : *BbBasle*, *Erasmuslade*.

- GocCor.* = Goclenius'. Correspondence = APPENDIX IV (*sup.* pp 595-613).
Goch = Otto CLEMEN, Johann Pupper von Goch : Leipzig, 1896.
Godet = M. GODET, La Congrégation de Montaigu, 1490-1580 : Paris, 1912.
GoesCosm. = BATAILLON, Cosmopolitisme de G. : *RLitComp.* 1938 : 23-58.
GoesRelG = A. BEAU, Relações Germanicas de Góis : Coi, 1941.
GoesO(p) = Damiani a GOES Opvscvla : Lv, Dec. 1544.
GoetHist. = GOETHALS, Histoire des Lettres en Belgique (4) : Brs, 1840-4.
GoetLect. = GOETHALS, Lectures r/l'Hist. des Sciences &c (4) : Brs, 1837-8.
Goldast = M. H. G., Philologicarum Epistolarum Centuria : Erf, 1610.
Goltzius = M. Hoc, Hubert Goltzius : *AnEmBr*, 1925 : 21-34.
Gomez = F. d. B. SAN ROMAN, Testam. del A. Gomez de Castro : Mdr, 1928.
Goris = J. G., Colonies Marchandes Méridionales à Anvers : Lv, 1925.
Gough = H. G., Index to the Publications of the Parker Soc. : Camb, 1855.
Gramaye = J. B. G., Antiquitates Belgicæ : Lv & Brs, <1708>.
GranClaess. = P. CLAESSENS, Hist. des Archev. de Malines, 1 : Lv, 1881.
GranvE = E. POULLET, Correspond. du Card. de Granvelle : Brs, 1878-
GranvPap. = C. WEISS, Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle (9) : Pr, 1841-52.
Grisar = Hartmann GRISAR, Luther (3) : Freiburg i. B., 1911-1912.
Gropper = W. v. GULIK, Johannes Gropper 1503-59 : Frb, 1906.
Grube = Karl GRUBE, Gerhard Groot und seine Stiftungen : Cologne, 1883.
Guicc. = L. GUICCIARDINI, Belgii Regionvm Descriptio : Amst, 1613.
Hallam = H. H., Introd. to the Liter. of Europe (4) : Ld, 1855.
Hamelmann = H. H., Illustrium Westphaliæ Virorum Liber : Mnst, 1908.
HansAkt. = R. HÄPKE, Niederl. Akten zur Gesch. der Hanse : Mun, 1913.
Harding = H. de VOCHT, Thomas Harding (*EHR*, xxxv, 233-44) : Ld, 1920.
HarvMarg. = MOORE SMITH, Harvey's Marginalia : Stratford/Avon, 1913.
HebStud. = L. GEIGER, Studium der Hebräisch. Sprache : Breslau, 1870.
Heinrichs = H. H., Überwindung der Autorität Galens : Bonn, 1914.
Heliä = L. SCHMITT, Paul Heliä, Vorkämpfer der Kath. Kirche : Frb, 1893.
Hellin = E.A.H., Hist. de l'Eglise de St. Bavon à Gand (2) : Ghent, 1772.
Henne = A. H., Histoire du Règne de Charles-Quint (10) : Brs, 1858-60.
HEp = [H. F. van HEUSSEN,] Historia Episcopatum Fœderati Belgii
 (2) : Leyden, 1719 : *HEpU*, Utrecht; *HEpD*, Deventer; *HEpG*, Gro-
 ningen; *HEpH*, Haarlem; *HEpL*, Leeuwarden; *HEpM*, Middelburg.
Heresbach = A. WOLTERS, Konrad von Heresbach : Elberfeld, 1867.
HeresMon. = HERESBACHII Hist. Factionis Monaster. : Elberfeld, 1866.
Herford = C. H., Liter. Relations of England and Germany : Camb, 1886.
HerMaur. = HERMELINK-MAURER, Reform. u. Gegenref. : Tübing., 1931.
Herminjard = A. H., Correspond. des Réformateurs (9) : Geneva, 1866-97.
Hessels = J. H., Ecclesiæ Londino-Batauæ Archivum (2) : Camb, 1887-89.
Hessus = C. KRAUSE, Helius Eobanus Hesus (2) : Gotha, 1879.
Heumann = J. HEUMANN, Documenta Literaria : Altorf, 1758.
Hierogl. = J. PIERII VALERIANI Hieroglyphica : Basle, 1567.
Hill = G. H., Medals of the Renaissance in the *BritMus.* : Ld, 1923.
Hipler = F. H., Briefwechsel des Joh. Dantiscus : *ZGE*, 1891 : 471-572.
HispReb. = De Rebus Hispanicis, Lusitanicis, &c Opera : Col, 1602.
Hocquet = A. H., Tournai et le Tournais au xvi^e s. : Brs, 1906.
Hoffmeister = N. PAULUS, Johannes Hoffmeister : Frb, 1891.

- Hoogewerf = G. H., Bescheiden uit Italië (2, *contin.* Orbaan) : TH, 1913-7.
 HoopSch. = de HOOP SCHEFFER, Gesch. der Kerkhervorming : Amst, 1873.
 Hoyneck = HOYNCK VAN PAPENDRECHT, *Analecta Belgica* (3) : TH, 1743.
 Hudson = W. H., France. The Nation and its Development : Ld, 1917.
 Hume-Tyler = Calendar of State Papers : Spanish : 1515-58 : Ld, 1904-
HumLov. = Humanistica Lovaniensia : Louvain, from 1928.
HuMünst. = J. NORDHOFF, Aus d. Münster. Humanismus : Mnst, 1874.
 Hurter = H. H., Nomenclator Literar. Theol. Cathol. (5) : Innsb, 1903-11.
 HutE = Epistolae Ulrichi HVTTENI (2) = HutO, I, II : Lpz, 1859.
 HutO = E. BÖCKING, Vlr. HVTTENI Opera Omnia (5) : Lpz, 1859-61.
Hutten = STRAUSS (& CLEMEN), Ulrich von Hutten : Lpz, 1927.
JLipsEM = Justi LIPSIJ Epistolæ Miscellanæ (5) : Ant, 1605-11.*
 Imbart = P. I-DE LA TOUR, Origines de la Réforme (3) : Paris, 1905-14.
Inv. = Inuentarijs vanden Brieuen of CTril. (1542, MS) = FUL, 1438.
 Iseghem = A. v. I-, Th. Martens d'Alost : Mchl, 1852-66 : S(supplement).
 Janssen = J. J-, Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes, I, II : Frb, 1883, 1886.
 Jedin = H. J-, Geschichte des Konzils von Trient, I : Frb, 1949.
JesHist. = A. PONCELET, Hist. de la Comp. des Jésuites (2) : Brs, 1927-8.
JésNécr. = PONCELET, Nécrologe d. Jésuites Fland. Belg. : Wetteren, 1931.
JesRheinA = J. HANSEN, Rhein. Akten d. Jesuitenordens : Bonn, 1896.
 de Jongh = L'Ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain : Lv, 1911.
 Jørgensen = E. J-, Nordiske Studerende i Louvain (Hist. Tidsskr. 9, 385).
 Jourdan = G. J-, Movement towards Catholic Reform (xvi.c.) : Ld, 1914.
JovEL = Paulus JOVIUS, Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrium : Basle, 1577.
JSecIt. = Joannis SECVNDI Hagiensis Itineria Tria : Leyden, 1618.
JSecOp. = Ioannis SECVNDI Opera Omnia : ed Scriverius : Leyden, 1619.
 Juste = Th. J-, Charles-Quint et Marguerite d'Autriche : Brs, 1858.
KaGNie. = KALKOFF, Gegenreformation i/d Niederl. (2) : Halle, 1903.
KalErFlug. = KALKOFF, Vermittlungspolitik des Erasmus : Brl, 1903.
KalgL. = Paul KALKOFF, Aleander gegen Luther : Leipzig, 1908.
KalHuRe. = P. KALKOFF, Ul. von Hutten und d. Reformation : Lpz, 1920.
KaLuEnt. = KALKOFF, Luther u/d Entscheidungsjahre : Mun, 1917.
 Kaufmann = G. K-, Gesch. d. Deutschen Universitäten (2) : Stg, 1888-96.
 Keussen = H. K-, Matrikel der Universität Köln (3) : Bonn, 1919-31.^N
 Knod = G. K-, Deutsche Studenten in Bologna 1289-1562 : Brl, 1899.
Königstein = STEITZ, Tageb. des Can. Königstein, 1520-48 : Frf. 1876.
 Köstlin = J. K-, Martin Luther, Leben und Schriften (2) : Elberf., 1883.
 Krafft = Briefe und Documente a/d Reformation : Elberfeld, 1875.
 Kuckhoff = J. K-, Humanismus i/d Schulen d. Niederrheins : Mnst, 1929.
 Kuiper = Corn. Valerius en Seb. Foxius bronnen v. Coornhert : Hdw, 1941.
KunstLeuv. = Kunst te Leuven : Davidsfonds, Lv, 1946.
 Laemmer = H. L-, Monumenta Vaticana Hist. Eccl. Sæculi xvi : Frb, 1861.
 Laenen = J. L-, Hist. de l'Égl. St.-Rombaut à Malines (2) : Mchl, 1919-20.
 Lambinet = P. L-, Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie : Brs, year vii.
LanzCor. = K. L-, Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V (3) : Lpz, 1844-6.
LanzPap. = K. L-, Staatspapiere des Kaisers Karl V : Stuttg, 1845.
 Laplane = H. de L-, Les Abbés de St.-Bertin (2) : St. Omer, 1854-5.
Lasciana = H. DALTON, Lasciana. Synodalprotokollen Polens : Brl, 1898.

- Lasco* = H. DALTON, Joannes a Lasco : Gotha, 1881.
- LatCont.* = D. VOCHT, Lat. Contrib. to Eras.' Corresp. : *EngStud*, xl, 372.
- Lauchert* = F. L., Die Italienischen Gegner Luthers: Frb, 1912.
- Lawton* = H. L., TERENCE en France au XVI^e siècle : Pr, 1926.
- Lefranc* = A. LEFRANC, Histoire du Collège de France : Paris, 1893.
- LibActIII* = Liber III Actorum Universitatis Lovaniensis = FUL, 53.
- LibActV* = Lib. V Act. Univ. Lov., 1495-1522 (burnt in Sack of Lv, 1914).
- LibActVI* = Liber VI Act. Univ. Lovan. : 1523-1542 = FUL, 54.
- LibActVII* = Acta Deputatorum Un. Lov. : 1530-1540 = FUL, 55.
- LibIntIII* = Liber III Intitulatum : Aug. 1485 to Aug. 1527 = FUL, 23.
- LibIntIV* = Liber IV Intitulatum : Febr. 1529-Aug. 1569 = FUL, 24.
- LibNomI* = Liber I Nominationum Fac. Artium : 1515-1547 = FUL, 4751.
- LibRecI* = Liber Computuum Receptorum Univ. : 1529-1543 = FUL, 273.
- LiègeBiog.* = C. de BECDELIEVRE, Biographie Liégeoise, 1 : Lg, 1836.
- LiègeDoc.* = CAUCHIE & V. HOVE, Docum. sur Liège 1230-1532 (2) : Brs, 1908.
- Lindeb.* = J. LINDEBOOM, Bijbelsch Human. in Nederl. : Led, 1913.
- LipsE* = A. HORAWITZ, Erasmus und Martinus Lipsius : Vienna, 1882.
- Lomeier* = J. L., de Bibliothecis Liber : Utrecht, 1680.
- LondPrint.* = Hand-Lists of Books by Ld Printers : Ld, Bibl. Soc., 1913.
- Longueil* = Th. SIMAR, Christophe de Longueil, 1488-1522 : Lv, 1911.
- LonRoyEx.* = D. VOCHT, Lond. Roy. Exchange (*Ann Sc. Comm.*) Lv, 1939.
- LooE* = A. ROERSCH, Correspond. de Loaeus, Abbé d'Eversham : Gt, 1898.
- LouvArch.* = J. CUVELIER, Inv. des Archives de Louvain (3) : Lv, 1929-32.
- LouvAssist.* = BOURGUIGNON, Arch. de l'Assist. Publ. de Lv : Brs, 1933.
- LouvBoon* = W. BOONEN, Gesch. van Leuven 1593-4 : Lv, 1880.
- LouvEven* = E. van EVEN, Louvain dans le Passé & Présent : Lv, 1895.
- LPHS* = Letters and Papers, Reign of Henry VIII : Ld, 1862.
- LuChaB* = Chartes du Luxemb. Introd. par M. Bourguignon : Brs, 1931.
- LuChaV* = A. VERKOOREN, Inv. des Chartes du Luxemb. (5) : Brs, 1914.
- Madden* = Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary ; Memoir : Ld, 1831.
- Maitland* = S. M., Early Printed Books in Lambeth Library : Ld, 1843.
- MalConB* = Hist. du Gd Conseil de Malines : MS 12401, Roy. Libr. Brs.
- MalConF* = FOPPENS, Hist. du Gd Conseil Mal. : MS 9938-40, R. L., Brs.
- MalConM* = Histoire du Grand Conseil de Malines : *CartMan.*, 432.
- Maldonat* = J. M. PRAT, Maldonat et l'Université de Paris : Pr, 1856.
- MalGod.* = Léop. GODENNE, Malines Jadis & Aujourd'hui : Mechlin, 1908.
- MalGrCons.* = Fonds Grand Conseil de Malines, *BelgArch.* (ms. inv.)
- MalHist.* = (R. vd. EYNDEN), Mechelen opgehieldert (2) : Brs, 1770.
- MalInscr.* = Inscriptions Funéraires de Malines : Ant, 1903.
- Mameran.* = Nik. DIDIER, Nicolaus Mameranus : Frb, 1915.
- ManBorchI* = Manuael (*CTril*) van N. vd. borch : 1539-41 = FUL, 1450.
- ManBorchII* = Manuael (*CTril*) of N. vd. borch 1541-44 = FUL, 1450.
- ManHoev.* = Manual (*CTril*) of J. vd. Hoeven : 1529-33 = FUL, 1450.
- Manitius* = J. M., Lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters (3) : Mun, 1911-31.
- Mansfeld* = MASSARETTE-COLLOREDO, P. E. de Mansfeld (2) : Pr, 1930.
- MarckHalk.* = L. HALKIN, Card. de la Marck, Pr.-Év. de Liège : Lg, 1930.
- MargAng.* = P. JOURDA, Marguerite d'Angoulême, 1492-1549 (2) : Pr, 1930.
- MargAutE* = G. de BOOM, Corresp. de Marguerite d'Autriche : Brs, 1935.

- MargvOK* = KOOPERBERG, Margaretha van Oostenrijk : Amst, 1908.
MarHon. = Th. JUSTE, Vie de Marie de Hongrie : Brs, 1861.
MasE = M. LOSSEN, Briefe von Andreas Masius 1538-73 : Lpz, 1886.
Masius = d. VOCHT, A. Masius (*Misc. Mercati* iv, 425-41) : Vatican, 1946.
Massebieau = Les Colloques Scolaires du xvi^e Siècle : Pr, 1878.
Mat. = BANG, Material. z. Kunde des ält. Engl. Dramas (44) : Lv, 1902-
MatriFreib. = H. MAYER, Matrikel der Un. Freiburg (2) : Frb, 1907-10.
MatriMarb. = W. FALCKENHEINER, Matrikel der Un. Marburg : M., 1904.
Matthiol. = P. MATTHIOLUS, Commentaires sur Dioscoride : <Pr, 1565>.
MB = Le Musée Belge : Louvain, from 1897.
Melanch. = G. ELLINGER, Philipp Melanchthon : Berlin, 1902. [1902.
MelaVers. = KAWERAU, Versuche Mel. z. K. Kirche z. z. führen : Halle,
MeLE = MELANTHONIS Epistolæ, : *CorpRef.*, 1-x : Halle, 1834-42.
MelEBind. = H. BINDSEIL, Melan. Epistolæ (*not in CorpRef.*) : Halle, 1874.
MeLECle. = CLEMEN, Melanchthons Briefwechsel : 1, 1510-28 : Lpz, 1926. ⁿ
MelELEY. = MELANCHTHONIS Epistolarum Liber : Leyden, 1647.
MélMoell. = Mélanges d'Hist. offerts à Ch. Moeller (2) : Lv, 1914.
MemAss. = ALLEN, Memoranda of H. d. Assendelff : *EHR*, 1918, 225-34.
Mendoza = J. FESENMAIR, D. Hurtado de Mendoza, hum. (2) Mun, 1882-4.
Merker = P. M., Der Verfasser des Eccius Dedolatus : Halle, 1923.
Micyllus = J. CLASSEN, Jacob Micyllus : Frf, 1859.
MigneGr. = Patrologiæ Curs. Compl. Ser. Græca (161) : Pr, 1856-1912.
Miræus = A. MIRÆUS, Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica (2) : Ant, 1639-49.
Moeller = Ch. M., Eléonore d'Autriche, Reine de France : Pr, 1895.
Mol. = J. MOLANI Historiæ Lovaniensium : ed de Ram (2) : Brs, 1861.
MolanE = F. v. ORTROY, Lettres de J. Molanus à Mercator : Brs, 1901.
MonHL = H. de VOCHT, Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia : Lv, 1934.
Moog = W. M., Gesch. der Pädagogik. 2. Renaissance : Osterwieck, 1928.
MoreChamb. = R. W. CHAMBERS, Thomas More : Ld, 1938.
MoreE = Correspond. of Thomas More : ed E. Rogers : Princeton, 1947.
MoreHarp. = Thomas Moore by Nic. Harpsfield : ed. *EETS* : Ld, 1932.
MoreLuc. = Thomae MORI Lucubrationes : Basle, 1563.
Morone = G. CONSTANT, Légation du Card. Morone, Trente, 1563 : Pr, 1922.
MorMS = MS doc. by G. Morinck, St. Trudo's Abbey : *CartMan.*, 391^a.
MotJuris = Motivum juris in causa R. Reschii o *CTril.*, 1547 = FUL, 1437.
MouvScien. = Mouvement Scientifique en Belg. 1830-1905 (2) : Brs, 1907.
Mudæus = H. de VOCHT, Gabriel van der Muyden, Mudæus : Ant, 1940.
MünchHum. = REINHARDSTÖTTNER, Human. in München : Bamb., 1890.
Murmell. = D. REICHLING, Johannes Murmellius : Frb, 1880.
MurmO = A. BÖMER, Werke des Murmellius (5) : Mnst, 1895.
Mut. = Mutationes circa foundationem *CTril.*, 1522 : before, II, 103-9.
MutE = C. KRAUSE, Briefwechsel des Mutianus Rufus : Cassel, 1885.
NanOF = Oratio Funebris P. Nannij in *CTril.* a Cornelio Valerio, 25 junij
1557 : orig. MS, reproduced as APPENDIX V (divided in §§ a to z).
NBG = J. HOEFER, Nouv. Biographie Universelle : Pr, 1857-66.
NBW = Nieuw Nederl. Biografisch Woordenboek : Leyden, 1911-
NED = J. MURRAY, New English Dictionary : Oxf, 1888-1928.
NèveMém. = F. NÈVE, Mém. s/l Collège des Trois-Langues : Brs, 1856.

- NèveRen. = F. NÈVE, Renaissance des Lettres en Belgique : Lv, 1890.
 NijKron. = NIJHOFF-KRONENBERG, Ned. Bibliogr. (2) : TH, 1923-40. *
 Nisard = Ch. N., Juste Lipse, Scaliger et Casaubon : Pr, 1852.
 NobPB = Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas et de Bourgogne (4) : Ghent, 1862-6.
 Nolhac = P. de N., Érasme en Italie. Étude, lettres inédites : Pr, 1898.
 Notestein = W. N., History of Witchcraft in England : Washington, 1911.
 Oecolamp(ad) = J. HERZOG, Johannes Oekolampad (2) : Basle : 1843.
 OlaCar. = Nic. OLAHUS, Carmina : ed Fögel & Juhász : Lpz, 1934.
 OlaE = OLAH Miklós Levelezése. Közli IPOLYI Arnold : Budapest, 1875.
 OlaO = N. OLAHUS, Hungaria-Athila : ed Eperjessy & Juhász : Buda, 1938.
 OpMBoek = P. OPMEER, Nederl. Cath. Martelaars Boek, 11 : Ant, 1700.
 Opmeer = P. O. & L. BEYERLINCK, Opvs Chronographicvm (2) : Ant, 1611.
 Orbaan = J. O., Bescheiden uit Italië omtr. Ned. Geleerden : TH, 1911.
 Paquay = A. P., Frans Tittelmans, 1502-37 : Hasselt, 1906.
 Paquot = J. P., Mémoires pr l'Hist. Litt. des 17 Prov. (18) : Lv, 1763-70.
 Parc = J. JANSEN, L'Abbaye du Parc-le-Duc, 1129-1929 : Mchl, 1929.
 Pastor = L. v. PASTOR, Geschichte der Päpste (16) : Frb, 1886-1933.
 PastReun. = L. v. PASTOR, Kirchl. Reunionsbestrebungen : Frb, 1879.
 PaulDom = PAULUS, Deutsch. Dominikaner gegen Luther : Frb, 1903.
 PaulHex. = PAULUS, Hexenwahn u. Hexenprozess im 16 Jht : Frb, 1910.
 Paulsen = F. P., Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts, 1 : Lpz, 1919.
 Peyre = R. P., Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Berry : Pr, 1902.
 PF = J. PAQUOT, Fasti Acad. Lovan., notes : MS 17567-8, Roy. Libr. Brs.
 PhilHessen = Philip der Grossmütige. Beiträge : Marburg, 1904.
 Philic. = G. LEBEAU, P. Philicinus, in Ann. Arch. de Binche, ix, 9-41.
 PigE = Steph. Vinandi PIGHII Epistolæ, 1557-97 : MS, CartMan., 187. *
 Pimenta = A. PIMENTA, História de Portugal : Lisbon, 1934.
 PirckO = Bilibaldi PIRCKHEIMERI Opera : ed M. Goldast : Frf, 1610.
 Pirenne = H. PIRENNE, Histoire de Belgique (7) : Brs, 1909-
 Pits = J. P., Relat. Hist. de Rebus Anglicis Tom. Primus : Pr, 1619.
 PlantE = ROOSES & DENUCÉ, Corresp. de Chr. Plantin (9) : Ant, 1883-1918.
 PoemBuch. = G. BUCHANANI Poemata, & aliorum : Basle <, 1568 >.
 PoemGrud. = N. GRUDII Nicolai Poemata : The Hague, 1609.
 PoemMar. = Hadr. MARII Nicolai Poemata : joined to PoemGrud.
 Polain = L. P., Catal. des Livres du xv^e S. des Bibl. de Belg. (4) : Brs, 1932.
 PolE = Card. POLI et aliorum Epistolæ : ed Quirini (5) : Brixen, 1744-57.
 PolEFr. = Card. GASQUET, Card. Pole and his Early Friends : Ld, 1927.
 Polenz = Gesch. d. Französischen Calvinismus (5) : Gotha, 1857-69.
 Polet = A. POLET, Petrus Nannius, 1500-57 (HumLov. 5) : Lv, 1936.
 PollCran(m). = A. F. POLLARD, Thomas Cranmer : London, 1904.
 PollHen. = A. F. POLLARD, Henry VIII. : London, 1905.
 PortHist. = J. ALBRECHT, Beitr. z. Portug. Historiographie : Halle, 1915.
 PortHum. = M. BATAILLON, Le Portugal au temps de l'Human. : Coi, 1952.
 Præp. = H. Q. JANSSEN, Jacobus Præpositus : Amsterdam, 1862.
 PrintLists = Lists of Books by London Printers 1501-56 : Ld, 1895-13.
 Proctor = R. P., Index to Early Printed Books in BritMus. (2) : Ld, 1898-
 Prowe = Leop. PROWE, Nicolaus Copernicus (3) : Berlin, 1883-84.
 QuetEch = QUÉTIF-ÉCHARD, Scriptores O.F. Prædicat. (2) : Pr, 1719-21.

- Quetelet = A. Q-, Hist. d. Sciences Mathémat. et Physiques : Brs, 1871.
 Rambosson = J. R-, Les Astres : Paris, 1891.
 RamCons = P. d. RAM, Considér. s/l'Hist. de l'Univ. de Lv : Brs, 1854.
 Redlich = O. R-, Jülich-Bergische Kirchenpolitik (2) : Bonn, 1907-11.
 Reich = M. R-, Erasmus' Briefwechsel, 1509-18 (W. Deut. ZS) : Tr, 1896.
 Rek. = Rekeninghe of Busleyden's executors, Jan. 1525 : FUL, 1436.
 Renaudet = A. R-, Préréforme et Humanisme, 1494-1517 : Pr, 1916.
 ResendO = L. A. RESENDII Poemata, Epistolæ, Orationes : Col, 1613.
 Reuchlin = L. GEIGER, Joh. Reuchlin, Leben u. Werke : Lpz, 1871.
 RevHisp. = Revue Hispanique : Paris, 1894-
 RHE = Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique : Louvain, 1900-
 Rhegius = H. HEIMBÜRGER, Urbanus Rhegius : Hamburg, 1851.
 RhénE = HORAWITZ-HARTFELDER, Briefw. d. Beat. Rhenanus : Lpz, 1886.
 Rhetius = J. KUCKHOFF, Johannes Rethius : Düsseldorf, 1929.
 Ribeiro = A. R-, Ant. de Gouveia Em Prol de Aristoteles : Lisbon, 1940.
 RingO = Ioach. Fortii RINGELBERGH Lucubrationes : Basle, 1541.
 Rivius = O. SAXENBERGER, Johannes Rivius : Breslau, 1886.
 Roersch = L. R-, Humanisme Belge à la Renaiss. (2) : Brs, 1910, Lv, 1933.
 Rommel = Chr. v. R-, Philipp, Landgraf von Hessen (3) : Giessen, 1830.
 Roy = H. BECKER, Louis le Roy de Coutances : Paris, 1896.
 RST = GREVING-EHRHARD, Reform.gesch. Studien & Texte : Mnst, 1906-
 RuelDiosc. = DIOSCORIDIS de Medic. Materia Ruellio interpr. : Ls, 1552.
 Rupprich = H. R-, Humanism. u. Renaiss. a. Deut. Univ. : Lpz, 1935.
 SadolE = Iac. SADOLETI, Card., Epistolarum Libri Sexdecim : Ls, 1550.
 Saintsbury = G. S-, The Earlier Renaissance : Ld, 1901.
 Sander = Nic. S-, De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ : Würzburg, 1592.
 Sanderson = E. S-, History of England and the Empire : Ld, 1893.
 Sandys = J. E. S-, History of Classical Scholarship (3) : Camb, 1906-8.
 SaxOnom. = Chr. SAXIUS, Onomasticon Literarivm, III : Utrecht, 1780.
 Schäfer = E. S-, Gesch. d. Span. Protest. u. Inquis. (3) : Gütersloh, 1902.
 SchelAH = SCHELHORN, Amoen. Historiæ Eccl. et Lit. (2) : Frf, 1737-38.
 SchelAL = SCHELHORN, Amoenitates Literariæ (14) : Frf, 1725-31.
 ScheppRech. = J. de S. GENOIS, Recherches sur C. de Schepper : Gt, 1856.
 ScheppMiss. = St. GENOIS &c, Missions de Corn. de Schepper : Brs, 1856.
 Scherer = E. S-, Geschichte an den Deut. Universitäten : Frb, 1927.
 Schirmer = W. S-, Englischer Frühhumanismus d. 15. Jhts : Lpz, 1931.
 SchottE = L. MAES, Lettres Inéd. d'André Schott (Muséon) : Lv, 1908.
 Schrevel = A. de S-, Hist. du Séminaire de Bruges(2) : Brg, 1883-95.
 Schroeter = A. S-, Gesch. der Neulateinischen Poesie : Brl, 1909.
 Schulte = J. v. S-, Gesch. des Canonischen Rechtes (4) : Stg, 1875-80.
 Seck. = SECKENDORF, Commentarius de Lutheranism (3) : Lpz, 1694.
 Seebohm = F. S-, The Oxford Reformers Colet, Erasmus, More : Ld, 1911.
 SepulvO = Joannis Genesii SEPULVEDÆ Opera (4) : Madrid, 1780.
 SeviVal. = E. SCHÄFER, Sevilla und Valladolid, Evang. Gem. : Halle, 1903.
 ShakEmbl. = H. GREEN, Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers : Ld, 1870.
 ShakEngl. = Shakespeare's England. Life and Manners (2) : Oxf, 1932.
 Simonis = J. S-, L'Art du Médailleur en Belgique : Brs, 1900.
 SleComm. = J. SLEIDANI Comment. de Statu Relig. & Reipub. : Strb, 1556.

- Sleidan.* = H. BAUMGARTEN, *Sleidans Leben und Briefe* (2) : Strb, 1878-81.
SleiKrieg. = A. KRIEG, *Charakteristik Joh. Sleidans* : Zehlendorf, 1907.
Smith = Pres. S-, *Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus* : Camb., 1927.
SonnE = P. de RAM, *Fr. Sonni ad Viglium Epistolæ* : Brussels, 1850.
SonRyth. = P. CLAESSENS, *Deux Évêques Belges au xvi^e S.* : *Anal.*, 1870.
SpanRef. = E. BÖHMER, *Spanish Reformers from 1520* (2) : Strb, 1874-
Specht = F. S-, *Gesch. d. Unterrichtswesens <to 1250>* : Stuttgart, 1885.
Stadius = J. ERNALSTEEN, *Joannes Stadius, 1527-79* : Brecht, 1927.
Stapleton = Th. S-, *Vita Thomæ Mori, in Tres Thomæ* : Douai, 1588.
Stintzing = R. S-, *Gesch. der Deut. Rechtswissenschaft* (2) : Mun, 1880-84.
Stone = J. M. S-, *Hist. of Mary I, Queen of England* : Ld, 1901.
Stow = J. S- (& E. Howes), *A Chronicle of England vnto 1631* : Ld, 1631.
Strieder = J. S-, *Jacob Fugger der Reiche* : Lpz, <1926>.
Strype = J. S-, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (7) : Ld, 1816.
StudAtt. = *Students' Attestations in the lawsuit v Rescius, 1547* (= *MotJuris*, 61-64) : *orig. MS* = APPENDIX VI (divided in §§ 1 to 34).
SturmKück. = L. KÜCKELHAHN, *Joannes Sturm u/d Pædagogik* : Lpz, 1872.
SturmPaasch = H. P-, *Sturms u. Calvins Schulwesen* : Diesdorf, 1915.
SturmSohm = W. SOHM, *Sturms Schule u. Strassbs Kirche* : Mun, 1912.
SweABelg. = Francis SWEERTS, *Athenæ Belgicæ* : Antwerp, 1628.
SweMon. = Fr. S-, *Monumenta Sepulchralia Brabantiae* : Ant, 1613.
SylvEpisc. = *Historia Episcopatus Sylvæducensis* : Brs, 1721.
Symonds = J. S-, *Renaissance in Italy : Revival of Learning* : Ld, 1882.
Taylor = H. T-, *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* : NY, 1901.
Test. = second part of Busleyden's Testament : *reprod. bef.*, I, 24-46.
Thibaut = F. T-, *Marguerite d'Autriche et Jeh. Lemaire* : Pr, 1888.
Torfs = L. T-, *Fastes des Calamités Publiques* (2) : Tournai, 1859-62.
TorrPoeSa. = L. TORRENTII *Poemata Sacra* : Antw., Plantin, 1572.
Tricoron. = J. KUCKHOFF, *Gesch. des Gymnas. Tricoronatum* : Col, 1931.
Tschackert = *Urkunden z. Reformgesch. Preussens* (3) : Lpz, 1890.
Turnhout = M. v. GORKOM, *Beschr. der Stad Turnhout* : Mchl, 1789.
TurnJans = J. JANSEN, *Turnhout in Verleden en Heden* (2) : Turnh., 1905.
TurnOnd. = L. CEIJSSENS, *Onderwijs te Turnh. voor 1830* : Turnh., 1934.
TypMus. = A. GOOVAERTS, *Typographie Musicale d/l Pays-Bas* : Brs, 1880.
Tytler = P. T-, *England under Edward VI and Mary* (2) : Ld, 1839.
ULAnn. = *Annuaire de l'Univ. de Louvain* : Lv, 1837-
ULCinqS = *L'Univ. de Louvain à travers Cinq Siècles* : Brs, 1927.
ULDoc. = REUSENS, *Doc. rel. à l'Hist. de l'Univ. de Louv.* (5) : Lv, 1881-
Ullmann = G. U-, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation* (2) : Gotha, 1866.
ULPrivCon. = *Privilegia Acad. Lovaniensis Confirmata*, II : Lv, 1728.
ULPromLv. = *Promotiones in Fac. Artium, 1500-1659* : *Louvain MS*.
ULPromRs. = REUSENS, *Promot. d/l Fac. des Arts, 1428-1797* : Lv, 1869-
ULTest. — *Testamentariæ Executiones approb. a Rectore*, I : FUL, 5613.
UltrEpisc. = B. FURMERIUS, *Hist. Episcop. Vlトラjectin.* : Franeker, 1612.
Underhill = J. U-, *Spanish Literature in Tudor England* : NY, 1899.
UniDill. = T. SPECHT, *Geschichte der Universität Dillingen* : Frb, 1902.
UniEngl. = A. ZIMMERMANN, *Die Univers. Englands i. 16 Jh.* : Fbr, 1889.
UniEur. = V. HAMLYN, *Universities of Europe at the Reform.* : Oxf, 1876.

- UniFreib.* = H. SCHREIBER, *Gesch. der Univer. Freiburg* (3) : Frb, 1868.
UniKöln. = H. KEUSSEN, *Die alte Universität Köln* : Col, 1934.
UniMarb. = VARRENTRAPP, *Ph. v. Hessen u/d Univ. Marburg* : M, 1904.
VadE = ARBENZ & C, *Die Vadianische Briefsammlung* (7) : St. Gallen, 1890-
ValCar. = CORN. VALERII V. AUWATER, *Carmina* : Louvain MS.
ValdDial. = J. VALDÉS, *Dial. de Doctr. Christ.*, ed Bataillon : Coi, 1925.
Valdes = F. CABALLERO, *Alonso y Juan de Valdés* : Madrid, 1875.
ValE = C. VALERII V. AUWATER, *Epistolæ*, 1537-51 : Louvain MS.
VAnd. = VAL. ANDREAS, *Fasti Acad. Stvdii Gen. Lovaniensis* : Lv, 1650.
VandEx. = V. ANDREAS, *Collegii Trilinguis Exordia* : Lv, 1614.
Varrentrapp = C. V., *Hermann von Wied* : Lpz, 1878.
Vern. = NICOL. VERNULÆUS, *Academia Lovaniensis* : Lv, 1627.
Vésale = A. BURGGRAEVE, *Études sur André Vésale* : Ghent, 1841.
ViglEA = *Literæ Viglii et Amicorum* : Louvain MS.*
ViglEB = *Epistolæ VIGLI* : MS 19145 in the Roy. Libr. Brs.*
ViglEL = *Lettres à Viglius* (de l'Univ. de Louv.), ed de Ram : Brs, 1851.
Vischer = W. VISCHER, *Erasmiana* : Basle, 1876.
VivAng. = F. WATSON, *Relac. de Vives amb l'Angleterra* : Barcel., 1918.
VivE = J. LUDOVICI VIVIS *Epistolæ* = VOO, VII, 132-231.
VivFarr. = J. L. VIVIS *Epistolarum Farrago* : Antw., G. Simon, 1556.
VivNam. = A. NAMÈCHE, *Vie et Écrits de J. L. Vives* : Brs, 1841.
VivVal. = F. WATSON, *Influence of Valencia on Vives* : Valencia, 1927.
VivVita = G. MAJANSIUS, *J. Lud. Vivis Vita* (VOO, I) : Valencia, 1790.
Voigt = J. V., *Briefwechsel mit Albrecht von Preussen* : Knb, 1841.
VOO = J. LUD. VIVIS *Opera Omnia* : ed G. Majansius (8) : Valencia, 1782-90.
Vos = J. J. VOS, *Ancien Chapitre de N.-D. de Tournai* (2) : Brg, 1898.
VulcE = H. de VRIES, *Correspond. de Bon. Vulcanius 1573-77* : TH, 1923.
Walther = A. W., *Die Burgundischen Zentralbehörden* : Lpz, 1909.
Warton = TH. WARTON, *The History of English Poetry* (4) : Ld, 1824.
Watson = FOSTER WATSON, *Vives : on Education* : Camb, 1913.
Weinsberg = *Das Buch Weinsberg* (5) : Lpz, Bonn, 1886-98.
Westphalen = *Monumenta Rerum Germanicarum* (3) : Lpz, 1740-43.
WestphalOp. = J. GOES, *Opuscula de Westphalia* : Helmstadt, 1668.
Wette = W. de WETTE, *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe* (5) : Brl, 1825-28.
WiedVarr. = C. VARRENTRAPP, *Hermann von Wied* : Lpz, 1878.
WimpfLeb. = J. KNEPPER, *J. Wimpfeling, Leben und Werke* : Frb, 1902.
Wimpina = J. NEGWER, *Konrad Wimpina* : Breslau, 1909.
WitzelSchr. = G. RICHTER, *Die Schriften Georg Witzels* : Fulda, 1913.
Wolsey = MANDELL CREIGHTON, *Cardinal Wolsey* : London, 1888.
Wood = [Ant. a W.-] *Athenæ Oxonienses* (2) : Ld, 1691-92.
Woodward = W. W., *Studies in Education, 1400-1600* : Camb, 1906.
Worp = WOP V. THABOR, *Kronijk van Friesland*, v : Leeuwarden, 1871.
Ximenes = C. HEFELE, *Der Cardinal Ximenes* : Tübingen, 1851.
Zarncke = F. ZARNCKE, *Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff* : Lpz, 1854.
ZasE = J. RIEGGER, *Vdal. Zasii Epistolæ* (2) : Ulm, 1774.
ZGE = *Zeitschr. f/d Gesch. und Altert. Ermlands* : Braunsberg, 1883-
ZKG = *Zeitschrift für Kirchen-Geschichte* : Gotha, 1876-
Zwe — *Zwinglis Briefwechsel* : I, II : *CorpRef.*, xciv-v : Lpz, 1911-14.*

LIST OF PERSONAGES

Besides the personages of the xvth and the xvth century, this list records classic authors and writers of books of a secular use; also, *in italics*, some living bodies, as abbeys and universities, as well as details or general remarks intimately connected with the matter treated. The figures refer to the pages; if they are printed in heavier types, they indicate biographical information of some importance about those whose names are set in CAPITALS. The I, II, added after names, before the figures, announce that a full notice about that personage has already been given in the first volumes of this *History*.

To shorten as much as possible this list, — which is necessarily burdened by the two, or even more, names by which people of any significance were designed in the xvth century, — the names of the possessions of some aristocratic families are added to those of the personages, but are not made into special items in the alphabetical enumeration, except when they are generally employed to indicate the individuals. Moreover ample use is made of abbreviations, — to which is added, if necessary, the plural -s — :

1°) sigla for family connections : *a* (aunt), *b* (brother), *d* (daughter), *f* (father), *gf* (grandfather), *gd* (granddaughter), *gs* (grandson), *n* (nephew, niece), *r* (relative), *s* (son), *sl* (sister), *u* (uncle), *w* (wife) : — they are doubled if they indicate two or more personages : *bb*, *ss*, &c.

2°) abbreviations of some titles : *alderm(an)*, *aman(uensis)*, *ambas(sador)*, *bot(anist)*, *Carth(usian)*, *chanc(ellor)*, *controv(ersionalist)*, *er(udite)*, *exec(utor)*, *fam(ily)*, *fr(iar)*, *geogr(apher)*, *govern(or)*, *hist(orian)*, *inquis(itor)*, *Jes(uit)*, *neighb(our)*, *not(ary)*, *nunc(io)*, *pens(ionary)*, *poss(ibly)*, *pres(ident)*, *prov(ost)*, *secre(tary)*, *treas(urer)*, *Univ(ersity)*, &c.

3°) sigla for functions or professions : *Abp* (Archbishop), *bk* (banker), *bl* (bailiff), *Bp* (Bishop), *bs* (bookseller), *cc* (councillor), *cn* (canon), *ct* (courtier), *cv* (carver), *dv* (divine), *gr* (grammarian), *hb* (hebraist), *hln* (hellenist), *hm* (humanist), *jp* (jurisprudent), *Kg* (King), *Kt* (knight), *lb* (librarian), *Ld*, *Ly* (Lord, Lady), *lm* (ludimagister), *lt* (literator), *mch* (merchant), *md* (medical doctor), *mdl* (medallist), *mk* (monk), *mn* (minister), *ms* (musician), *nav* (navigator), *pc* (preceptor), *pd* (pedagogue), *pf* (professor), *pp* (parish priest), *pr* (printer), *pt* (painter), *rf* (Reformer), *rg* (regens, head of college), *rs* (renaissance scholar), *sc* (scientist), *sch* (scholar), *St.* (saint), *st* (student), *sv* (servant), *tm* (tradesman), *wr* (writer).

A

- Aa, John van der, secr, 494.
 Abercrummy, John, st, 460.
 Aberdeen Univ, 450.
 Aberdeen, John of, st, 370.
 Abolens parish, 73.
 Acro, Pseudo-, 484-6.
 Acronius, John, pf, 255.
 Adrian of Utrecht, I, II, 3 224 239
 274 576; — Adrian VI, I, II, 7 29
 33 56 147 233 373 377 399 407 535.
 Adrianus, Matthew, pf, I, II, 160
 161 209 211 530.
 Adwert Academy, I, 256 537.
 Aegidius of Viterbo, Card. : *see*
 Canisio.
 Aegineta, Paul, 338-9 345.
 Aerdt, Werner, dv, II, 212.
 Aertrycke, Philip van, st, II, 71 72.
 Aerts, John, Arnoldi, prior, I, 73.
 Æschines, 39 117 505 535 566.
 Æsop, 437.
 Afer, Optatus, 418.
 Afflighem, Abbey of, 12 347.
 Agostino (Agust-), Antonio, Abp,
 286 288 309 311 312.
 Agricola, Rudolph, hm, I, 255 361-
 62 425 540 546 560 605 610-11.
 AGRIPPA of Nettesheym, HENRY
 CORNELIUS, hm, 22 140-43.
 Aire : Chapter, 222 250 346.
 Aire, Ludovicus of, 261.
 Alard of Amsterdam, hm, I, 61 72
 76 206 235 361 531 536 539-40 560
 568 577 598 610-11.
 Albertini, Francesco, 317.
 Alcala Univ, Trilingue, 78-81 138.
 Alciati, Andrew, jp, II, 138 362.
 Alderete : *see* Gracian.
 ALEANDER, Card. JEROME, nunc,
 Abp, II, 28-36 54 59 93 96 103
 109 157 167 177-78 183 196 199
 200-2 204 390 453 555 588 597
 Aleкторius, L., pr, 578.
 Alençon, Duke of, 503-504,
 Alexander VI, 79.
 Algerus, 490.
 ALGOET, Panagathus, LIVINUS, II,
 38 39 41 106 111 112 115 412 451.
 Ali-Pacha, Great-Vizir, 502.
 Alkmaar School, 247.
 almanacs, 343.
 Almada, Roderigo Fernandez de,
 Feitor, 51 56
 Almeida, Frei Roque de, st, fr, 185
 371.
 Alost, James of, pr, 173.
 Alpaïs, 98.
 ALTENANUS, JOHN, Allemanus, not,
 545 567 582 583 591 592 599; —
 s, John, pc, 583 591.
 Alva, Duke of, 341 347 353 421 526.
 Amantius, Barth., pf, 317.
 Ambrose, St., 73 304.
 Amerbach, Boniface., pf, jp, 30
 227-30 244 364 388-90 392 396 398-
 99 449 464 545 549 567 591 598-99;
 — b Basil, 388 549.
 Amerot, Adrian, st, pf, I, 39 294
 350 578 580.
 Ammonius, Andrew, secr, 84.
 Ammonius, Livinus, Carth, II, 38
 577.
 Amstenraedt, Edmond Huyn d',
 233; — r, Herbertte, 233.
 Anabaptists, 41.
 anatomy : 326-29 330 (Shake-
 speare).
 Andreas, Valerius, pf, 163 166 281
 410 446 505-6 544 566.
 Andrelini, Fausto, lt, I, 532.
 Andrieszoon van Stryen, Corne-
 lius, inquis, 576.
 ANGELIS, AMBROSE DE, Abbot, 128.
 Angers Univ, 527.
 Angianus, Dionysius, 430.
 Anjou, Henry, Duke of, 527.
 Ankara inscription, 500-501.
 Antiochia, patriarch of, 286.
 Antwerp : St. Michael's Abbey,
 149; — Canonry in O. Lady's,
see Goclenius; — antiquities,
 310; — fortifications, 247; —
 Huys of Aecken, 421.
 Aphthonius, 362 418.
 Apianus, Peter Bienewitz, pf, II,
 317 420.
 Apologia contra Theologistas Lo-
 van., 143.
 Apostole, Peter I', cc, 133 153 376.
 Appolonius, 49.
 Aquensis, Henry, pr, 302.
 Aragon, Kg Ferdinand of, 407.
 Aratus, 305.
 Arcerius, John Theod., pf, 489.

Arendoncanus, Crispinus, 264.
Argenteus Codex, 310.
 Aristænetus, 494.
 Aristippus, 247.
 Aristophanes, 115 262 268 535.
 Aristotle, 114 142-43 255 282 316
 323 326 329.
 Arnobius, 195.
Arras, Univ projected, 137.
 ARVIDSEN, BENT, Benedict, st, hm,
 369-70.
 Aspasia, 247.
 Asseliers, Anna, 331.
 Assendelff, Hugo of, cn, cc, 238.
 ASSENDELFT, GERARD, Ld of, also
 of Heemskerk, Cralingen, &c,
 cc, pres. of Holland, 237-39; *gf*
 & *f*, Gerard and Nicolas, 237; —
s, NICOLAS, st, 237-39; — *gs*,
 Cornelius, 238; — *rr*, Albert,
 Middelburg cn, 238; Paul, st,
 238.
 Assendelft: Nicolas, pp, Cornelius,
id, John Wilhelmi, st, Adrian,
 Haarlem pens, natives of, 238.
 Athanasius, St., 195.
 Athenæus, 314.
Athila, 42.
 Ἀθυσόγλωττος 531.
 Augustine, St. 1, 8 71 73-6 147-48
 303-4 490 548 554.
 Augustus, Emperor, 501.
 Auidius, Gerard, 52.
 Aurea, Valentinus de, st, 460.
 Aurogallus, Matthew, hb, 11, 201.
 Austria : Emperor Maximilian I,
 18 140 212 407 434 443 445 455
 459; — Philip the Fair, Archduke,
 99, 274 407-8 455; — Jane, Arch-
 duchess, 407; — Archduchess
 Margaret, 16 86 93 99 139 141 239
 242 324 352 377 407-8 416; —
 Emperor Charles V, 16-20 23-5 28
 31 38 46 48 68 79 86-7 99 108 117
 140-2 151 171 174 177 193 219 225
 237 239 246-7 252 271-2 274 276
 281 283 293-4 307 327 329 331-32
 338 345 351-2 356 358 362 377 381
 404 409-10 417 420-1 424 443 455
 459 467-71 473-4 476 485 493 505-7
 513-4 517 521 536 556-8 562-3 565
 579 583 596; — Empress Isabella,
 246 558; — Don Juan, 355 361

468; — Princess Juana, 81; —
 Princess Eleanor, Queen of Por-
 tugal and France, 48 407 506; —
 Emperor Ferdinand, 37 118 284
 287 301-2 325 409 450 462 494-6
 502; — Prince Ferdinand, 246;
 — Emperor Maximilian II, 38
 246 301-2 338 340-1 495 499 502-3
 513 527; — Duchess Elizabeth
 Queen of France, 493 502-3; —
 Emperor Rudolph II, 341 495 502-
 3; his *bb*, Archdukes Matthias,
 Maximilian, Wenceslas, Ernest,
 502 — and Albert, Archduke, 81
 280 493 502, & Archduchess Isa-
 bella, 81 280 579; his *ss*, Princes
 Charles & Ferdinand, 499; —
 Emperor Joseph II, 492.
 AUSTRIA, GEORGE OF, Bp of BRIXEN,
 Valencia & Liege, 11, 43 280 364-
 65 418 564 609.
 AUSTRIA, GEORGE OF, Provost of
 St. Peter's, 276 280 281.
 AUWATER, CORNELIUS VALERIUS
 VAN, pf, 11, 49 212 216 270-81
 317 343 496 501 540 572 593; —
his documents, 281; — *f*, 271.
Averbode, Abbot of, 233.
 Avicenna, 323-25.
 Avila y Stufiga, Luis, 116.
 Aytta, Rintzlia ab, 215.
 Azambusa, Fr. Jerome ab, 460.

B

Bachusius, Gerard, cn, lm, 262.
 Baden, Duke of, 468.
 Badius Ascensis, Josse, pr, 1, 35
 85 440 442 585.
 Baechem, Nicolas, '*Camelita*', 11,
 2 12 146.
 Baecx, Adrian, Pres. *Tril.*, 280.
 Baelemans, Joh. Fr.-Xav., Ld of
 Steenweghen, 214.
 Baenst, John de, mayor, 291.
 Baersdorp, Cornelius van, md,
 mayor, 297 334 433.
 Bailleul, Robert of, Ld of Eecke,
 295.
 Bailleul, Jane of, 295.
 Balan, P., 29.
 BALENUS, ANDREW VAN GENNEP, pf,
 8 77 188 208-19 258 282-4 371

- 381 394 396 425 510 534 555 589.
 Balfour, Colonel Henry, 320.
 Balistario, Luis, hb, 28.
 Bandelle, Adrian, pc, 47 306.
Baptism, its history, 299.
 Baratti, G., 64.
 BARBIER, PETER LE, Dean of Tournai, 'theologus indicus', 45-6 48-9 274 513.
 BARLANDUS, ADRIAN Cornelii, pf, I, II, 2 45 47 53 55 59 76 105 108-11 117 243 265 266 513 530-3 539 551 556 571 608.
 Barlandus, Adrian Aelius, pc, II, 45.
 Barlandus, Hubert, md, II, 45 114 323 325.
 Barnes, Robert, Bp, II, 370.
 Baron, Eguinarius, jp, pf, 522.
 Barros, Bras de : see Braga.
 Barthen, James a, 156 206.
 Bascio, Matteo da, Capuchin, 153.
 Basconius, lm, 441 446.
 Basil the Great, St., 22 41 105 107 108 113-5 117 494 501 515 535 537 566 577.
 Bathen, Batenius, James, pr, 296.
 BAUDOUIN, Balduin(i), FRANCIS, jp, 300 518-29 ; — f, Antony, 518 ; w, Catherine Biton, & d 523 528.
 Bausanus, Peter, 125.
 Baussele, Elizabeth de, 246.
 Bauw, Catherine, Ly of Gosson-court, &c, 455.
 Bavaria, King of, 301 ; — Duke of, 449 ; — Duke Albert, 78 367-68 ; — Duke Ernest, 78 ; — Frederic, 468.
 Bave, Francis, cn, 346.
 Bax, Nicaise, lt, 275.
 Bay, Michael de, pf, 264 347 577.
 Bayf, Lazarus, 521.
 Beaufermez, Ld of Ypres, 266.
 Becanus : see Gorp.
 Becker Borsalus, John, pc, I, 2 6 45 533.
 Becket, St. Thomas a, 403.
 Beda, Noel, dv, 30 132.
 Bédrot, James, lm, II, 90.
 BEEK, BECIUS, GILES VAN, lm, 441 445 448.
 Beethoven, 169.
Begging, 291-93 437-38.
 Beka, Walter de : see Leeuwe.
 Beken, Becanus, Arnold van der, cc, 379.
 Bellay, Card. J. du, II, 90 ; — b, William, Ld of Langey, general, 450 451.
 Bellerus, John, pr, 516.
 BEMBO, PIETRO, hm, 60 61 63 66 607.
 Bemden, Josse v. d. : see Prés.
 Benning, Livina, 307.
 Benzel, Eric, lb, Bp of Linköping, 17.
 Ber, Louis, 59.
 Bérault, Nicolas, hm, 34 262.
 Berckman, Birckman, Francis, bs, 595 ; — Arnold, pr, 420 512 579 ; — widow of John, pr, 512.
 Bergaigne, A. M., pr, 511.
 Bergbes, John de, Marquis, treas, 242 521 ; — s, Antony, st, Ld of Grimbergen, 45 ; — nn, Maximilian, Bp-Duke of Cambrai, 434, 525-6 ; Cornelius, Bp of Liège, 365.
 Beringen, Mary van, 251.
 Berlaymont de Floyon, Gauthier, Ld of Bomal, 233.
 Bernaert, Vulmar, pf, II, 257-58 260 288 296 318 485.
 Bernaerts, William, of Thielt, pf, md, 59 68.
 Berquin, John, rf, 259.
 Bersaques, Odoard de, Imp. almoner, 49.
 Berselius, Paschasius, mk, hm, I, 365 531 588.
 Berthelet, Thom., pr, 194.
 Bertolf, Bertulphus, Hilary, aman, 22 31 141 385-86.
Besançon Univ, 527.
 Bessarion, Card., Abp of Nicæa, 125.
 Beuckelaer, Philip de, mch, 224.
 Beverwyck, John van, md, 324.
 Beys, Egide, pr, 497.
 Beza, Theodore de, rf, 195 525 527-28.
Bible : study, 153 ; use in controversy, 157 ; — Erasmus' edition, 144 148 ; — Greek, 527 ; — polyglot, 353 ; — Clement VII's committee, 171 ; — in vernacular,

- 26-7 (*Louvain*), 289 (*Antwerp*); — *authority of the Church as source of faith beside the Bible* 299 (1, 297).
- BIESIUS, NICOLAS, pf, md, 341.
- Billick, Eberhard, pf, dv, 475.
- Birckman : *see* Berckman.
- Bircken, Sigism. von, 367.
- Bischoffs, Byscop, Henry, of Vucht, jp, 82.
- Bishof : *see* Episcopus.
- Biton, Catherine : *see* Baudouin.
- Blaccader, Will., st, 371.
- Blandimontensis, Arnold, lm, 260.
- Blandinianus codex antiquissimus*, 310.
- BLARER, GERWICK, Abbot of Weingarten & Ochsenhausen, 287 288.
- Blehen, Adrian de, Lv mayor, 67 109.
- Blioul, Laurent du, Ld of Sart, cc, II, 110 251.
- Blioul, Jerome de, jp, II, 612.
- BLOIS, Blosius, LOUIS DE, Abbot of Liessies, 12 185 252-53; — *f*, Adrian, Ld of Jumigny, 252.
- Blount, Charles, 552 602-3; *f*, William : *see* Mountjoy.
- Bludau, August, Bp of Ermland, 153.
- Blyth, John, of York, st, 371.
- Bobadilla, Doña Isabel de, 24.
- Bobadilla Bouadilla, Francis de, Bp : *see* Mendoza.
- Bockenberg, Peter Corneliszoon van, 250.
- Boece, Boethius, Hector, of Dun-dee, 450.
- Boemus, John, rs, 64.
- Boerhave, md, 330.
- Bogaert, James, md, pf, I, 381; — *d*, Margaret, 381.
- Boilet (Boisset), of Polignac, Claude, st, 236.
- Boisot, Peter de, Ld of Ruart, Orp & Huissingen, treas, 507; — *ss*, Peter, Ld of Ruart, treas, 507-8; John, st, 507; — *dd*, Mary, Ly of Orp & Huissingen, 507, 509; Catherine, 507; — *bb*, Claud, Abbot, 346; Didier, 251; — *n*, Elizabeth, Didier's *d*, 50 251.
- Boissard, J. J., 321.
- BOISSET, MARCURINUS DE, Boiset, Bousset, st, 236-7 239 242; — *b*, William, st, 237, 242; *r*, Claude, Dean of Dôle, prov of Mechlin, 236.
- Bollenberghe, John van, neighb., 377.
- Bolzanius, Bellunensis, Joannes Pierius Valerianus, hm, 202.
- BOMBERGHEN, DANIEL VAN, pr, 162; — *f*, Cornelius, pr, mch, 162, 217, — *r*, Venice pr, 357.
- Boner, John, Polish admin., 196.
- Bononia, and Bible, 27.
- Bonte, Greg. de, pr, 420.
- Bonvalot, Francis, cn, treas of Besançon, 395 400; — Nicole, Nic. Granvelle's *w*, 350 353.
- Boonaerts, Fabius, William, Tril. pf, 212.
- BORCH, President NICOLAS VAN DER, Verburg, Verburch, de Castro, 11 13 227 257 265 374 377 384 586.
- Borculons, Herman, pr, 272 488.
- Bordeaux, Coll. de Guyenne, 270.
- Bording, James, md, II, 34 363.
- BORGIA, St. FRANCIS DE, 80-81.
- Borre, Henry van den, neighb., 13 14.
- Borrromeo, Card. St. Charles, 302.
- Bosch, Sophia, 263.
- Bosche, John, pf, 78.
- Bosio, Antony, antiquarian, 308.
- Bossche, Paul van den, St. Martin's prior, 491.
- Bossut, Henry of, 584.
- Bosverkens, Achterius, John, Beth-leem prior, 148.
- Botany, 339-40 342.
- Botzheim, John, cn, hm, 132 150 450.
- Bouillon, Duchess of, 528.
- Bourbon, Charles de, *s* of Antony, Kg of Navarre, 525.
- Bourbon-Vendôme, Card. Louis de, Abp of Sens, 432.
- Boussu, Nic. de : *see* Longueval.
- Brabant : *its* Chronicon, 380-81; — *its* people, 561.
- Brabant, John IV, Duke of, 122.
- Bracle, Godfrey de, Abbot of Eename, 109.

- Bracman, Peter, cn, 297.
 BRAGA, or BARROS, Frei BRAS DE, mk, 371-73.
 Braganza, Duke of, 69.
 Brancion, John de, 340.
 Brandão, João, Feitor, 51.
 Brandenburg, Albert of, Card. of, Mayence, 6.
 Brandenburg, John Albert of, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, 19.
 Brecht, Godfrey of, 72.
 Brecht, Livinus of, lt, 268-69 561.
 Breughel, Arnold de, 185.
 Briarde, Lamb. de, Pres. Gr. Council, 115 505.
 Briart, John, pf, dv, i, 169 575-76.
 Brie, Brixius, Germain de, 450.
 Brimen, Catherine de, 223; — *f*, Peter, Kt, 223.
 Brimeu de Meghen, Ly de, 280.
 Brissot, Peter, pf, md, ii, 109.
 Brito, William, historian, 433-4.
 Brixius : see Brie, or Austria, George of.
 Brockenhuus, Fr., st, 370.
 Broeckhoven, Nic. van, of Hertogenbosch, lm, ii, 5 72 109 138 253.
 Broele, Gauthier van den, ms, 513.
 Bronckhorst, Livina van, 225.
 BRONT, NICOLAS DE, Brontius, Bren-tius, jp, 517-18.
 BROUWERS, Sculteti, CORNELIUS, de Weert, pf, 260 261.
 Brudegom, Hans, 421.
 Bruges : *Abbey of the Downs*, 263; *St. Donatian's School*, 259 262; *School of Bp de Witte*, 482; *University projected*, 137; — *Hôtel de Cuba*, 482; — *night feast*, 43; — *begging remedied*, 291-93.
 Bruhesen, Peter van, 294.
 Brussels Canal to Scheldt, 475.
 BRUYCKERE, Bruuckere, JOHN DE, lm, 257-58 260 291.
 Bruyne, Lebrun, Catherine de, 338; — *f*, Antony, army receiver, 338.
 Bruyreus, Nicolas, 442.
 Brylinger, Nic., pr, 268.
 Bucer, Martin = Aretius Felinus, rf, 172 356 522.
 Buchaman, Patrick, st, 371.
 Bucho, Bernard, cc of Friesland, ii, 238.
 Budé, William, hm, 35 45 48 84-5 89 130 327 521-22.
 Bukentop, Henry de, 512.
 Bullestraeten, John van, neighb, 378.
 Bullinger, Henry, rf, 300.
 Buonamici, Lazzaro, pf, 60 66 69.
 Burch, Jane van der, 226.
 Burch, Judocus Amsoen van der, cc, 511-12.
 Burchard, 292.
 Burgundy : Duke Philip the Good, 352 407 411; — Duchess Mary, of Valois, 324; — Duke Charles the Bold, 352 434; — Duchess Mary, 434.
 Burgundy, Adolph of, Ld of Be-veren, 416 435.
 BURGUNDY, BALDWIN OF, Ld of Fal-lais, Manille, Breedam &c, 407; — ss, Philip, 408; Maximilian, Ld of Fromont, Abbot of Mid-delburg, 408 411; Charles, Ld of Breedam, 408; — dd, Ann & Mary Magdalen, 408.
 Burgundy, Philip of, Admiral, Bp of Utrecht, 446.
 Burick, John de, lm, 241.
 BUSBEEK, OGIER, Ghyselin(ck), Ghislain DE, 288 315 341 356 492-504 505-7 508.
 Busbeek, Giles de, of Lille, st, 493.
 Busche, Herman von dem, hm, i, 82 83 531 539.
 Busilius, Bp of Seleucia, 250.
 BUSLEYDEN JEROME DE, Founder, i, ii, 2 13 14 88 91 92 94 132 211 220 224 240 243 307 346 374 402 467-8 470 530 564-65 571 573 576 580 588 590; — his *Lusus*, 94; — *growing importance of his Foundation*, 458.
 BUSLEYDEN, GILES II DE, Founder's brother, i, ii, 9 94 99 101 128 180 182-3 186-7 220 307 378 456 551 588 589; — ss, Nicolas, 99, 588; — Giles III, poet, painter, sculptor, 220-21; — John, J. V. L., 220-21 456; his s, Giles IV, 221; — Wil-liam, Ld of Ghiers & Everberg,

J.V.L, 220-2; — his s John, head of bastard branch; his d Agnes, *béguine*, 221; his descendent, Andrew-Giles, advocate, 221.
 Busleyden, Valerian de, 307.
 BUYSSUM, Beuyszum, Bueszum, CHRISTOPHER OF, st, 308.
 Buzelin, John, hist, 518.
 BYNS, ANNA, lt, 441 443 444.
 Buyck, James, pp, 265.

C

Caboutere, Arnold, md, lt, 514.
 Cadena, Doña Inés de la, 460.
 Cæsar, Julius, 402.
 Cæsarius, John, pf, 81.
 Cahmayde, Trudo, de Londino, st, 460.
 Cajetan, Card. Jacopo Tomaso de Vio, 28.
 Cakaert, Dominic, jp, pf, 153.
 Calabria, Duke of, 101.
 Calais, *Interview of*, 381.
 CALCAR, JOHN VAN, pt, 327 329 330.
Calendar Reform, 324.
 Callimachus, 249.
 CALVIN, JOHN, rf, 208 300 522 3 524-25 527-28; — *unreliableness of Calvinistic editors*, 256.
 Cambron, Abbey, Hainaut, 603.
 Camelita, Nicolas: *see* Baechem.
 Camerarius, Joachim, hm, 191 364.
 Cammingha, Haio, Ld of Amnia, st, cc, ii, 15 459 550 555 597; — *rr*, Tito, & Menno, sts, 459.
 Camões, 65.
 Camotius, J. B., 308.
 Campanus, Joannes Antonius, 532.
 Campeggio, Lorenzo, Card, legate, Bp of Feltre, 31 95 111 152 167 173-74 197 244 364.
 CAMPEN, JOHN VAN, CAMPENSIS, pf, ii, 8 17 23 40 54 60 71 94 97 104 110-11 123 136 144 152 154-184 185-7 188 190-208 209-11, 218-19 232 244 356 364 373 547 562 564 571 595 597-8 602 604; *his principles of study and teaching*, 157 159; — *his scheme to recuperate Melanchthon*, 157-8 160 179 189 196-202 204 208 604; — *s*, Jerome, 156 206-7.

Campen, John van, Courtrai, 208.
 Campensis, Gerard Joannis, st, 208; — Gerbr. Joannis, st, & Joannes, st, 208.
 Camphusen, Henry van, st, 526.
 Campis, Joannes Gerardi a, pp, 208.
 Campius, Gerard, 254.
 Campogirauldo, Franscisco de, 44.
 Cañete, marquis of: *see* Mendoza.
 Canis, Francis, Cornelius and Peter, mss, 514.
 Canisio, Card. Ægidio, of Viterbo, Augustine General, 161 179.
 CANNIUS, NICOLAS, secr, ii, 229 386 388 550.
 Cano, Melchior, 27.
 Canossa, Louis, Count of, 85.
 Canta, James, sv, 111 167 173 244.
 CANTER, WILLIAM, hm, 278 279; — *bb*, John, Lambert and Theodore, 278.
 Cantiuncula, Claud, jp, ii, 66 83 141 368 550 596.
 Capella, Martianus, 480.
 Capito, Wolfg., rf, 284.
 Carbonis, Julian, 72.
 CARINUS, LUDWIG, Kiel, pc, i, ii, 228 242 461 463 464-66 558 609.
 Carlowitz, Christ., cc, ii, 596.
 Carneiro, Antonio, secr, 56.
Carnifices (whipping teachers), 229-31.
 CAROLUS, ADAM (Hungarian), st, hm, lt, 55 62 66 368.
 Carondelet, John de, Abp of Palermo, Presid. of Council, 38 100-1 128 152 173 175-7 195; — *b*, Charles, Ld of Potelles, 145.
 Carpentarius Iliensis, John, 430.
 Carpi, Card. Rudolfo Pio de, 309.
 CARRIO, LOUIS, Carrion, pf, jp, 249 278 496 497 503 507.
 Casaubon, Isaac, 249.
 CASSANDER, GEORGE, Casant, i, 296-303 305 435 448 451-52 475 482 508 524.
 Casteele, John van den, rf (= Stephanus Lindius), 302.
 Castellius John, pp Somerghem, hm, 514.
 Castello, Peter a, Greek pf, *Tril.*, 212.
 Castelvinius Jan. Basil., Comes

- Cervellionis**, 461.
Castro, Alonso de, 189.
Castro, Nicolas de : *see* Borch.
Cato, 440 478.
Cats, William van, 225.
Cats van Welle, Livine, 505.
Catwyck, Theodoricus of, pp, 536.
Caulier, William, Abbot of Lobbes & Brogne, 268.
Cawet, Andrew, st, 478.
Cellæ, Ancelmus & Christ., 57.
CELLARIUS, CHRISTIAN, Kellenaer, hm, 82 257 259 291-96 305 407 412 414 419 438.
Celsus, Cornelius, 333-34.
Ceratinus, James Teyng, hm, I, II, 82 138 385.
CERDA, DON JUAN MANUEL DE LA, Ld of Belmonte, Campos & Zebrico de la Torre, ambass, 407; — *f*, Don Juan Manuel, 407; — *si*, Doña Marina Manuel, 407-8; — *s*, Diego, 407.
Ceriol of Valencia, Fadrique Furió, 26-27.
Cervini, Card Marcello, 313, 319.
Ceuninck, John de, Regis, ms, 219.
Châlons, Philibert of, Prince of Orange, 409; — *d*, Claudia, heir-ess of Orange, 101.
Chapuys, Eustace, ambass., 554.
Charellus, Nicolas Emerentius, mk, 448 451.
Charles Martel, 98.
Charloys, John, 378.
Charlton, John, 275.
Chartres, Arnold of, Abbot of Bonneval, 145.
Chaucer, 114.
CHERFF, PETER, Cerf, of Steenwerck, st, 121-122 534.
Chevallon, Claude, pr, 173 193.
Chièvres, William of, 239.
CHILIUS, ADRIAN, lm, 259 262-63 438.
Choienski, John. Bp of Plock, 192.
Choler, John, 22 30 34 389 392 609.
Cholinus, Mat., pr, 339.
Chromatius, 74.
Chrysostom, St. John, 59 105 107 108 117 252 253 304 315.
churches : walking & talking in, 477-80.
Cicero, 4 30 34-5 52 59 62 255 277 279 363 396 423 432 483 520 532 542-4 559 572 610-11; — *Ciceronianism*, 34-5 495.
Cisner, Nicolas, of Mosbach, jp, pf, 524.
Claerhout, Adrian, Ld of Ardoye, 295.
CLAERHOUT, JAMES OF, Ld of Maldeghem, Pitthem, &c., 485; — *f*, William, 485.
Claeyssone, John, cc, 297 334.
Clamanges, Nicolas de, dv, 7.
Claudian, 21.
Clauthus, John, 394.
Clava, Antony, Colve, hm, I, II, 39 442.
Clement VII, 20 56 107 171 192 203 284.
Clement VIII, 81.
CLENARDUS, NICOLAS BEKEN, II, 23 55 60 105 107 144-45 154 158-9 164-70 174-5 177-78 185-88 190 202 206 208-10 243 247 251 253 272 363 371-72 401 402 471-73 497 560 (hat) 562 574 585-6 597; — *his Epistolæ*, 190 243 253; — *his method of teaching*, 472; — *Clenardus and Erasmus*, 189.
Clenardus, Judocus, st, 190.
Clercq, Giles le, 526.
CLER(I)CKS TILMAN, Henrici Ghyben, Clerici, Pres. Coll. Adrian VI, 511.
CLERICUS, PHILIP, Claray, de Clerck, Leclerc, Kt, Ld of Boeverkerke, LL, cc, 108 362; — *f*, Charles, cc, 362; — *bb*, John, Abp of Oristano, 108 362; Peter, lt, 108 362.
Cleves & Jülich, Duke of, 16 227 286 301 366 469 558 583 591 609; — Duke John III, 230; — Duke William, 228, 287 363 469 520 523.
Clichtove, Jacqueline de, 15 356.
CLICHTOVE, JUDOCUS, dv, 440; — *JEROME*, pp, 440 444.
Clusen, Catherine van der, 230.
Clusius, Charles : *see* Escluse.
Clutinck, John Cloetinck, 581; — *d*, Jane, 581; — *r*, Philip, Ld of Fauquez, 581-2.

- Cobel, Philip, cc, 357.
 Coccius, Joan., pr, 118 267 449.
 COCCIUS, LUDOLPHUS, Kock, hm, 109-10 588.
 Cochlaeus, John, II, 54 157 161 198 203-4 418 450.
 Cock, Cocus, Simon, pr, 41 57 146 151 170 234 247 438 440 517.
 Coelho, Coelius, George, 66.
 Cogge(n), MATTHEW, Promoter, not, 127 211 383-84 547 581 582.
 Cogge, William Gooriszone gode-froit, van Iyere, neighb, 383-384.
 Coimbra Univ, 59 371-373 607.
 Colaüs, Sidonia von, 368.
 Colet, John, Dean, 140 373.
 Colines, Simon de, pr, 49 186.
 Cologne: *Three Kings*, 81; — *town*, 363; — *Univ: theology*, 10; *human. studies*, 81-2 108; *Bursa Cuckana*, 295.
 Colomb, Christ. Colon, 63; — s, Ferdinand, 187 190.
 colophons: *their reliability*: 108.
 Comes, Stephen: *see* Grave.
 Commelinus, Jerome, pr, 321.
 Condé, Prince of, 525.
 Coninck, Anne-Marie de, 221.
 CONTARINI, GASPARO, Card., 188 202 203-4 205-6; — Jo. Matthæus, 203.
 Conti, Gianfrancesco (= Stoa, Quintianus), It, 445.
 COOMANS, LAMBERT, dean of Turnhout, 111 209-10 390-91 394-400 550 592 598.
 Cop, of Schlettstadt, Vitus, 451.
 COPE, ALAN, cn, II, 350.
 Coppens, Giles, pr, 246 266 420 441.
 Copernic(us), Nicolas, II, 19 20 284 345.
 Coppin, Nic., dean, pf, dv, II, 127 146 576.
 Corbernus de Norwegia, st, 369.
 Cordatus, Adrian, cn, 111.
 Cordesius, Joannes, bs, 302.
 Corenbechius, Martinus, Vienna, st, 460.
 CORENHUSIUS, WILLIAM van Cornhuse, Cornusenius, cc, pres, 438 439-40.
 Cornarius, Janus, md, pf, 323.
 Coronello, Luis, pf, 442-43.
 Coronelo, Antonio & Luis, 65.
 Corsendonck Priory, 305.
 CORTE, PETER DE, Curtius, pf, Bp of Bruges, *provisor of Tril.*, II, 26 77 131-35 137 142 144 151 181 185 259-60 293-94 333 335 551 559 574-75 577 579 581-2 586.
 Corte, James de, Curtius, hm, 126 535 417.
 Cortebach, James, 72.
 Corvinus, Matthias, Kg of Hungary, 37.
 Corvinus, Antony, hm, 193-4.
cosmography in Louvain, 561-62.
 Coster, John de, of Brecht, gr, I, 74-6 272.
 COSTER, JOHN DE, Costerius, 'Dove', of St. Martin's, I, 303-305 490.
 Cotrel, Peter, archdeac, I, 137 138.
 Council: *General C requested*, 140; — *pseudo-c of Pisa-Milan*, 28.
 Courselius, Corselius, Gerard, Im, 270.
 Cousin, Gilbert, cn, 59 87 353 394-96 400 450-51.
 Covos, Francis de los, Secr. of State, 24.
 Coxe, Richard, Bp of Ely, 84 300.
 Coxie, Michael, pt, 49 306.
 Crabbe, Isabella, 324.
 Cracow Univ, 198-200 (*Campens.' lectures*) 373 527.
 CRANEVELT, FRANCIS DE, cc, I, 22 41 42 106 111 113 115 117 125 133 153 235 246 259 266 294 403-5 406 413 419 441 452 520 536 537-38 540 552-53 575; — *gs*, Judocus, Ld of Linden, 236.
 Cranmer, 474.
 Crato a Crafftheim, John, md, 341 504.
 Grefeling (Ciefeling), Jerome, of Vienna, st, 461.
 Crema, Francesco de, pf, 3.
Crespin Abbey, 12.
 Croceus, Guido, 430.
 Crocus, Cornelius, poet, II, 55.
 Croke, Richard, hm, I, 82.
 Crombrugghe(n), Victor van, pr, 430 442-43.
 Croock, Hubert, Crocus, pr, 291 433 438.
 Croock, John de, Ypres, cc, 291 437.

- Croy, Card. William de, 25 ; — *bb*, Eustace, Bp of Arras, 351 ; — Robert, Bp of Cambrai, 12 541 ; — Charles, Bp of Tournai, 116.
- Croy, Suzanne de, *reputedly married to* Giles IV de Busleyden, 221.
- Crucius : *see* Cruucke, Cruyce.
- Cruquius, James, son of John, martyr at Gouda, 483.
- Crusade, Pacific*, 189.
- CRUUCKE, JAMES DE, Cruyken, Crucquius, *lm*, 298 **481-88** 492 540 ; — *rr*, Cornelius, Joannes & Christianus, *sts*, 481.
- Cruyce, John van den, Crucius, *Gk pf* in Lily, 260 294 575.
- CRUYCE, LIVINUS VAN DEN, Crucius, *lm*, 244-46 438-39 **440-41** 442 444.
- CRZICKI, ANDREW, Cricius, Crzycki, Bp of Plock, 157 **196** 197-8.
- Cujas, James, *jp*, *pf*, 496 521 523.
- Cuper : *see* Cuyper.
- Curiis, John a : *see* Dantiscus.
- CURIUS, PETER, Van den Hove, *lm*, 114 **259** 262 295 438 **439**.
- Cursius, Erasmus' enemy, 389.
- Curtius, Quintus, 605.
- Curtius, Peter, James : *see* Corte.
- Cusa, Card Nicolas de, 7 142.
- Cuspidius, Lucius, 109.
- Cuspinianus, 367.
- Custos, John : *see* Coster.
- Custos (Custodis), John, *pp*, *neigh*, 376 382.
- Cuukius, Cuucius, Henry, *st*, 222-3.
- CUVILLON, Cuvilloen, Couvillon, JOHN, of Lille, *st*, *Jes*, **449**.
- Cuyck, Antony van, 279.
- Cuyck, Hedwige van, 224.
- Cuyck, Henry van, *pf*, *dv*, Bp of Roermond, 491.
- CUYCK, JOHN BAPT. VAN, Cauchius, *hm*, **279** ; — *b*, Bruno, 279.
- CUYPER, MARTIN DE, Cuper, Carmelite, Bp of Calcedonia, **11-12** ; — *f*, John, *Ld* of Riemen, 12.
- Cuyle, Judocus de, Deculius, *pf*, 503.
- D**
- Daele, Engelbert van den, *cc*, 241.
- Daelhem, or Dongen, Beatrice van, Ly of Besoyen & Heinenoord, 237.
- Daems, Henry, *pp* of St. Quintin's, 92.
- Daems, James, *neighb*, 376 382.
- Damus, Bertram, poet, 55 110.
- Danès, Peter, *pf*, *ii*, 84-85.
- Daniel, prophet, 40 177 184.
- Daniel : *see* Heule.
- DANTISCUS, JOHN, von Hoven, Höfen, a Curiis, Flachsbinder, Linodesmon, *ambass*, Bp, *ii*, 17 **18-23** 24 97 107 110 136 152 156-7 160 163-64 169-74 **176** 177 179-81 183-84 187 189-206 208 211 244-45 283 356-57 539-40 547 554 (Bp of Culm) 559 562 **563-64** 596-98 602 604 ; — *medals of him*, 562-3 ; — *d*, Juana, 20 81 ; — *friends*, Perla, Grynea, 20.
- Dathus, Senensis Aug., 533.
- Decimarius, Joannes (= Erasmus), 548 595.
- DECIUS, JUSTUS, Lud. Dietz, *mn*, 22 **196**.
- Delfino, Card Zaccharia, *nunc*, 302.
- Delft fire*, 294.
- Delgada, Isabel, 20.
- DELRIO, MARTIN-ANTONY, *hm*, **278** 441 496 512.
- Demonax, 247.
- Demosthenes, 39 41 117 129 247 255 505 535 566.
- Denmark : Kg Christian II, 120 242 283 557 ; — Queen Isabella, 120 242 557 ; — Princess Christina, 43 246 424 ; — Court, 541 ; — Kg Christiern III, 469.
- Despomeraulx, Matthew, 86.
- Devarius, Matthæus, *rs*, 113.
- Deventer Provostry*, 452.
- Dewes, Gerard, *pr*, 340.
- Diest, town*, 472.
- DILFT, FRANCIS VAN DER, *ambass*, *ii*, 40 43 225 240 550 **556** 557 ; — *d*, Anna, 225 ; — *s*, Edward, 225.
- Dillingen Univ*, 108 213-5.
- dioceses, new, and discontent they caused* : 352 578-79.
- Diodorus Siculus, 314.
- Diogenes, 247.
- Dioscorides, 5 27 315 339 499 501.
- Doctrinale*, 4.

Dodo, Denis, md, 338.
DODOENS, REMBERT, Junius, Dodo-
næus, md, bot, II, 335-45 357;
— s, Rembert, 341; — dd, Antoi-
nette, Jane & Ursula, 341.
Doesborch, John van, pr, 381.
DOLET, STEPHEN, rf, 29 30 34-35 36
103 194 389.
Dominicans criticized, 559 570.
Dominus, Jerome (= Aleander), 30.
Donatus, gr, 473.
Doneau, Donellus, Hugh, jp, pf, 522.
Dongen, Beatr. van: see Daelhem.
DONK, MARTIN, Duncanus, Quem-
penas, lm, 263-65; — f, Henry,
263.
Dordrecht, John of, st, 32 555.
Dorne, Gertrude van den, 251.
DORP, MARTIN VAN, pf, dv, I, II, 2 4
71 75-6 131-32 147 235 237-38 381
385 429 437 441 510 520 532 540
545 575 580 610.
Douai Univ., 139 214 353 526.
Douglas: see Schott.
Dousa, Janus, 248 320 321.
Doye, John, pf, 576.
*dramatic representations by stu-
dents*, 532.
DRIEDO, JOHN, Driedoens, of Turn-
hout, pf, dv, II, 47 55 109-11 113
115 131 145 164 189 372 536.
Driessche, Drusius, John van den,
pf, 278.
DRIEUX, MICHAEL, Driutius, pf, jp,
II, 121 126 129 348 481-82 485
582 590-91 612-3; — n, Remi, Bp
of Bruges, 485.
Droomere, Michaël de, prior of
Lens, 73.
Drua, James of, 582.
Dryander, John Eychmann, pf, 330
418.
Duaren, Francis, pf, jp, 522-23.
Ducci, Gaspar, bk, 359.
Duerne, Roberta van, 216; — nn,
Frederic & Antony, 217.
Duisburg Univ., 288 301-2 315 523-
24.
Dullardus, Joannes, pf, 443.
Dumæus, A., pr, 61 266.
Dunn, Gabriel, of London, st, 370.
Dürer, Albert, pt, 51.
Dures, James, dean, 193.

Dussen, Josse van der, cc, 241.
Duvendoerde, John van, 273.
Duyfkens, Joh., not, 387.
Duynen, Arnold von, 228; — d,
Mechtilde, 228.
Dwergens Punkterne, 370.

E

Ebrardus, 4.
Ecclesiastes, 171 172 184 191 193-4
198 208.
Ecebolius (= Fr. Baudouin), 521
525.
Eck, John, Eccius, contriv, 28 54
106 136 172 204.
Edam, Francis of, Carth prior, 75
580.
Edelheer, James, JVL, presid., 219
227 454-5 581 586 588 592.
Edingen, Omer of, Edingus, Ld of
Op-Hasselt, II, 438.
Egenolph, Agenolphus, Christ.,
pr, 417-18.
Egmond Abbey, 71.
Egmont, George of, Bp of Utrecht,
II, 271 352 558.
Egmont, John of, II, 237.
Egmont, Maximilian of, Count of
Buren, army leader, II, 332 411.
Egmont, Lamoral, Count of, 526.
EGNATIUS, JOHN BAPTISTA Cipelli,
pf, 125 494.
Egnoy, John, st, 380.
Ellenbog, Nicolas, mk, lt, 160.
Elphinstone, Bp, 450.
Elzevier, pr, 497.
Emmeus, J., pr, 555.
Emser, Jerome, contriv, II, 135.
Enckenvoirt, Card William van,
II, 206 394 399.
Endlicher, Stephen Ladislaus, bot,
499 500.
England: Queen Eleanor, 443; —
Kg Henry VIII, 58 83-4 204 246
297 381 424 474; — MARY, Prin-
cess & QUEEN, 359 370 474 477
495 577; — Kg Edward VI, 359;
— Queen Elizabeth, 359-60.
Entières, Mary d', 444.
Enzinas, James de, 300.
Ephrem, St., 494.
Epigraphy, 316-18 321-22.

- Episcopus, Nicolas, Bishof, pr, 229 231-32 313 384 390-91 397 398 449 544 546 559 606.
- Eppendorf, Henry of, 548 595.
- ERASMUS, I, II, 1-2 3 4-5 **6-9** 11 13-4 22-3 25-6 **28-30** 31 **33-5** 36 38-42 44 46-8 51 53-4 56 **58** 59-60 63 65 **66** 68 71-7 79 82 84-90 **91-2** 93-102 105 107 109-13 118 122-3 127 **129** 130-6 **138** 141 144-54 158 164-65 168-70 174-77 180-83 186-7 189-90 196 208 **209-10** 211 215 227-33 235 237-38 240 244-5 247 (+) 254 256 262 264 274 278 280 282 (+) 287 297 299 301 306 330-31 339 353 358 363-65 371-73 375 **380-81** (+) **384** **386-90** (wills) **390-3** (death) 394-95 **396** 397 **398-400** 401 (death & Clenard) 402-5 **406** (& More) 407 **411** 412-16 419-23 425-33 **435-36** 438 441 444-45 **446-52** (letter) **452-53** (last months) **453** (meaning & influence) 458-9 461-2 464 488 490 495 506 509 513 530-33 **536** (epitaphs) 539-53 **554** 555-56 559 562-64 566 **568** 570 573-77 580 585 587-8 595-99 601-3 605-7 609 611 612.
- ERASMUS : room and belongings in the Lily, 385-88 574-75 587 ; — stay at Anderlecht, Brussels, **240** 552-3 ; — house to be bought in Louvain, **385** ; — E. & Spain, **46-7** ; — house bought in Freiburg, 26 ; — return to Brabant schemed, 38-9 385, sq ; — his amanuensis Augustinus, 395.
- ERASMUS : his fortune, 592 ; — his money in Louvain, 385-89 573 ; — 'Compendium Vitæ', 548 ; — rumour of his death, 550 ; — Epitaphia, 41, sq.
- ERASMUS : importance attributed to languages, 458 ; Laus Stultitiæ, 416 ; — the Colloquia, 2 6 264 542 ; — Novum Testamentum, 150 153 ; — Expositio Fidelis of More's death, 554 ; — request for reprinting his works, 549.
- ERASMUS : his concept of faith, 7 ; — standing to Louvain divines, 132 ; — real opinion in his correspondence, 549-50 ; — anxiety to preserve Catholics from Protestant influence, 229 ; — faith and death as pious catholic, 400.
- Eraste, Thom., 27.
- Erfurt University, 255.
- ERICKSEN, GODSCHALK, Rosenkrantz, Ericii, Sassenkerl, chanc, 22 246 282 **283**.
- Escluse, Clusius, Charles de l', bot, 321 338 340-41 499.
- Escorial Library, 27 312.
- Espinoy, Hugh d', Viscount of Ghent, 348.
- Esschius, Nicolas, dv, 347.
- Estienne, Charles, pr, 327.
- Ethiopia : description, 65-66 ; — Kg David, 58 ; Kg Prester John, 56-8 63 153 ; ambass Matthew, 56 66.
- Eugene IV, 324.
- Euripides, 420 488 535.
- Eustachio Bartolomeo, md, 330.
- Eustathius, 113.
- Euthynus, 536.
- EVERAERTS, EMBERTUS, Everardi, of Arendonck, pf, dv, **479** ; — b, Judocus, pf philos., **478-9**.
- Everardi, Nicolas, Pres. (Holl. & Mechl.), 237 246 307.
- Eversham Abbey, 515.
- Exercitia Spirituallia, 424.
- Eycken, John van der, of Hasselt, dv, pf, 510 512 577.
- Eycken, Peter van der, Verreycken, audiencer, 110.
- Eynde, Eyssele, Ersele, Heissel, John van den, alderm, 224.

F

- Faber, John, Heigerlin, Bp of Vienna, 54 200 204
- Faber, Josse, ms, 513.
- FABRI, JOHN, Schmidt, of Heilbronn, dv, **475-76**.
- Fabricius, George, rf, 298.
- FABRICIUS, GODFREY, Lefèvre, Smits, pf, cc, **77-78** ; — b, Andrew, pf, 77-78.
- FAGIUS, PAUL, Buchlein, hb, 161 **284**.
- Falais, Falesius, Leonard, st, 429.

Falco, Herman, st, 94 234.
 FALLAIS OF BURGUNDY, FRANCIS DE,
 Ld of Nevers, lt, 42 245 403 406-
 11 413; — *f*, Baldwin, Ld of
 Manilly, Breedam, &c, 408 411;
 — *u*, Philip, 407 408; — *s*, John,
 409; — *b*, Philip, 408 409; —
sis, Mary, 408; Ann & Mary
 Magdalen, 408.
 Fallopio, Gabriel, md, 330 332.
 Fane, Richard, st, 370.
 Farengton, Robert, st, 371; — *f*,
 Henry, 371.
 Farnese, Alexander, Duke of Par-
 ma, 474.
 Faulkurius, Stephen, sv, 241 454.
 Fauquez, Ld of : *see* Clutinck.
 Fauvel, Falvellius, John, prov
 'Formosellanus', 445.
 Faverney, Abbot-Baron of, 346.
 Favolius, Hugh, 356.
 Felinus Aretius (= Bucer), 172.
 Feltre, Bp of : *see* Campeggio.
 Ferber, Maurice, Bp of Ermland,
 19.
 Ferdinandi, Petrus & Henry, Por-
 tug. sts, 420.
 Ferenberg(er), secr to Ferd. of Au-
 stria, 462.
 Ferron, Arnold le, 29.
 Fèvre de la Boderie, Guy le, 289.
 Fevyn, John de, cn, scholaster, I,
 II, 94 117 133 259 533.
 Fieschi, James, Bp of Savona, 48,
 481 506.
 Fischer, Matthias, (Masius') sv,
 583.
 Fisher, Bp, Card., 204 474 598.
 Finé, Oronce, pf, 85.
 Flaccus Illyricus, Matthias Fran-
 cowitz, rf, II, 297 300 476.
 Flachsbinden, John : *see* Dantiscus.
Flandricarum Commentarii, 433-
 35.
 Florens, Nicolas, Florentii, hm,
 311 315-16.
 Fonseca, Alonso de, Abp, 25 80.
 Fontanus, Jerome, mk, 443.
 Foreest, Peter van, Forestus, md,
 pf, 328.
 Forest, Abbey of, 12.
 Forest, Mary-Henrietta de, 518.
 FORESTI, GIACOMO-FILIPPO, of Ber-

gamo, mk, chronicler, 380.
 Fox, Bp Richard, Founder of *Cor-
 pus Christi College*, Oxford, 84.
 Foxius, Morzillus, Sebastian, lt,
 28.
 Frachæus, lt, 268.
 France : Kg Philip II August, 433-
 34; — Louise of Savoy, 141 416;
 — Francis I, 84-6 88 90-1 141 170
 326 380 424 451; Queen Eleanor,
 86-7 334; Kg Henry II, 269, 410;
 — Francis II, 252; — Charles
 IX, 502.
 France : Napoleon III, Emperor,
 501.
 Franchois, Henri, of Arlon, st,
 223.
 Francis, St., 511; — *his order*, 150
 153 452; *friar recommended as*
st, 457 556.
 Franciscus, Hieronymus, Portu-
 guese, 420 535.
 Franeker Univ, 489.
Fratres Belgæ Tres, 541.
French not taught in Louvain, 230.
 FRIAS, FERNANDUS DE, Ditius, st,
 mch, 421-23.
 Frias, Martin de, pf, 421; — Fran-
 cisco de, mk, rf, 421.
 FROBEN, JOHN, pr, 2 74 76 125 135
 207 227-8 244 544; his widow, 545;
 — *ss*, JEROME, pr, 136 229 231 304
 313 384 388 390-92 396 398 416 449
 543 545-6 549 559 598 605-7; JOHN
 ERASMIUS, 94 182 227-32 244.
 Froelichius, George, 194.
 Frölich, J., pr, 326.
 Froschoverus, pr, 193.
 Fuchs, Leonard, md, pf, 109 323.
 FUGGER : *family*, 360 463 475; —
 Raymond, Count of Kirchberg
 and Weissenhorn, 317 366 461
 462; — *f*, George, 366-7 461; — *b*,
 Antony, 367 461-2 466 469; — *uu*,
 James II, the Rich, 366 462; Ul-
 rich, 461; — *n*, Jerome, 461-62; —
s, JOHN JAMES, 366-8; *gss*, Octa-
 vianus Secundus, st, 367; Sigis-
 mund-Frederic, st, 367; Chris-
 topher, 476; — *r*, Catherine,
 474.
 Fulgentius, St., 490-91.
 Furster, Valentine, st, 228.

G

- Gabriel, Stephen, Patriarch of Indies, Abp of Bari, 23 107.
- GALEN, CLAUDIUS, 255 323-5 **326-7** (authority) **328** (mistakes) 329 (judged by Vesale) 330-31 336 344.
- Γαληνικός, Sylvius, 323.
- GALEN, MATTHEW VAN, Galenus, pf, dv, **214** 577.
- Galterius, P., pr, 326.
- Galterus, cn, 93.
- Gardie, Count de la, Chanc of Sweden, 310.
- Garet, John, contro, 74.
- Garrucei, Father, 251.
- Gastel, Jo, *subpactor libr.*, 223.
- Gattinara, Mercurio Arborio de, chanc, II, 24 146 459.
- GAVRE, JACQUELINE DE, **408-09**.
- Gaza, Theodorus, gr, 228.
- Geldenhouwer, Gerard, I, 83 254 266-67 446 532-33.
- Gelenius, Gelensky, Sigismund (Simon), 313 388 549.
- Gellius, Aulus, 305 496 503.
- GEMMA PHRYSIUS, Reyneri, sc, II, 23 180 **190** 206 325 **327** **345** 420 533 539 561-62 564 598.
- Gennep, Andrew van, pf, : *see* Balenus; — n, Aert, 217.
- GENS, LOUIS, Gensius, Gennes, lm, **258-60** 261 263 265 295-96 481.
- Gens, Antonius, *bedellus*, 258.
- geography : globes & maps*, 40 69; — *economic & human geog.*, 70-71.
- Gerarde, John, 340.
- Germany, Emperor Otho IV of, 434; Rudolph II, 278.
- Germany, Universities, 1.
- Germe, Ludov. van, 258.
- Gerson, John, dv, 7.
- Gesner, Conrad von, bot, 312-14 335 499.
- Geusius, Louis : *see* Gens.
- Gevaerts, Charles, Dean of Turnhout, 399.
- Gheeraerds, Andrew : *see* Hype-rius; — f, Gerard, 158.
- Gheesdael, John van, lm, 515.
- Ghempe Convent, steward of*, 586.
- Ghent : Abbey and School on Mons Arenosus, Sandy Mound, Zandberg*, Blandin : 49 296 310 429 430 442-44; — *Blandin Abbey library*, 484; — *Codex MS Blandinianus*, 486-87.
- Gherinx, Busconius, Petrus, II, 116 143.
- Ghinck, Arnold, pf, Rhetor, 533.
- GHSSELINCK, VICTOR, Ghiselin, Gisselinus, hm, **278** 482-83.
- Ghistele, de Traseignies, James van, steward of Nivelles Abbey, 581-82 586.
- Ghistelles, Ann of, 456.
- Ghoer, Barbara de, Ly of Gheel, 233.
- Giberti, John Matthew, Datary, Bp of Verona, II, 31 203.
- GIFFEN, HUBERT VAN, Obert Giphanius, hm, **278**.
- Gilinus, Camillus, secr, 38 40 561.
- GILLIS, MICHAEL, (f & s) imper. secr, **458-59**.
- GILLIS, PETER, Ægidius, secr, II, 2 97 112 149 150 224 459 542 595 **599-600** 601; — ω, Sandria, 2; — s, Peter, 459.
- Giovio, Paolo, lt, 63 64 65 66.
- Gippus, Ægidius, Abbot of Liesies, 252.
- Giraldi, Lilio, of Ferrara, lt, 312.
- Giustiniano, Agustino, Bp of Nebbio, 170.
- Glapien, John, dv, 33.
- Glareanus, Henry, pf, II, 52 66 388 549.
- Gloucester, Duke Humphrey of, 84.
- Gnapheus, William, lm, 21.
- GOCLENIUS, CONRAD, Wackers, von Gockelen, pf I, II, 5 11 13 17 22-3 29 32-6 40-2 44 48 53-5 58-9 61 71 74 76 **77** 92 **94-104** 110-12 114 123 127 129 133 147-49 151-54 156 158 165 168 176-77 180-84 186-88 196 201-2 209 211 215 224-26 228-32 234-35 239 241-43 245 247 258 266 271 **273** 282-83 296 356 364-65 371 375-76 379-81 **383** 384-86 **387** 388 **389-93** (*money at his death*) 394-98 425 452-55 457 459-61 **464-5** 471 481 489 510 518 531 533 **538-41** (*eminent pf*) **541-44** (*erudite*)

- 542 (sketch) 545-60 (influence)
 561-64 (sc) 565-70 (decease)
 569 (astronomer, historian),
 571-73 576 581 582-84 585-7 589
 590 591-2 593-4 612-14 (heirs).
- GOCLENIUS CONRAD : *his correspondence*, 595-613; — *his books*, 583;
 — *Antwerp canonry*, 32 95-65 47;
 — *Hougaerde prebend*, 597-8;
 — *double lecture*, 104; *Lumen et Princeps of Trilingue and Louvain*, 539-40 560.
- GOES DAMIAN A, hm, 30 43 48 50-71 86 157 188 202 208 226 243 368 372 401 459 540 555-56 598 606-608; — *Louvain & Goes*, 71; — ss, Emmanuel, 61-2 70; Ambrosio, 70.
- Goethals, John, pp, 263.
- Goinus, Ant, pr, 267 517.
- Goltz, Hubert, engraver, 248 320 333-34 454 484 487 514.
- Gompel, Godfried van, 209.
- GOOSSINS, CHARLES, Goswinus, md, pf, 333 334.
- Gorp, John van, Becanus, Goropius, md, ii, 47 162 309-10.
- Gorski, Stanislas, cn, 23.
- Gosualdus, William, st, 370.
- Gothic in Crimea*, 500.
- Gottignies, Gotengyes, Catherine de, 221 456.
- Gourmont, Giles de, pr, 30 44.
- GRACIAN DE ALDERETE, DIEGO, secr, hm, ii, 20 79 81 371; — s, JEROME, 81; — ggs, Lucas, 81.
- Græcismus*, 4.
- Grævius, John George, pf, 321 501.
- Gramineus, Theodore, pr, 512.
- Granada, Louis de, preacher, 80 81.
- Granvelle, Nicolas, Perrenot de, Secr. of State, 39 48 202 346 350-51 353 357 467-69.
- GRANVELLE, ANTONY, Perrenot de, Bp of Arras, Abp of Mechlin, Cardinal, 283 307 308 309 311 319 346-48 350-55 356 360; — bb, Thomas & Jerome, 351, and Charles, 346.
- Grapheus, Cornelius, secr, i, ii, 41 42 45 51-2 53 57-8 246 368 392 394 403 406-7 414 430 443 445 451 459 540; — s, Alexander, 53.
- Grapheus, John, pr, 53 56 57 87 141 193-4 246 294 414 417 430 434 440 445 559 563 596.
- Gratius, Ortwin, pf, 82.
- Grave, Barthol. de, Gravius, pr, 27 55 106 253 562 586.
- Grave, Edward de, tailor, 106.
- Grave, Comes, Stephen, secr, lt, ii, 433 436 437 439 442 445-46 448 451.
- Greek, study and teaching of*, 2 8.
- Gregory XIII, 350 352 355 527.
- Gresham, Sir Thomas, 360.
- Griboval, Florent de, cc, ii, 125 558.
- Grimbergen, Digna van, 99.
- Grobendonck, O. Lady's Throne Priory, 72 305; — Lordship, 358.
- Groenendael Priory, 72.
- Groningen : *Univ. Library*, 254; — St. Martin's School, 255-6.
- Gronovius, J. F., pf, 501.
- Gronsselt, John de, pf, 381; — s, Gerard, cc, 381; — gs, John, cc, 381.
- Gropper, John, 288.
- Gropretius, Robert, 297.
- Grotius, Hugo, 257 352 354.
- Grudius, Nicolas, cc, lt, ii, 20 22 38 200 245-46 358 409-10 474 560.
- Gruterus, Janus, 248 310 321.
- Grynæus, Symon, Cyrenæus, pf, 229 262.
- Gryphius, Sebastian, pr, 34 44 49 193.
- Gualterus, Bern., pr, 509; — John, pr, 266; — cp. Galt-.
- Guerricus, Abbas Igniacensis*, 304.
- Guesius, Louis : see Gensius.
- Guevara, Fernandus, st, 25.
- Guicciardini, Lodovico, hist, 332.
- Guidacerius, Agathius, hb, ii, 84.
- Guillard, Louis, Bp of Tournai & Chartres, 440.
- Guimundus, 490.
- Gulielmius, Willems, Joannes, *Tril Hebrew* pf, 211.
- Gumpfenberg, Ambrose a, Imper. procurator, 452.
- Gurdus, L. Charitæus, (= Vives) 597.

Guyenne College, 270.
 Gybson, Thomas, pr, 194.
 Gymnich Joann., Gymnicus, pr,
 268 450 560 610.

H

Hadenreich, Erasmus, of Berolz-
 heim, st, 242 461.
 Hadriani, Nicolas, 294.
 Haer, Lambert van der, md, 274
 278; — s, Florentius, hist, 140
 274 278.
 Hager, Christopher, pc, 366.
 HAITZHOVEL, HENRY RUDOLPH UP
 TEN, (= van Weze) 15 16 **285-87**
 288 494-95; — n, ELZA, 288.
 Halen, Goswin van, mk, 254-56;
 — b, John, 256.
 Halewyn and Comines, Ly Jane,
 dowager of, 407-8.
 HALEWYN, JAMES VAN, Kt, Ld of
 Maldegheem, Boesinghe, &c, II,
 294 **485** 535; — w, Catherine, Ly
 of Houcke, 485; — m, Jane, Bar-
 oness of Maldegheem, 485.
 Halewyn, James of, cn, II, 485 535;
 — f, James, & m, Jacquemine,
 485.
 Haméricourt, Gerard of, Abbot of
 St. Bertin, Bp of St. Omer, 269.
 Hamme, Jerome van, cc, 331; — d,
 Anna, 331.
 Hamon, 501.
 Hamontanus, Michael, pr, 479.
 Handsame, John van, lm, 436 438
 439 512-14; — w, Isabella, 436;
 — s, John, 436.
 Haneton, Philip, Audiercer, 110.
 Hangouart, William, Pres. Arras
 Council, 521.
 HARGEN, ANDREW VAN, cc, Ld of
 Oosterwyck, 60 61 226 608; — d,
 Jane, 61 226 608; — s, SPLINTER,
 53 **55** 60-61 226 608.
 Harrach, Ursula von, 368.
 Harst, Charles, cc, ambass, II,
 229-30 **287** 544-45 558 583 591
 609.
 Harvey, William, md, 331.
 Hastenius, Henry, pr, 506.
 Hauchin, John, Abp of Mechlin,
 348.

Haveckhorst, Jo., 108.
 Havens(ius), Arnold, hist, 211-12.
 Haymo, Bp, 77.
Hebrew, 8.
 HEEME, FRANCIS (DE), Hæmus, lm,
 poet, 4 30 436 439 441 **512-16**.
 HEEMS, JOHN, of Armentières, pf,
 md, Rg. II, **261** 327 571.
 HEEMSTEDE, JOHN, Symons, van,
 hm, Carth, **75-77** 133-34 551 580.
 Heermale, Mary van, 235
 Heeswyck, Matthew van, Abbot of
 Middelburg, 336.
 Heeteren, William van, Johannite
 bl, 271.
 Heetvelde, Adolph van den, 225;
 — f, Adrian, 225.
 Heetvelde, Stephen van, mk, 72.
 Hegius, Adrian, poet, 514.
 Heinsius, Daniel, pf, 489.
 HELD, MATTHIAS VON, Vice-Chanc,
 389 **467** 468.
 Holding, Michael Sidonius, Bp of
 Mersseburg, 301.
 Helfaut, Francis d', Abbot of Mont
 Blandin, 484.
 Heliä, Paul, Hellisszen, II, **120**.
 HELYAR, JOHN, **371** **423-27**.
 Hemmingsen, Niels, sch, 369.
 Hemmus, Franciscus, of Valen-
 ciennes, st, 512.
 HENCKEL, JOHN, Breslau cn, Court
 Preacher, 114 **118** 119 368; — n,
 st, 43 119 **368-9** 534.
 Henin, John de, Ld of Boussu, 16.
 Herberstein, Sigismund of, cc, 21.
 HERCO, FLORENAS, NICOLAS, md,
536.
Herent, Bethleem Priory, 148.
 HERESBACH, CONRAD VON, Hertz-
 bach, cc, 36 **227-28** **366** 583 591
 599; — rr, Everard, st, **365-66**;
 John, md, 366; Peter, 227.
 HERMANN, GEORGE, Fugger agent,
461-63 464; — ss, John-George,
 461-63 (and his child Jerome);
 MATTHEW, st, 242 461 **463-65**;
 Louis, Antony & Christopher,
 463.
 Herodian, 363.
 Herris, Thomas, st, 371.
 Hertogenbosch, Nicol. of : see
 Broeckhoven.

- Hertogenbosch, Rudolf of, Carth, 76.
- Hertzbach : *see* Heresbach.
- HERWAGEN, JOHN, Hervagius, pr, 229-230 **231** 543 545; — s, st, Joannes, 232.
- Hesiod, 249 494 514 537.
- Hesse, Philip, Grand Duke of, 82 83 468-69.
- Hessels, John, dv, pf, 301 347 577.
- Hessels James, Viglius *n by marr.*; 349.
- HESSUS, EOANUS, pf, II, 83 **191** 195 203 358 **359** 542 556 599; — w, Regina, 191; — d, Cunni-benigna, 191.
- Hesychius, Mylesius, 495.
- HEULE, DANIEL VAN, Kt, Ld of Lichtervelde, 259 **295**; — f, James, Kt, 295; — ss, Antony & John, cc, 295; — d, Yberga, 295; — b, Robert, cc, 295.
- Heverlee Wood*, 62.
- Heyden, Angèle van der, 99.
- Heyden, John van der, a Myrica, pf, 153.
- Heyden, Sebaldus, lm, 267.
- Heyme, Rochus, mk, 73.
- Heyssel, John v. d. : *see* Eynde.
- Heywood, Jasper, Jes, 84.
- HEZIUS, THIERRY, secr, cn, 3 29 34 36 **92-93** **452-53**.
- Hilary, St., 74.
- Hillen, Michael, pr, 53 148 151 193 259 262 266 416 430 440 443 446 542-44 577.
- Hippocrates, 5 113 125 212 326 333 489.
- history : writers of*, 69; — *h & jurisprudence*, 520 529.
- Hittorp, Geoffr., pr, 327.
- HOECKAERT, ELIGIUS, Eucharius, Houcarius, lm, 296 429-30 435 441 **442-48** 449-51 513
- Hoen, Cornelius, adv, 238 377.
- HOEVEN, JUDOCUS VAN DER, Pres, **9-11** 12 14 15 77 92 94 123-4 126 154 56 182 220 222-23 239 241-2 247 251 257 361 369 374 **376-81** 383 453-54 573 581; — rr, John, mayor, 10; Antony, 10 381-82; Judocus, st, 10.
- Höfen, Hoven, John van : *see* Dantiscus.
- Hofstadt, Peter van, neighb, 383.
- Holbein, John, pt, 20 23 562-63 596-97.
- Homer, 113 115 117 174 205 489 505 510 608.
- Hompen, Herman, Phrysus, 150 555 597.
- Hondt, Canis, Francis de, st, 261.
- HONDT, JOHN DE, Canis, cn, ms, **513-14**.
- Honthorst, Elizabeth van, 271-72.
- Hoochstraeten, Hillen, John van, pr, 267 533.
- Hoonen, Hooren, Ericus, Swede, st, 370.
- Hopper, Joachim, jp, mn, 300 301 338 345 349 463 506.
- Horace, 44 49 173 310 424-25 473-74 482-87 495 513 516 566; — Ghent MS of Horace, **484**.
- Orderus, de Norwegia, st, 369.
- Horion, Michael de, Horion, st, 94 155-56 **232-34**; — f, William, Ld of Ordange, 155 **232-33** 234 551; rr, William, 233; William, Ld of Oley, 233; Arnold, de Lumen, 233; Herman, 233; John & Servatius, 233; Barbara & Dig-na, 233.
- Hornes, Count of, 526
- Hosden, Philip of, Abbot of St. Gertrude's, 77-78.
- Hosius, Card Stanislas, 288.
- Hotman, Autman, pf, jp, 523 525.
- Hougaerde, St. Gorgon's Chapter*, 97 98 563.
- Hout, Balduinus van, st, 261.
- Houterlee, Henry de, cn, 164 562 576.
- Houwaert, J. B., jp, 503.
- HOUWER, FRANCIS DE, Hoverius, hm, lm, 53 55 60 167 188 202 **243** 401 608.
- Hove, John van den, bedellus, 10.
- Hove, notary, John van, 375 379.
- Hove, Peter v. d. : *see* Curius.
- HOVEDEN, JOHN OF, Houden, Howden, **443**.
- How, W., pr, 275.
- Hoxvirius, Hector, cc, II, 550 555 596-7; — b, Ausonius, 555 596.
- Hoybergs, John, prior, 305.

Hoytema, Jetzia, Viglius' n, 349.
 Huberti, mgr. nicolas, 223.
 Huens, Aug.: see Hunnæus.
 Hulle, Baldwin van, pf, 443.
 HULST, FRANCIS VAN DER, cc, in-
 quis, 377; — d, Catherine, 377-
 78.
Humani Corporis Fabrica, 329-
 32.
humanism: 1-9; — *h and re-*
search, 9; — *Christian h*, 7; — *h*
not mutual praise, 56; — *h study-*
ing of countries and nations,
 42-4 561 (*Hungary*), 43 (*Spain*, —
Æthiopia, *Lapland*, *India*); —
h and human geography, 57-
 58; — *h and travelling*, 547; — *h*
made popular by Goclenius, 570.
Hungary: Kg Ladislas II, 37; —
 Kg Louis II, 37 495; — see Cor-
 vinus; — *Chanc of*, 38.
Hungary, Mary Queen of, 16-7 36-9
 41 43 100-1 118-22 128 184 194
 264 286 340 357 359 368 403 405
 409-10 421 430 445 452 468 506
 534 540 554 558 597 599 612-3.
Hungary, Anna of, 495.
Hungaria & Athila, 42 43 561.
 HUNNÆUS, AUGUSTINE, Huens, pf,
 dv, 214 216 (portr) 217-18 577.
 Hurault, Philip de, Count of Che-
 verny, Chanc, 527.
 Huszár, Barbara, 37.
 Hutten, Maurice of, 205.
 Hutten, Ulrich von, 6 36 548.
 Huysman, John, pp, 394.
 Hyginus, 305.
hymns & hymnology, 298-300.
 HYPERIUS, ANDREW, Gheeraerds,
 hm, II, 83 158 208 253-54 430
 437 439 452.

I

Ideghem, Charles of, Baron of
 Busbeek, 493.
Illyricus: see Flaccus.
 Imhof, Regina, 461.
Imitatio Christi, original & copies,
 492.
Indagine, John ab, 292.
India, 66.
 Ingenwinckel, John, secr, 208.

Ingolstadt Univ, 77 78.
Institutes (Græce), 125-27 417-18
 425 535 566.
 Isaac Levita, John, hb, 213 358.
 Isaiaas, 202.
 Isocrates, 76 537.
Italy and Renaissance, 306.
Itineraria Busbeekii, 497-98 502
 507.
 Itterius, of Kinroy, Matthew, lm,
 270.
 Ivo, 490.

J

Jablonski, Daniel-Ernest, dv, 290.
 Jansenius, Corn., Bp of Ghent, 514.
 Jerome, St., 8 62 146 170 194-5 393
 424.
 JESPERSEN, JAMES, Jaspari, of Aar-
 hus, secr, 22 34 37 39 40 42-3
 108 111 119-20 126 173 177 184
 244-47 283 359 369 407 409 413-
 14 438 441 561; — ω, Margaris,
 43.
 Jesuits, 27 347 (*Louvain*) 353 421
 (*Antwerp*).
 Joannis, Petrus, ex *Norwegia*, st,
 369.
 Job, 153.
 Joerdens, Jordens, Lambert, secr,
 13 377.
 John, St., 115 153.
 John, Prester: see *Ethiopia*.
 Jonas, Jacobus, hb, 201.
 Jones R., pr, 275.
 Jongh, Henry de, pf, 166.
 Jongh, Mary de, 226.
 Jongheling, James, medallist, 349.
 Josel, Josephus, Adrian, executor,
 123-4 378 383 573 580-81 589.
 Josephus, Flavius, hist, 313.
 Jovius: see *Giovio*.
 Joyeus, Christ., st, 371.
 Jude, St., 107.
 Juliana, Princess Anicia, 502.
 Jüllich, Duke of: see *Cleves*.
 Julius II, 447.
 Junius, Adrian, 350 495 566 569.
 Junius, Francis, 310.
 Junta, Luke Antony, pr, 324.
jurisprudence & history, 518-21
 529.

Justinian, Emperor, jp, 418 519
521-22 538.
Juvenal, 494.

K

Κακελmans, 150.
Keele, Martin van der, van Turnhout, 511.
Kellenaer, Conrad, 291.
KEMPIS, THOMAS A : mss by, 491-92.
Kethulle, Margaret de la, 295.
Kettler, William, Bp elect of Münster, 300.
Keymolen, Jacopo, pr, 58.
Keyser, Mart. de, pr, 145 151 170 193-4 434 ; 267 449 (*widow*).
Keysere, Peter de, pr, 430 442-43 445-46.
Keysere, Robert de, Keyser, lm, 137 139 430 442-3.
Kiewski, Kyewski, Albert, cn, 198.
Killerby, William, st, 371.
Knobbelsdorf, Eustace of, 20.
Kock, Ludolphus : *see* Coccius.
Koheloth : *see* Ecclesiastes, 162 163 168.
Kolen, Gysbert, lm, 270.
Königsmark, Swedish general, 310.
Konings, Felix, 33 110.
Künring, Künrinck, Baltasar, of Vienna, st, II, 94 223.
Kyber, Elias, hb, lm, 159 166-67.

L

Lachner, Anna & Gertrude, sis, 229.
LACTEUS, JOHN, vander Biest, st, lm, 253 415 429-31 438 439 443 448 515 ; — r, Judocus, st, 431 439.
Leto, Lætus, Giulio Sanseverino Pomponio, 546 605.
Laguna, Andrew de, hm, 27.
Lambinus, Denis, hm, 486.
Lambert, of Avignon, Francis, pf, 83.
Lambrecht, Lambertus, Judoc., pr, 297 440 446.

Lampsonius, Dominicus, 309.
Lamsanus, Baldwin, lm, 440.
Lancisius, md, 330.
Lanfrancus, 490.
Lang, Cardinal Matthew, 21.
Langeac, John de, ambass, 34.
Langhe, John de, secr, 15 16 357.
Langhe, Charles de, Langius, hm, cn, 316 349.
Langhe, Thierry de, Langius, Greek *Tril* pf, 216 249 367 593.
Langius, Rudolph, hm, 233.
languages : required for Bible study, 89 143 ; — l & literature, 15 ; — l & heresy, 3.
Lannoy, Charles de, Vice-King of Naples, 407 ; — r, Philip, 408.
Lapide, Gaspard a, van den Steen, pr, 416.
Lapps & Lapland, 65-66.
Lascaris Janus, hb, 113.
LASKI, JOHN A, hm, 254 255.
Lassa, Peter, Lassus, ambass, 495.
Laterdam, Philippa of, 416 ; — ss, Philip, Volsard, 416.
Latin : teaching, 7-8 571.
Latus, John de Laet, pr, 264.
Latomus, Bartholomew, pf, cc, II, 89 253 467.
LATOMUS, JAMES, dv, pf, I, II, 2 144-46 164 166-70 175 178 185 189 253 402 532 ; — n, James, 253.
LATOMUS, JOHN, Prior of O. L.'s Throne, 74 305 352.
Laurentia, J. B., 35.
Laurentius, Henry, pr, 339.
Laurentius, John, of Zierikzee, 533.
LAURENTII, JOHN, ms, 441 444.
Laurin, Mark, dean, I, II, 46 114 133 262 317-19 320 436-37 550-51 ; — bb, Matthias, Ld of Water-vliet & Waterland, 260 318 ; Peter, 356 ; — n, Matthias, 356-7.
Laurin, brothers, numismatists, ss of Matthias, 248 334 349 ; Guy, 260 317-9 483 ; Mark, 248 260 318-19 454 483.
Laus Stultitiæ, 141 416.
Lava, Francis, st, 512.
Lebrixa, Antonio of, Nebrissensis, rs, 65.
Lebrun, Catherine : *see* Bruyne.
Leeuwe, Walter de, of Beek, de

- Beka, pf, jp, 1, 377.
 Lefèvre, James, rs, 141 146 152 174.
Leipzig Univ, 82.
 LEMNIUS, LIVINUS, Lemmen, Gul-
 lielmi, md, **334-337**; — s, Wil-
 liam, md, 336; — poss r, An-
 drew, md, 336.
 LENGAINNE, NICOLAS DE, pf, **261**.
Lens, Croix en Lens Convent, 73.
 Leo X, 381 447.
 Leoni, Leone, cv, mdl, 355.
 LEOPARDUS, PAUL, Liebaert, lm,
247-50 334 441 444; — poss r,
 Charles, st, 247.
Lepanto victory, 355 515.
 Lerins, St. Vincent of, 304.
 Lerma, Doña María Ana de, 460.
 Lernutius, Janus, poet, 278 482-83.
 Lesdorp, Nicolas, lm, 255.
 Lettersnijder, Corn. Henricz, pr, 46.
 Leupe, John, lm, 437.
 LEUZE, NICOLAS DE, of Frasnès, pf,
261.
 Levicius, John, 38.
 LEVITA, ELIAH ben Ascher ha-Levi,
 hb, 54 160 **161** 162 177 179 184
 196-7 199 201 207 284 604.
Leyden Univ, 320 341-42 489.
 LHEUREUX, JOHN, Macarius, cn,
248 250-51 308.
 LIBBIN, PETER, Lybbus, ms, 438
439.
 Liebaert, Paul : see Leopardus.
 Liefeling, Jerome, of Vienna, st,
 242.
Liège, School of Hieronymites, 92.
Liessies Abbey, 12 252-53.
 Liesvelt, Thierry van, chanc, 50.
 Ligorio, Pirro, 322.
Lille, projected Univ, 137 139;
Latin School, 429-30.
 Linacre, Thomas, sch, 323 327.
 LINDEN, WILLIAM VAN DER, Damasi,
 Lindanus, Bp of Roermond &
 Ghent, 208 213 214 **289** 300-1 311
 358 577-78.
 Lindius, Stephanus : see Castele.
 LINEUS, THOMAS, Linius, lm, **417-**
19; — s, James, 418-19.
 LINIUS, LEVINUS (of Ghent), lm,
415-16 443.
linguistics : their growing value,
 458.
 Linodesmon, John : see Dantiscus.
 LIPS, MARTIN, Lyps, hm, 3 **71-75**
 76 93 136 146 187 207 303 **304** 389
 446 **490** 548; — u, John, mk of
 Egmond, 71; — rr, Judocus,
causidicus, 72; — Giles, 72;
 Mary, 72.
 LIPS, JUSTUS, Lipsius, pf, 8 248-49
277 278 **279** 320-2f 353 489 496-
 97 504 509 570 (Nannius).
Lisbon Univ, 185.
 Livius, Titus, 45 49 62 607.
 LOBEL(lus), JOHN, of Boulogne, jp,
 pf, 11 **128** 424-25 427.
 Lobel, Matthias de, bot, 340.
 Locquenghien, Charles de, st, II,
 94 223.
 Locre, Ferry de, Locrius, hist, 431.
 Loe, John van der, Loeus, pr, 246
 340 345 357 359; — Henry, pr, 340.
 Loens, Anna, 10.
 Lombardus, Lambert, pt, 309.
 Lombardus, Petrus, dv, 4 577.
 Longolius, Christopher, lt, 30 35;
 — u, Peter, 30.
 Longueval, Nicolas de Boussu, Ld
 of, 67.
 Lonicerus, John, pf, 83.
 LOO, JOHN VAN, Abbot of Eversham,
515 516.
 Loonis, Margaret, de Schepper's
 2nd wife, 16.
 Lopes, Christianus, — & Johannes,
 Spanish sts, 371.
 Lorichius, Joseph, jp, 417 418; —
 poss rr, Reinhard, pf & his s
 Joannes; Christopher, Frideri-
 cus, George, Gerard, Mattheus,
 sts, 418.
 Lorraine, Francis of, Duke of Bar,
 245-46.
Louvain town : mayor, 418; —
prætor favouring Vesale, 328;
 — *glass industry*, 13; — *justice*
in the market place, 379; —
St. Peter's, 423; *St. Gertrude's*,
 77 147 418; *St. Martin's Priory*,
 10 71-2 305 375-6 490-2 510; —
Carthusians, 10; — *Augustines'*
School, 481-82; *St. Quintin's*
School, 251-2; *St. Barbara Chap-*
el, 14; *Ter Bank*, 67; — *House*
of Morillon, 47-8; of Sexagius,

- 251; of *Bart. Gravius*, Sub Sole Aureo, 106.
- Louv. University*: first jubilee, 153; question of second Univ., 137-40; — degrees over-estimated, 142; *Univ. Library*: *Vesale's Fabrica*, 329; MS of a *Kempis*, 492; — *Professors of languages*, 464-65; — *jurisdiction vindicated*, 592; — *bad habits criticized*, 479-80.
- Louvain Univ.*: *Faculties*: *Theology*, 10; *favouring daily lesson of Hebrew*, 218-9; *Disputationes Sabbatinæ*, 576; — *Laws*: *Strictum, Latum Collegium*, 130; *quarrel with Rescius*, 126-30 425; — *lectures of Licentiandi*, 328; — *Arts*: *Privilege*, 107 375; *Aristotelian philos. objected to*, 480; — *Quodlibeticæ*: by *Vives* about *Law & History*, 520; *diffic. with Mameranus*, 477-79; — *Mensa Sti. Spiritus*, 217.
- Louvain Pedagogies*: *Lily*, 72 132 134 251 335; *professors*, 261; *Erasmus & L.*, 574 (cp. *Erasmus*); *Greek lecture*, 260 294 575; — *Porc*, 164 166 167; — *Castle*, 510; — *Cacabus*, 478-79.
- Louvain Univ*: *Colleges*: *Adrian VI*, 373-4 511; *Arras*, 373-4, MS. of *Tit. Livius*, 49; *Brnegel*, 280; *Houterlee*, 164 175; *St. Jerome's* ad *Leydam*, 41; *Holy Ghost*, 381; *Standonck*, 381; *Winckele*, 381.
- Louvain*: *Trilingue*: *Management*: *Founding*, 412; *difficult beginning*, 480; — *Lectures*: *Latin*, 571; *Greek*, 2 8; *Hebrew*, 127 218; — *Lecture Hall widened* for 600 hearers, 12-15; *Lutherans in the audience*, 158; *New Chapel*, 280; — *Library*: MS of *T. Livius*, 49; *books offered by Lheureux*, 250; *Portraits*, 216; — *stained glass windows*, 215; — *bequest by Robbyns*, 374, and *George of Austria*, 280; — *property*: 378-9 382-4; — *servants*, 155 378.
- Louvain*: *Trilingue*: *Result*: *great changes caused*, 480; — *principle of modern science introduced*, 130; *decision of Tril invoked*, 479; *Erasmus celebrated*, 415-53; — *daily lecture in Hebrew requested by divines*, 218; — *praise of Trilingue and, through it, of University and town*, 409 533 559 593-94 599; — *imitated in Portugal*, 373; — *o método lovaniense*, 372-73.
- Louvain*, *William of*, *Groenendael mk*, II, 72 207.
- Loyala*, *Ignatius* of, 424.
- LOYDEN*, *GISBERT*, jp, pf, 130 599 612-13.
- Lubicensis*, *Wenceslaus*, md, 171.
- Lucan*, *M. Ant.*, 27 543.
- Lucas*, *Paul*, 501.
- Lucian*, of *Samosata*, 39 105-6 115 117 122 129 262 416 532 535 537 543 553 600-01.
- Lucretius*, 278 279.
- Lucretius*: see *Widmanstadt*.
- Luke*, *St.*, 107 115.
- Lund*: *Chapter School*, 369-70; — *Biblioth. Benedictina*, 370.
- Lupset*, *Thomas*, hm, II, 84 227.
- Luther*, 1 3 6 10 21 28-9 54 73 93 134-35 141-43 151 157 160 204-5 254 256 393 444 523.
- Luxemburg*: *School*, 472; — *Abbey of O. L. Münster*, 473.
- Lycophron*, 313.
- Lyps*: see *Lips*.
- Lyte*, *Henry*, bot, 340.

M

- Macarius*, *John*: see *Lheureux*.
- Macarius*, *Joannes*, *Flem. Church* *London*, 250.
- Macket*, *John*, *Univ Syndic*, 164.
- Macrobius*, 74 305.
- MACROPEDIUS*, *GEORGE*, van *Langh-veldt*, *Lanckveld*, hm, II, 271 510.
- Madrid*, *National Library*, 27.
- Madruzzi*, *Christoforo*, *Bp of Trent*, 61 66.
- Maelcote*, *Robert van*, dv, pf, 347.
- Maes*, *Catherine*, 10.
- Maes*, *Quentin*, 282.
- Maffeo*, *Bernardino*, 286.

- Magdalenæ, John, st, 371.
MAGNUS, JOHN STORE, Abp of Lund, 22 **56-7** 63 70; *b*, Olaus, 22 63 70.
 Maheu, Did., pr, 327.
 Mailloë, Marchioness of, 503.
 Majoranus, rs, 113.
MALDONAT, JOHN, Jes, dv, 25 **527-28**.
 Malvezzi, Malvetius, Joannes, ambass, 496.
MAMERANUS, NICOLAS, hm, 299 **466-67** **469-480** 481; — *b*, Henry, not, pr, **470-71** 473 476; — *n*, Peter, st, poet, 480.
 Man, Meinard, Abbot of Egmond, 76 237-38 531.
 Manardus, Menardus, pf, 488.
 Manny, Laurent, cn, 582.
 Manrique, Alonso, Abp, 25.
 Mansfeld, Peter Ernest de, army leader, 347-48; — *s*, Philip, 348.
 Mantæus, Simon, poet, 514.
classic manuals, 532.
 Manuel, Don Juan, 79.
 Manutius, Aldus, pr, 30 34 266 494; — *s*, Paul, 308.
Marans, 225.
Marburg Univ, 82-83 254.
 Marcellus II, 319.
MARCK, ERARD DE LA, Card, Bp of Liège, 31 43 46 **91-3** 116 121 134-6 151 176-7 190 233-4 535; — *b*, Robert, 116; — *nn*, Robert II, Ld of Arenberg, 234; **PHILIP**, archdeac., 116.
 Mark, St., 115.
 Mardenus, Moses, 286.
 Marius, Hadrian, Nicolai, II, 358 560.
 Marnix, Jean de, 408.
 Marnix of St. Aldegonde, Philip, 143.
 Martens, Thierry, pr, 105 111 135 162 167 173 262 370 437 530 532-33 542-44 577 588 599 600.
 Martial, 81.
 Martin, Andrew, mk of Cambron, 443.
 Martini, Giles, Martin, Univ not, 389 582.
 Martini, Emmanuel, 461.
 Martins, de, bot, 500.
 Martyr, Anglerius, Peter, 69.
 Marville, Nicolas Polard, of, st, 119; — Nicolas of Marville, (another st) 368.
 Mascarenhas, Pero, Portugal ambass, 31 55.
MASIUS, ANDREW Maes, Liniacensis, st, cc, orientalist, 15 16 213-4 257-63 265 270 **282-90** 291 295-6 299 305 311-16 318 325 332 349-50 357 403 **427-28** 451-52 481 493 **494** 501-2 504 526 534 540 555 583; — Ludovicus, (*prob. the same*) 403 **428** 429 452.
 Masius, John, pr, 491.
Mass, its history, 298.
 Mastaing, Philibert de, Ld of Grobbendonck, 358.
matæologi, 3.
MATAL, JOHN, Matellus, Metellus, pf, **508**.
MATHIAS, CHRISTOPHER, of Speyer, st, **465-66**.
 Matteo, Brother: *see* Bascio.
 Matthew, St., 115 153.
 Matthioli, Peter Andrew, bot, 288 315 499.
MAUCH, DANIEL, hm, **364-65** 558 564 598 609; — *f*, Daniel, cv, 365.
MAUDEN, MODIUS, FRANCIS van der, hm, 248 **278** 482-83.
 Maurissens, herald, 221.
 Mayence, Peter, cn, of, 119 368.
 Mazochi, Jacopo, rs, 317 320.
Mechlin: School on Wool-Market, 243; — *Abp & Church*, 354; — *Busleyden mansion*, 240.
medals & medallists: 307-8 349; *Kelheim Stone*, 220.
 Medici, Cosimo de', 326; — Julius, papal vice-chanc, 29; — Queen Catherine, 524.
medicine of Galen & Avicenna, 323-333.
 Meeren, James van der, Abbot of St. Bernard's, Antwerp, 337.
 Meeren, John van der, not Court of Conserv., 383.
 Meester, Francis de, pens, 515.
 Meetkerke, Ad. de, lt, 248 514-15.
MEGANG, PETER, lm, **438-39** 441 515.
 Meggen, Jost van, capt. of Papal guard, 285.

- Melanchthon, Philip, 7 22 35 54 60 157 160 179-80 189 196-205 208 556; *attempts at recuperating him*, 54 60 157 160 179 189 196-202 204-5 208 356 596 604; — *d*, Anne, 54.
- Meldert, Cornelius de, Dean, 128.
- Melun, Charles de, Prince of Espinoy, Baron of Antoing, st, Const. of Flanders, 276; — *bb*, sts, Robert, Ld of Richebourg, 276 348; James, Ld of Saultey, 276.
- Menard, James, jp, 527.
- Mendez, Diego, & sister-in-law, Gracia, 51.
- MENDOZA Y BOBADILLA, FRANCIS DE, Card, Archdeac. of Toledo, Bp of Corio & Burgos, 17 23-28 114; — *f*, Don Diego Hurtado, marquis of Zenete, 24; — *b*, Don Roderico, marquis of Zenete, 24 101; — *n*, Doña Mencia, marchioness of Zenete, 24 43 101-2 461; — *rr*, Don Diego Hurtado, Card, Abp of Sevilla, 24; Pedro Gonzalez, Card, Abp of Toledo, 24; *and following*.
- MENDOZA, DON DIEGO HURTADO DE, lt, ambass, 24 27 309 310 312-13; — *f*, Inigo, Count of Tendilla, marquis of Mondéjar, 24; — *si*, Doña Maria de Pacheco, 24.
- Mendoza, Don Francisco de, Bp of Zamora, 79.
- Mennekens, Viruli, Robert, 251 391.
- Merbelius, Peter, 35.
- Merbrensis, Martin: *see* Smet.
- Mercator, Gerard, II, 288.
- MERODE, ARNOLD DE, Ld of Royenberg, (-borch), st, cc, 221 455-56; — *f*, William, Kt, Ld of Fologne, Brussels amman, 455; — *ss*, William, Ld of Royenborch, manager of Royal Domains, 456; Henry, alderm, 456; — *dd*, Margaret, (*married to* John de Busleyden) 221 456; Isabella, 456; — *rr*, Werner, de Polonia, st, 456; Ricaldus de Petersen, 456; John, Ld of Gheel & Westerloo 456; William, st, 456.
- Mervellius, 114.
- Merula, Gaudentius, rs, (Erasmus' enemy) 36 103 389.
- Merula, Paul, hm, 548 595.
- Metellus, John, 286.
- Meuchin, Menchin, Michael, st, 457.
- Mexia, Peter, rs, 149 150-52 441; — *b*, Christopher, 132 150 441.
- MEYERE, JAMES DE, Villicus, hist, lm, 247 262 297-98 430 432-36 437-41 444-45 446 448 451 453 514-15 536; — *b*, Henry, 435 514; — *n*, ANTONY, 434-5 514 515-6; — Philip (A's son) 514.
- MICAULT, NICOLAS, Golden Kt, Ld of Indeveld, cc, 493-4 496 497 505-9; — *f*, JOHN, Ld of Oistersteyn, receiver general, 505 506; — *s*, NICOLAS, Tournai cn, 506 509; — *si*, Margaret, 505; — *r*, Eleanor, 273.
- Mil, Elizabeth de, 46 49 50.
- Mingues, Juan, hm, 28.
- Minorites, Eustace, *general of*, 292.
- Miræus, Aubert, 504.
- missiology, 71.
- Moerendael, Elizabeth, 279.
- Mol, John, falconer, 332.
- Molanus, Joannes, hist, 47 213.
- MOLINÆUS, JOHN, van der Meulene, pf, jp, 298 352.
- Molle, Gummarus, de Lyra, dv, 11-12.
- Molyneux, Adam de, Bp of Chichester, 84.
- Monaw, James, 483.
- Mondéjar, Marquis of, 190.
- money: *its fall about* 1520, 374.
- monks & private property, 233.
- Montanus, Benito Arias, 288-89 342.
- Montanus, Will., pr, 445.
- Montfort, Count James of, 474.
- Montpellier Univ, 325-26.
- MONTZIMA, BUCHO DE, prov, 214-15 216; — *f*, Popko, 215.
- Moons, Anna, 112 471-73.
- Morcillo, Sebastian Fox, hm, 274.
- MORE THOMAS, chanc, St., II, 4 35-6 57 60(+) 262 393 401 404 406 (*and Erasmus*) 419 422 441 474 540

- 543 **551-53 554** (*death; its relation* : Acta Mori) 595-6 598 (+) **600-1** ; — *his* Utopia, 56 ; — *s*, John, 57.
 Morel, G., 524.
 Moretus, John, pr, 280 338 350.
 MORILLON, GUY, secr, hm, 17 **44-50** 62 68 71 111 251 288 306-7 309 345 569 ; *ss*, Guido, 47 50 288 306 ; MAXIMILIAN, Bp of Tournai, 47 49-50 288 306-7 309-11 **345-50** ; — ANTONY, hm, 47 49 50 288 **305-12** 345 349 353 355 **486** 487 ; — *dd*, Mary, 50 251 ; Frances, 50.
 Morin, John, Paris bl, 30 31.
 MORINCK, GERARD, dv, hist, II, 76 **147** 148 151 208 233 **234** 441 535 580.
 Morison, Sir Richard, 60.
 Morisson, Andrew, mch, 358.
 MORONE, CARD GIOVANNI, 285 **314** 315-16.
 Morrhe, Ger., pr, 87.
 Mortang, Gerard, 254.
 Mortier, Jerome du, poet, 439.
 Mosellanus, Peter, pf, I, 169.
 Moses, Bar-Kepha, Jacobite Bp, 289.
 MOULIN, CHARLES DU, Molinæus, jp, 521 **522**.
 Mountjoy, William Blount, Ld, 602-3 ; — *s*, Charles M., 254.
 MUDÆUS, GABRIEL, jp, pf, II, 130 417 **517-20**.
 Mulaert, Gerard, cc, II, 43 ; — *cp*. Hoyneck, II, I, 216 (1536) ; *AltRel.*, 224 229 409 558-60 (1532-37) ; *Ola-Car.*, 24 (*his epitaph*) — James Mulaert, *FlandIll.*, II, 30 (1514).
Munich Library, 367.
 Münster, Bp of, 463.
 MUNSTER, SEBASTIAN, Münster, hb, **64** 65 67 161 207 **284** 290.
 Munter, John de, 5.
 Muret, Mark-Antony, rs, 49 310 486.
 Murmellius, John, lm, II, 227 259 532 561.
 MURTIA, JAMES A, Murça, Frei Diogo de, rs, **372-73**.
 Musculus, Abr., Berne fr, 302.
 MUSIUS, CORNELIUS, lm, poet, martyr, II, 118 265 **402-3** 428-29 510 535 540.
 Mussche, Musch, John Joseph, lm, 155 232.
Mutationes in Busleyden's will, 589.
 MYRICA, JOHN A, van der Heyden, pf, jp, **153**.
- N**
- NANNIUS, PETER, pf, II, 15 39-40 **41** 42 44-5 48-9 61-3 65-8 71 101 115 117 119 125-6 213 215 235 247-49 258 260 270-71 274 276 **277** 278 281 284-85 297 299 **367** 368-69 404 **405-6** 407 409 411 413-14 417 481 485-88 505-6 530 (*suffering*) 534-35 537 539 40 542-44 559-61 **565-66** 567 **569** 570 577 589 ; — *not so good as Goclenius*, 564 **569-70**.
 NANS, FRANCIS. Nanseus, hm, **248-49** ; — *s*, Francis, md, 249 ; — *d*, Mary, 249.
 Nardinus, James, lm, 533.
 Nassau, Mary of, 99 ; — Louis of, 526.
 NASSAU-DILLENBURG, HENRY III OF, Ld of Breda, 24 43 **101** 140 410 ; — *s*, René, Prince of Orange, 515.
 NAUSEA, FREDERIC, Grawe, cc, Bp of Vienna, 54 204 **450** 451.
 Navarre, Kg Antony of Bourbon, 524-25.
 NAVES, JOHN VON, Nave, Navius, Prov of Marville, Ld of Mes-sancy, Vice-Chanc, 283 **467-69** 470 ; — *f*, NICOLAS, Senator, Presid. of Luxemburg, **468** 469 ; — *b*, JOHN, Prov of Marville, **468** ; — *r*, Claudius, of Marville, 468.
 Nervenius, John, presid of Dirix-land, 451.
 Nervius, John Theodore, 262.
 Nesen, William, hm, I, 166 577.
 Neuenahr, Count Herman of, lt, I, 81 468.
 Neuzen, Sebast. Aug., pf, I, 73 83.
 NEVE, JOHN DE, rg, I, II, 72 132 385 **386** 388 574.
 Newton, Thomas, pr, 337.
 Newton, Isaac, sc, 169.
 Neyt, Mgr Lucas, 338.
 Nicolai, Everard, cc, presid. of Friesland, 580.

Nicolai, Simon, 75.
 Nicolaidas, Peter, cc, 336-37.
 Nidbruck, Caspar von, jp, 523.
 Niepe, Neipius, Melchior van, hm, 250.
 Nieuwenhoven, (Nuwen-), Antony de, Abbot of St. Gertrude's, 128.
 Nieulandt, Henry, 133 (*Cran.*, 99, a).
 Nigellus, Martin, lm, 266.
 NIGRI, PHILIP, cc, chanc of G. Fleece, Bp elect, 11 43 128 352 357.
 Nigro, Francis, Ypres official, 438.
 Nispen, Nicolas van, exec, i, ii, 581.
 Nispen, A. van, translator of Busbeek's letters, 497.
 Nobles, *Compromis des*, 526.
 Nonnus, 249.
 NOOT, ADOLF VAN DER, Ld of Oignies, Brab. Chanc, 36 99-102; — f, Peter, Forester of Brabant, 99; — dd, Anne & Philippote, 99; — rr, Walter, cc, and his son Jerome, Ld of Risoir and Westwesel, Brab. chanc, 99; Henry, prior of St. Gertrude's, 100.
 Noot, Arnold van der, md, pf, 323 325.
 Noot, Thomas van der, editor, 266.
 Norfolk, Duke of, treasurer of England, 532.
 North, Thomas, translator, 84.
 Norwegian students, 369.
 Nuñez de Guzman, Pintianus, Fredeandus, 25.
 Nuremberg League, 467.
 Nutius, Mart., Nuyts, pr, 336.

O

Occo, SIBRAND, 361-62; — f, Pompeius, mch, 361.
 Ockeghem, John van, ms, 52.
 Ocker, Corn., cc, 336.
 Œcolampadius, John, 135 229.
 Oens, Pascasius, Oenius, lm, 335.
 Oignies, Antoinette d', 240.
 OLAH, NICOLAS, Olaus, mn, 17 31 36-44 70 96 100 107-8 110-120 122 126 160 162 164 173 176-7 184 245-46 361 365 368-69 385 394 403-4 405 406-7 409 411-15 451 457 530 534 537-38 540 542 547 556-57

560 561 565-66 597-98; — f, Stephen, 37.
 Olaus, nauta, Hamar, 369.
 OMPHAL, JAMES VON, of Andernach, 31 363 364.
 Onche, Ann Elizabeth (or Isabella) d', 16 246 356; — f, Peter, 15 356.
 Onderbergh, Peter, Submontanus, Abbot of The Downs, 445.
 Ooghe, Lambrecht, mason, 14.
 Oom van Wyngaerden, John, Liège cn & official, ii, 109 541.
 Ooteghem, Roger van, ms, 439.
 Opmeer, Peter van, hist, 281 428 545.
 Oporinus, John, pr, 87 256 275 329 334.
 Oppian, 313.
 Optatus, St., 521.
 Orange, René of Nassau, Prince of, 246 515; — d, Mary, 246.
 Orange, William, Prince of, Ld of Breda (from 1538) 248 265 352 419 526; — s, Count Philip William, st, 276.
 Orange : see Châlons, Nassau.
 Ordange, Marie d', 233.
 Oridryus, Arnold, of Bergheyck, lm, ii, 292 294.
 Origen, 290 450.
 Orleans, Duke of, 410.
 Orlers, John, 489.
 Oropesa, Laso de, hm, 27.
 Orsini, Fulvio, rs, 311 353.
 Ortelius, Abrah., geogr, 248 250 308 321 483.
 Ostermann, Simon, lm, 545 572.
 Otto, John, of Bruges, dv, 301 302.
 Otton, Ev., jp, 519.
 Oudegherst, Francis, Abbot of Berghes-St. Winock, 114.
 Ovid, 21 44 49 174 278 423 474 513 516 561 607.
 Oxford Univ, 1 541; — Corpus Christi College, 370 427.

P

Pace, Richard, ambass, 552.
 Pacheco, Francis de, admiral, Bp of Jaën, 24.
 Pacheco, Diego Lopez, Marquis of Villena, 80.

- Padilla, Juan de, 24; — ω , Doña Maria de Pacheco (*see* Mendoza).
Padua Univ, 328.
 Paep, Papius, James de, 1m, 253.
 Paesschen, John van, Paschasius, fr, 1, 131.
 Pafraet, Alb., pr, 542.
 Paganus, Petrus, wr, 367.
 Palæphatus, 305.
 Palatine Elector, Frederic II, 284 287; — Otto-Henry, 287.
 Paludanus, John, Rhetor, 1, 72 532.
 Paludanus, st, 61.
 Palus, G., 62.
 Pamele, James van, cn, Bp elect of St. Omer, 490.
 Panagathus: *see* Algoet.
 Pantagathus, Father Octavius, rs, 286 288.
 PANTIN, WILLIAM, md, 248 328 **333-34**; — r, PETER, dean, **334**.
 PAPE, JAMES DE, cc Ypres, 291 436 **437-38**.
 PAPE, PETER DE, Papæus, Menin 1m, 437 441 **444-45** 515.
 PAPIRE-MASSON, JOHN, hist, **527**.
 Paquot, Jean-Noel, 193 214 216 281 335 506.
Parc, Abbey of, 108 421.
Paris Univ, 5 326, sq, 541; — *Royal professors*, 1 84-90; — *Collège de France, Collegium Bilingue*, 85 571 (& *Latin*); — *Sorbonne*, 89; — *Arras College*, 527; — *Clermont Coll.*, 527; — *Lisieux Coll.*, 186 363.
 Parma, Margaret of, 293 298 347-48 352-54 473 526.
 Parrhasius, 220.
 Paschasius, Radbert of Corvey (Manitius, 406-10), 299 475 490.
 Pascual, Mateo, pf, 80.
 Pathius, Rutger, quæstor Lisiniæ, 43 245 409.
pathology, pioneer in, 339.
 Patius, J., pr, 358 474.
 Paul, St., 107 140 142 157 197-99 202-3 205 610.
 Paul III, 7 27 57 63 69 93 204 208 286 371 390 393 405 452.
 Paul IV, 298 314 352 579.
 Paulinus, St., 279.
 Paulus, Joannes, Johannite, 270.
 Paungartner, John, mch, 449-50.
 Paxy (Faber), 258.
 Paynell, Thomas, 11, 370.
 Peckius, Peter, pf, jp, 217.
 Pede, Margaret van, 99.
 Peetersen of Middelburch, Henry, pr, 23 292.
 Pellicanus, Conrad, hb, 201.
 Pensart, William, audiercer, 110.
 PERAXYLUS, ARNOLD, Arlenius van Overthout, Bovenhout, hm, **312-14**.
 Perrenot, Francis, curialist, 346.
 Perrin, Giles, hm, 48.
 Perrot, George, 501.
 Persia, Shah of, 498.
 Persyn, Theodoricus, prior Carth, 580; — r, Hippolytus, cc, 580.
 Peter, St., *his presence in Rome*, 476.
 Petit, John, 175.
 Petreius, John, pr, 171 191 434.
 Petri, Henry, pr, 332.
 Petri, Suffridus, pf, 255 277 280 341 353.
 Pevernage, Andrew, ms, 514.
 Pfister, Mark, pr, 332.
 PELUG, JULIUS, mn, Bp of Naumburg, 136 **301**.
 Philelphus, Francesco Filelfo, rs, 532.
 PHILICINUS, PETER, Campson, 1m, lt, **268-69** 348 561.
 Philippi, Joannes, pr, 472.
 Philippus, Henry, st, 371.
 Phocylides, 249 489.
 Phornutus, 305.
 Pierius a Smenga, Peter, Tril pf, 211 222.
 Pighius, Albertus, hm, 11, 315 376.
 PIGGE, PIGHIUS, STEPHEN Wynants, 248 309-11 315-20 321-22 349-50 353 494 501 504 506 **508**.
 Pindarus, 295.
 Pintaflour, Peter, Bp of Tournai, 11, 348.
 Pio, Alberto, Prince of Carpi, ambass, 30 31 33.
 Pippinck, Henry, fr, 444.
 Pirez de Tavira, Lourenço, ambass, 419.
 Pirez, Manuel & Diego, mchs, 420.
 Piris, Alfonso, Gonsalo, John &

- Hans, mchs, 420.
Piscis, John, Bp of EGINE, 432.
PISCIS, WILLIAM, Pisson, Poisson,
poet, 431-32 451 536; — *r*, Gis-
bertus Pisson, jp, 431-32.
Pius IV, 314 352.
Pius V (St.), 347 355.
Placentius, John, fr, lt, 41 234 246-
47 438 441.
Plaine, Gerard de, cc, 239.
Plaine, Ann de, Ly of Norderwyck,
221.
Planson, John, pf, 261.
Plantin, Christ., pr, 49 74-5 78 162
248 253 271-72 275 279 280 288-90
293 309 311 321 337 339 342 350
353 359 396 479 483-85 490-91 494-
95 497 501 504 507-8 513 515 593.
Plateanus, Peter, hm, 83.
Plato, 106 141 249 255 489.
Plautus, 76, 296-97.
Pliny (the elder) 25 339 483.
Plutarch, 48 84 107 249 260 532.
Poelman, Pulmannus, Theodore,
wr, 359.
Poissenet, Guill., official, 432.
Poissy, *Colloquy of*, 524.
Poland : Sigismund I, 18-23 107;
— Queen Barbara Zapolya, 20
196; — Queen Bona, 18 20 21 192;
— Prince Sigismund-August,
198; — Kg Henry (of Anjou), 527.
Polard, Nicolas, of Marville, st, 119.
POLE, REGINALD, Card, 60 201 202
203 288 423-24 427 579.
Polites, Joachim, hm, II, 53 55 60-1
175 188-89 202 206 246 270 363
401 541 608.
Poliziano, Angelo, rs, 44 125 363
494.
Polybius, 313.
Ponce de Leon, Felix, fr, 460.
Poncher, Etienne, Bp, 109.
Ponte, Peter de, (blind) pf, poet,
443.
Pori, Pory, Louis, st, pf, 222; —
f, Charles, 222; — poss *b*, Sebas-
tian, st, 222.
Porphyrio, Pomponius, 484-86.
Portugal : 65-6; — Kg John II, 63;
— Kg Emmanuel, 51 56 58 69
358; — Kg John III, 31 55 59 65
69 113 372 419 607; — Infante,
31 174; — Card Infante Don Hen-
rique, 66 190; — Queen Eleanor,
482; — Queen Mary, 474.
Pottre, Peter de, lm, 139.
Pourbus (Pourtius), Peter & Fran-
cis, pts, 436.
PRÆDINIUS, RENIER, lm, 254-57.
Praet, Louis of Flanders, Ld of,
ambass, 86 291 467.
Pratensis, Felix, hb, 162 170.
PRATIS, JASON A, van der Meersch,
Pratensis, md, poet, 266-67
335.
Près, Josquin v. d. Bemden, des,
ms, 52.
Pré, a Prato, Antony du, 484.
Priest-Kg, John the Precious of
Ethiopia : *see* Ethiopia.
Probus, Æmilius, 279.
Procopius, Rhetor, 538.
prognostication, 293-94.
Prudentius, Aurelius, 278 279 433
473.
Psalms, edited by Campensis, 163
sq, 168-75 177 184 191 193-5 198
202-3.
Ptolemy, 284.
Putama, William a, Puthem, Pit-
them, 120 361 535.
Puteanus, Erycius, 280.
Putte, Peter van den, neighb, 14
377.
Pyll, Bruno, 279; — *d*, Gouburga,
279.
PYN, HERMES, Payneus, Poën, Fa-
ber, pf, 258 260-61.
PYRRHUS, DIDACUS, Pirez, Piris, st,
mch, 415 419-21 429 535.
Pythagoras, 249 410 489.
- Q**
- QUACKELBEEN, WILLIAM, md, 498-
99.
Quignonius, Quiñones, Card Fran-
cis, 152.
Quintilian, 8 255 546 605.
- R**
- Rabelais, Francis, 143.
Radæus, pr, 489.
Radbertus, Pascasius, mk, dv,
299 475 490.

- Rævardus, James, jp, 248 482.
 Raphelengius, Francis, pr, 249 280 321 454 481.
 Rastell, William, jp, 57 554.
Ratione Studii, De, 1517, 532.
Ratio Veræ Theologiæ, 4.
 Ravenna, Peter of, 28.
 Ravesteyn, Josse van, of Thielt, dv, pf, II, 131 301 526 577.
 Ravestein, Henry, of Kuyck, Coracopetræus, st, 587.
 Recamp, Reekamp, John, Abbot of Adwert, 537.
 Recaneto, Antonio de, pf, 137.
 Rechterghem, Rechtungen, Ly of Bernsbeek, Ida van, 246 358; — f, Nicolas, of Aix, mch, 358 421.
 Recke, Heinrich von der, third *Zevenaer frater*, cc, 287-88 495 583 591.
Red Convent, 72.
 Regis, Joannes, of Breda, chaplain, 219 220.
 Regis, Joannes of Harlebeke, st, 219 220.
 Regis, John, ms: see Ceuninck.
 Regnault, F., pr, 194.
 Rehlinger, Rechl- or Relinger, John, of Augsburg, 462; — d, Anna, 462; — ss, Henry & Quirinus, 462.
Reichenau Abbey, 283.
 Reifenstein, A, wr, 367.
 Reifenstein, John, 556.
 Reihing, Barbara 461.
Renaissance: 1; in *Italy*, 305-6.
 RENESSE OF WULVEN, ADRIAN DE, cn, Scholaster, 271; — f, John, 271.
 Rennenberch, Counts John & Francis of, 274.
 Reschotus, Peter, hm, 442.
 Rescius, Rutger, pf, hln, I, II, 3 14 17 23 32 37 40-1 53-4 58 68 77 97 104 105-30 131 154-5 165 167-8 172-3 181-83 186-7 211 215 225-27 234 235 243-45 247 260 266 271 282 296 356 361 364 368 371 375 380-81 397-98 413-14 417 425 470-73 510 518 530 (ill) 534 (letters) 537 547 553 566 571 579 581-2 585-92 (acting as pres.) 608 612; — printer, 23 41-2 47-8 59 62 65 68 69 105-10 167 248 259 270 298 362 368 370 402 404 407 415-17 419-20 428-29 431-32 433 448 533 535-38; — *angustia rei familiaris*, 586; — s, John, 105; — Rescius filius *Erasmi*, 588; — his room in the *Trilingue*, 240-42.
 Resende, Angelus Andrew de, Resendius, poet, fr, II, 55 136-7 185 206-7 372 438 451 539 559 564 596-97 607.
 Reuchlin, John, I, 28 140 161.
 Reusens, E., hist, 382.
 Revellius, Balduinus, Ypres secr, 438 440.
 Reuicomes, Johannes, st, 460.
 Rhaza, md, 536.
 Rhenanus, Beatus, hm, 62-3 66 70 227 388 450-51 543 549.
 Rhetius, J. (von Rheydt), Jes, pf, 215.
 Rheydt, John von, mayor, 81 82.
 Rhitmerus, James, 292.
 Rhode, Rhodius, Henemannus, ambass, 156 206.
 Rhodus Stegrius, Godefredus, 452.
 Ribera, Juan a, Abp of Valencia, 28.
 Richwin, R., pr, 525.
 Ringelberg, John Sterk, Fortis, of, hm, II, 455.
 Riviere, Richard de la, Ld of Heer, 234.
 Rivieren, Eustace v.d.: see Sichein.
 ROBBYNS, JOHN, Dean of Mechlin, I, 145 151 373-74.
 Robbyns, Walter, alderm, 374.
 Robert, David, St. Andrew's, st, 370.
 Robertelli, Francesco, 277-78.
 Roce, Denis, pr, 44 544.
 Rod, John, 66.
 Rode, Catherine van, neighb, 13.
 Roelants, Rolandus, Joachim, Mechlin md, II, 331.
 Roelands, Ursula, 338.
 Roelley, Rullegius, Michael, de Rollario, mk, dv, 12.
 Roeloffs, Rudolph, Gerard, of Grave, pc, cn, 359.
 Roest, Walter, dv, 11.
 Rogerus, Servatius, prior of Steyn, 435 447 450

Rome : as seen by Campensis, 205; — his lectures in Rome, 373; — Catacombs discovered, 308.
 Romulus, 519.
 Roque Lobejac, Andiette de la, 29.
 Rosemondt, Godschalk, pf, dv, I, 415-16 511 576.
 Röslin, Eucharius, md, wr, 267.
 Rossem, Martin van, army leader, 67 74 469.
 Rotarius, Martin, pr, 489.
 Rovere, de la, Bp of Agen, 29.
 Rovillius, Guil., pr, 325-26.
 Royaerd, John, wr, 441.
 Ruistre, Nicolas le, Ruterius, Bp of Arras, I, II, 373 467 576.
 Ruremond, Rémonde, Endhoven, Christopher van, (widow of), pr, 194.
 Ruts, Francis, of Helmond, st, 380.
 Ruzé, Louis, hm, 85.
 Ryckenroy, Melchior, *Tril Pres*, 217.
 Rym, Charles, ambass, II, 349 356 501 508; — f, Gerard, 72.
 Rysele, John van, Brabant audiercer, 110.
 Rythoven, Martin Bauwens, Valck, van, Bp of Ypres, 74 304 490 515 577.

S

Sabinus, George, 54.
 Sabinus, L. A., rs, 44 49.
 Sadolet, Card James, 3 51 54 60 136 149-50 157 197 204.
 Sadeler, Raphael, pr, 497.
 Saerine, Saeryn, Mary, 341.
 St. Aldegonde, Marnix of, 265.
 St. Amand's Abbey (near Tournai), 427.
 St.-Bertin's Abbey (near St.-Omer), 402-3.
 Sales, St. Francis de, 81.
 Saleset, Antony, 145.
 Salisbury, Countess of, 424.
 Sallust, 278 496.
 Salome, Jane, 251.
 Salviani, Hippolyto, ichtyologist, 314.
 Salviati, Card, 313.

SAMBUCUS, JOHN, md, hm, 494-95 538.
 Sanctaragundus, James, 118 402.
 SANDELIN, JEROME, Sandelicus, Zandelin, st, receiver gener. Bewester Schelde, Ld of Herenthout and Herlaer, 94 215 223-26; — gf, Peter, 223; — f, Adrian, 223; — b, Charles, st, 224; — si, Adriana, 224; — s, John James, Ld of Wickevorst, 225; — dd, Catherine, 225; Helen or Helwich, 225; u, Ghysbrecht, 224-26.
 SANDELIN ADRIAN, of The Hague, st, 124 224 225-27; — gf, Peter (see Jerome); — f, Arnold, secr, Holl. cc, 224 225 226 454.
 Sandelin, Adrian, Dean of Antwerp, Busl.'s friend, 224.
 Sandelin, Adrian, st, 241.
 Sandelin, P. & G., mchs, 224.
 Sandelicus, Peter, mn, 240.
 Sandelicus, Peter, lm, 241.
 Sander, Nicolas, contro, 69.
 Sanders, Cornelia, 2.
 Sanders, Antony, hist, 493.
 Sanga, 33 34.
 Sapidus, John, 451.
 Sarens, George, Abbot of St. Trudo's, 147 233.
 SASBOUT, ADAM, pf, fr, 214 509-12 577.
 SASBOUT, JOSSE, Ld of Spalant, Gelderland chanc, II, 124 234-5 238 509; — s, ARNOLD, st, cc, II, 94, 227 234-6 454 509; — d, Cornelia, 236.
 Saunters, Antony, procur., 341.
 SAUVAGE, JOHN LE, Ld of Schoubeke, Itterbeek, Ligny & Sterrebeek, Chanc, 45-6 239-41 242 274; — ss, JOHN, st, 239-40; FRANCIS, st, 240-42 454; — dd, Francisca & Mary, 241.
 Savoy, Francis of, 101.
 Saxony, John-Frederic, Prince-Elector, 191.
 Scala, Maximilian de la, 29.
 SCALIGER, JULIUS-CÆSAR de l'Escale, md, 29-30 33 35-6 103 245 363 389; — s, Josephus-Justus, hm, 29 35 249 321 489.

- Scarley, John, pf, 260 384.
 Schades, John, neighb, 13.
 Scharffenberg, Matthias, pr, 198 199.
 Schauenburg, Madeleine of, Ly of Messancy, 468.
 SCHEPPER, CORNELIUS DE, ambass, II, 15-16 17 22 26 37-8 43 100 114 120 172 190 193 195 198 201 203 246 283 288 356-57 554 **557-58** 563-64 597.
 Scepperus, Cornelius, de Duuelandia, st, 16.
 SCHETS, ERASMUS, Schetz(enberg), banker, 246 **358** 359 390 395-96 398 421; — ss, GASPAR, Corvinus, Ld of Grobbendonck, Hingene, &c, 246 **358-61** 421; BALTASAR, 358 **359** 360; Melchior, 358-60; — gss, Lancelot, Conrad & John-Charles, chanc of G. Fleece, 361.
Schmalkalden League, 467-68.
 Schoenmaker, Nicolas, 270; — s, Garbrandus: see Sutor.
 Schoepper, Schöppler, James, lm, poet, 267-68.
 Scholzius, Laurent, 339.
 Schonck, Augustinus, of Norway, st, 369.
 Schoonhoven, Antony de, cn, scholaster, II, 297 307 310 438-39 540.
 Schoonhovius, Florentius, Abbot of Middelburg, 336.
 Schore, Louis de, Presid of Council of State, II, 99 153.
 SCHOTT, ANDREW, hm, 65 70 248 **278-79** 334 501 503 593.
 Schotti, James de, 162.
 Schumann, Valentine, pr, 135.
 Schurer, Matthias, pr, 135.
 Schuute, Cornelius, md, 294.
 SCHYNCK, JOHN, Schynckx, lm, **259** 263.
science & knowledge, and their proper basis, 160.
 Scopas, 220.
 Scorel, Adrian, poet, 272.
 Scotus, Corn., Johannite, 270.
 Scrap, Gauto, ex norwegia, st, 369.
 Scribonius: see Grapheus.
 Scrimger, jp, 522.
 Scriverius, P., 595.
 Sculteti, Corn., 145: see Brouwers.
 Scutomastix, Paul, 452.
 Seckendorf, V. L. a, 303.
 Secundus, Janus, Nicolai, II, 9 20 22-3 86 108 200 220 243 307 362 366 393 560 562-63; — Julia, 20.
 Seld, George Sigismund, Vice-Chanc, 366; — f, George, Augsburg goldsmith, 366.
 Seneca, 84 278 307 509 545.
Sententiarum Liber, 4.
 Serator, Nicolas Joannis, of Arlon, st, 222-23.
 'tSerhuyghs family, 221.
 'tSerooskercke, Jerome, Ld of, Golden Kt, 273; — ss, Philibert, governor of Bergen-op-Zoom; & James, 273.
 SERVET, de Villanova, MICHAEL, **64** 65.
 'tSESTICH, JOHN I VAN, Sexagius, Brabant cc, 50 **251-2**; — f, Golin, 251; — ss, Didier, Brab. chanc, 50 251; David, cn, archpriest of Louvain, 251; John II, receiver of confiscations, **251-2**; John Antony, Ld of Ophem and Damme, 251; — b, Peter, md, 251.
 Severus, Sulpitius, 278.
 Sforza, Duke Francis, of Milan, 424 561.
 Sforza, Isabella, 18; — d, Bona, Queen of Poland, 18.
 Shakespeare, 330 340.
 Shirley, James, dramatist, 146.
 Shirwood, Robert, *Tril* hb pf, 370.
 Shirwood, John, Bp of Durham, ambass, 84.
 SICHEM, EUSTACE VAN, van de(r) Rivieren, de Rivis, a Fine, de Zichenis, fr, pf, 77 131-32 **133-37** 142-3 151 164 176 191 559 575.
 Sickingen, Francis von, 466.
 Siderander, Peter, 90.
 Simon, Will., pr, 336 337.
 Sinapius, John, Senf, pf, 488.
 Sirciacops, Scheeriacops, Joannes, Beverensis, pf, 212.
 Skeel, Herman, st, 370.
 Sleidanus, John, hist, II, 158 523.
 SLUPER, JAMES, poet, 514 **516**.

- Smaltzinck, George, pr, 194.
SMET, MARTIN DE, Smedt, Faber, Merbrensis, hm, 316-17 **318-22** 494.
 Smets, Catherine, 374.
 Snoeckaert, Zenocarus, William, cc, II, 86 307 346; — *f*, Martin, 307.
 Sobbe, James, 81-2.
Soignes, Forest of, 43; — *Red Convent*, 376.
 Sol, Jud. Ant., 149.
 Solenander, Renier, md, 314.
 Solidus, Sebastian, wr, 367.
 Solyman II, 19 294 356 493 495-99 501.
 Solomon, 152 159 172 193 198-9.
 Soncini, Marchioness, 315.
 Sonck, Francis, jp, 11.
 Sonnius, Francis van den Velde, dv, pf, Bp, 131 352 577 579.
 Sophocles, 423.
 Soto, Peter de, fr, 292.
 Souvastre de Bonnières, Philip de, Ld of Bous(se)val, 242; — *s*, Charles, st, 242.
Spain: 66-7; — **KG PHILIP II**, 214 225 252 271 289 301 332 338 346-7 351-5 359-60 409-10 421 473-4 **477** 485 495 502 526 577 579; — Don Juan, 274; — Queen Jane of Spain & Naples, 18.
 Spalatin, George, rf, 7 82 459.
speaking in public ex charta, 477-78 480.
SPETEBROOT, DANIEL, cn, Scholaster, **438**; — *f*, John, 438.
 Spiegel, James, secr, 31.
 Spinelly, Thomas, ambass, 240.
 Splinter: *see* Hargen.
 Spouter, John de, gr, 2 248 266 272 429 433 437 440-42 444 493 533.
 Sprengers, Anna, 217.
 Springale, Jacqueline van, 12.
 Spyridipæus, Will., pr, 294.
 Stadius, John, van Staeyen, pf, 504.
 Standonck, John, dv, 264.
 Stapleton, Thomas, pf, 214 301.
 Statius, P. Papinius, 21 543.
 Stavele, Jane van, 485.
 Steels, John, pr, 193-94 266 268-69 417 430 434 445.
 Steen, Gaspard van den: *see* Lapide.
STEENE, WILLIAM VAN DEN, Lapidanus, mk, 114 119 259 438 535 557.
 Steenhuyse, Will. van, poet, 514.
 Steger, Godefr.: *see* Rhodus.
Stein Convent, 447.
 Stentor: *see* Sichem, Eust. of, 136.
STERCK, JOSSE, 455; John, ct, 455; — Henry, ct, cc, 16 455; — **JOHN WOLFAERT**, Kt, st, **454-55**; — Godfried, st, 455.
STERCKE, JOHN, van MEERBEKE, *Tril Pres*, I, II, 13 14 111 123-4 131 **374-75** 376-78 **379** 455 589; — *r*, John, st, Lily, 375.
 Stercke, John, Receiver, 507.
 Steucher, Augustine, 447.
 Stevin, Simon, sc, 483.
 Stibarus, Daniel, Kt, of Rabeneck, cc, 364.
 Stoa, Quintianus: *see* Conti.
 Store, John, Olaus: *see* Magnus.
 Strabo, 228.
 Strada, Famiano, hist, 351-2 355.
 Straselius, John, van Strazelee, pf, 90 295.
STRA(E)TEN, JOHN VAN DER, Stratius, **86 87**; — *f*, PETER, broker, **86**; — *si*, Cecilia, 86.
 Straten, Joan. van der, st, 86.
 Straton, 247.
 Streyters, Arnold, Abbot of Tongerlo, 418.
 Stromer, Henry, pf, 13.
 Stuart, Queen Mary, 246.
Stultitiæ Laus, 4.
 Sturm, John, pd, II, 54 105 158-9 166-7 169 253 363 540 545 572.
 Stymmel, Christopher, lt, 268.
 Submontanus: *see* Onderbergh.
Subventionem Pauperum, de, 291.
 Sucket, Antony, cc, executor, I, II, 539; — *s*, Charles, jp, II, 72.
 Suetonius, 44 310 486.
Summa Theologica, 4.
 Surrey, Henry Howard, Earl of, 84.
 Sutor, Garbrandus Schoenmaecker, poet, 116 **270**.
 Suys, 'Allardus, de Trajecto', st, & Suys, Henry, st, Lily, 226.
 Suys, Cornelius, st, 14 15 61 94

- 223 226-27 241 454 584; — *f*, Vincent, Ld of Ryswyck, Presid of Holland, 226.
- SUYS, JAMES, Ld of Grisenoord, st, numismatist, 226 454.
- SUYS, PETER, st, 124 223-25 226-27 454 608; — *gf*, Peter, Ld of Grysoort, 226; — *f*, Cornelius, Ld of Ter Burch, hoogheemraad, 226; — *uu*, Alard, James, Daniel, John, William, 226; — *aa*, Catherine, w of A. van Hargen, 61 226; Agatha, 226.
- Sweden, Kg Gustavus Wasa, 56; — Kg John III, 278; — Kg Eric XIV, 336; Queen Christina, 310.
- Sweerts, Francis, hist, 509.
- Sylvius, G., pr, 271.
- SYLVIVS, JAMES Dubois, md, pf, 323 326 328 330-31.
- Sylvius, Peter, pr, 150.
- Symmachus, 74.
- Symons, of Heemstede, Thierry, Carth prior, 75 580; — John: *see* Heemstede.
- Synesius, 49.
- Syriac language & study, 289-90 299.
- Szapolyai, John, 37 495.
- Szatmári, George, chanc, Bp of Fünfkirchen, 37.
- T**
- Tacitus, 279.
- TAGAULT, JOHN, md, 325-26.
- Talesius, Quirinus, aman, II, 131 135 231 238 386 550 553-54 596.
- Tanner, George, jp, 522.
- TAPPER, RUARD, dv, pf, *provisor*, 26 127 181 202 214 15 264 352 393 510 535 575-79 581 612-13.
- Tarnowski, Count John, army leader, 21.
- Tartas, John de, pf, 115 186 270.
- TAXIS, ROGER DE, Tassis, Prov of St. Peter's, Univ Chanc, 245 246; — *f*, J. Bapt., postmaster, 245; — *r*, John Antonio, 286 290 315 320.
- Taye, James, Golden Kt, Ld of Wemmel, Sart & Goyck, 508; — poss *r*, Martin, Brussels amman, 508.
- Tectorinus, Donsacius, Peter <Dec-
kers?>, 443.
- Terence, 53 105 545.
- Themscke, George de, cn, cc, I, 142; — *r*, John, mayor, 291.
- Theocrites, 249.
- Theognis, 249 489.
- Theophilus, Anticensor, Anteces-
sor, 117 125-26 228 416-17 425 535 566.
- Theophrastus, 307-8 313-14 339.
- Theophylact, 494.
- Theresa, St., 81.
- Théroutanne destroyed, 515.
- Thibaut, Adrian, Pickart, ms, 513.
- Thielt, James van, cn, ms, 513.
- Thielt, Thomas van, Abbot elect of St. Bernard's, Antwerp, 337.
- Thomas, Hubert, secr, hist, 43 287.
- Thores, Dnus de, lusitanus, st, 460.
- Thou, J. Augustus de, Thuanus, hist, 29 303 332 498.
- Thriverus, Jeremy de Driveve, md, pf, II, 59 109 327 333-35 534.
- Thurzo, Catherine, 366.
- TIARA, PETREIUS, pf, 487-89.
- Tilianus, A., pr, 533.
- Tiptoft, John, pf, 84.
- Tisnacq, Charles de, cc, mn, 507; — *si*, Mary, 507.
- Tissard, Francis, hb, 161.
- TITELMANS, FRANCIS, dv, fr, II, 57 145-53 159 170 174-76 178 511; — *b*, Peter, inquis., 149 153 264; — *r*, Henry, of Hasselt, 145.
- Tomiczki, Peter, chanc, Bp of Cracow, 19 21 22 192 196-99 554.
- Tordomar, Nicolas de, cn, 346.
- Torquatus, Antonius, 58.
- Torre, Luke de la, jp, 410.
- Torrentius, Lævinus, lt, 279 316.
- Torres, Francis de, Turrianus, hm, 313.
- Tossanus, of Hamar, st, 369.
- Tournai: Bilingual School & pro-
jected Univ, 137-9.
- TOUSSAIN(T), JAMES, pf, 84 85 88-90.
- Trajecto, Gul. a, pr, 472.
- Transsylvanus, Maximil., imp. secr, II, 459.
- Trazegnies, John, Baron of, II, 99.

Trent, Council of, 314 318 347 351 372 405.
Trismegistus, Hermes, 141.
Trojanus Equus, (II, 247) 280 412 3 453; cp. Allen, vi, 1554, 41.
Trolle, Gustavus, Bp of Uppsala, 56.
Troncke, John van den, md, 72.
Trouillière, Peter de la, dean, 274.
Truchsess, Card Otto, 78.
Tschudi, Valentine, 5.
Tunis, Dey of, 81.
Tunstall, Cuthbert, ambass, 150.
Turcicæ Epistolæ, 493-496.
Turks, 354-55.
Turnhout: forest, 43; — *St. Peter's*, 398-99; — *John of*: see *Driedo*.
Turri, Francis a, viscount Turrenæ, ambass, 87.
Tuyl, Philip van, govern of Zee-land, 225.
Typoets, James, jp, 278.
Tyssie, Jane Louisa, 141.

U

Ulfilas, Wulfilas, Bp, 310.
Ulysses, 308.
UMBRA, CHRISTIAN, Skygge, st, 119-20.
Ungler, Florian, pr, 193 199.
University teaching, according to Campensis, 159.
Uppsala Univ, 310.
Ursel, family, 361.
Utopia, 56-57; — *Utopiensis Decanus*, 46 49.
Utraquists, 299.
Uutenhove, Charles of, Ld of Marckeghem, poet, II, 22 123 297 313 364.
Uutenhove, John van, rf, II, 300.
Uuthancus, John, st, 371.

V

Vaburiensis Episcopus, legate to Charles V, 356.
Vaddere, John, Peter & Denys de, neighbors, 382.
Vadianus, Joachim von Watt, pf, 21.
Vaet, Vasius, Caes, Janus, cn, ms, 513.

VALDES, ALONSO DE, secr, II, 17 22-24 79 95 97 147 563 597.
Valdes, Juan de, II, 79-80.
Valerianus, John Pierius, rs, 313.
Valerius, Flaccus, 496.
Valerius Maximus, 494.
Valerius, Stephen, pr, 490.
Valla, Lorenzo, rs, 146 152 174 605.
Vanegas, Alexius, de Busto, 445.
Varen, John van der, Varennius, pd, 108 362 421.
Varro, 279 605.
Vasæus, John Was, hm, II, 55 168 187 189 472.
Vascosanus, Mich., pr, 439.
Vatable, Francis, pf, 84 90.
Vecellio, Tiziano, pt, 329.
Veere, Adolph of Burgundy, Prince of, II, 266-67 416 435.
Vekenstyl, Baers, Henry, pr, II, 114.
VELDE, LAURENT VAN DE, Campes-ter, st, Im, 251-52.
Velius, Caspar Ursinius, hm, 21 42.
Velpius, Rutger, pr, 252 276; — *Reynerus, pr*, 252.
Velsius Hagiensis, Judocus, md, 536.
VELTWYCK, GERARD VAN, of Ravenstein, Ld of Bouchout, 284 355-58.
Vendeville, John, jp, Bp of Tournai, 348.
Venice, St. Mark's Library, 313.
Verburch, Cornel., st, 512.
Verdussen, J., pr, 305.
VERGARA, JUAN DE, hm, 79-80; b, Francis, 80.
Vergy, Ld of Autrey, St. Dizier & Champlite, William de, 408; — *s, Francis, Count of Champlite*, 408.
Verhaghen, John, Tril Presid, 217.
Verhasselt, Martin, pr, 577.
Veris, Paul de, messenger, 377.
Verlane, Joannes, of Dordrecht, st, 32.
Vernulæus, Nicolas, pf, hist, I, 281.
VERREPT, HENRY, Verepæus, pf, sch, 478; — b, Simon, sch, 478.
Verreycken, Peter: see Eycken.
VESALE, ANDREW, Vesalius, md, pf, 288 323-33 334-36 338 345 518

- 536; — *d*, Anna, 331-32; — *cp*.
Witting.
- Vesprim, Thomas, Bp of, 414.
- Vessem, Bartholomew van, *cn*,
test. execut, *i*, *ii*, 11 13 123-24 375
378 **379** 380-81 383 539 573 580-81
587 589.
- Vianden, Melchior van, *lm*, 138.
- Vianen, William Joannis Lam-
berti of, *pf*, plebanus, 132 185
574.
- Vicente, Gil, 31.
- Victor, Sextus Aurelius, 501.
- Vida, Marco Girolamo, poet, 513
516.
- Vidius, Viduro, Vital, Vidus, Guidi,
Guido, *md*, *pf*, 326.
- Vidoué, P., *pr*, 30 35.
- Vienna, Hadrianus of, *fl*. Joannis,
st, 241-42; — Jerome of V, st, 241.
- Vigel, Nicolas, *pf*, *jp*, 523.
- VIGLIUS OF AYTTA, *jp*, 48 56 83 89
117 123 125 215 228 276 **348-49**
353 357 362-63 365-68 389 392 416
417 461-63 **464-65** 467 488 506-7
541 550 **558-59** 598 **609**.
- Villa-Dei, Alexander de, 4 273.
- Villavicentio, Laurent de, *fr*, 293.
- Villers, Abbot of, 45.
- VILLEGAS, RUYZ DE, Hernán, st,
hm, **460-61**.
- Villeneuve, Villanovanus, Simon
de, *hm*, 34 35.
- Villinger, Charles, *cc*, *ii*, 61.
- Vincentius, Simon, *pr*, 49.
- Virgil, 21 41 42 52 62 205 277 359
469 474 513 516 559.
- Viruli, Charles, founder, *i*, 251 399;
Robert Mennekens, 251 399.
- VIRULI, CHARLES, Turnhout *cn*,
399.
- VISBROECK, JOHN, Visbrocus, *secr*,
285 **314-16** 325.
- VIVES, JOHN LOUIS, *hm*, 4 6 7 8 22
25 58 65 71 77 **84** 101 114 116 117
133 166 189 259 **291-93** 297-98
370 372 **422** 423-24 427 437 (& the
poor) 438 460-61 **482** **520** 540
550-51 564 (*his criticism*) 596-97;
— *his views about Law & His-*
tory, 520.
- Vlaenderen, Catherine van, 251 399.
- Vlanderacken, G. van, envoy, 418.
- VLAS, THOMAS, Lineus, *hm*, **415-**
19.
- VLATTEN, JOHN VON, *chanc*, *ii*, **287**
459 591; — *r*, Cono, Juliacensis,
st, 459.
- VLIMMER, JOHN, of St. Martin's,
hm, 74-5 304 **489-92**.
- Vocht, Tutor, James de, *pens*, *ii*,
544.
- Vogelsanck of Autel, Arnold, *cn*,
109.
- Voghele, Louis, 261.
- Volcaerd, James, *hm*, *pc*, 76.
- Volz, Paul, Abbot of Hugshofen,
135 451.
- Vorselman, Megasonder, Gerard,
md, 451.
- Vorst, John van der, Utrecht
Dean, 271.
- Vorsterman, Will., *pr*, 58 135 149-
51 170 193 293 433 444.
- VOS, FRANCIS DE, Alopecius, Vul-
pes, *lm*, poet, 441 **442**; — *cp*.
Vulpes.
- Vosmeer, Michael, 512.
- Voss, of Altena, John, dean of
Cleves, *cn* of Xanten, 583 591.
- Vossius, Gerard J., *er*, 249 587.
- Vossius, Isaac, 310.
- Vranckx, Agnes Peeters, 162.
- Vriendt, Peter de, Amicus, *pf*, *jp*,
ii, 126 129 138.
- Vrisele, Madeleine de, Ly of Poe-
derlee, 223.
- Vroeye, Josse, *hm*, *jp*, *ii*, 132 294
381 386.
- Vuelen, William de, de Merode,
456.
- VULCANIUS, PETER, de Smet, *hm*,
pens, *ii*, 27 488 597 **602-4**; — *s*,
Bonaventura, *pf*, 27 248 298-99
302 489.
- Vulgate, its authority, 149.
- Vulpes, Henry, *lm*, 442.

W

- Waelhem, Peter of, *advoc.*, 100.
- Waelscapelle (-caple), Maximilian
of, *cn*, 320.
- Wakefeld, Robert, *Tril* *hb* *pf*, *i*,
370.
- Waldeck, Count Francis of, Bp of
Münster and Osnabrück, 109-10.

- Waldsassen Abbey, 283 287.
 Walkendorp, Eric, Bp of Trondhjem, 361.
 Wallon-Capelle, Francis, Bp of Namur, 348.
 Walterhoser, Christ., st, 460.
 Wamel, John de, not, 383.
 Wames, John, pf, jp, 471 472.
 WARSENIUS, JOHN, of Huy, 116.
 Wary of Marville, Nicolas, *Trilpres*, II, 9 11 94 131 154-5 158 164 223 252 374 377 379 382 456-57 ; — *n*, Nicolas, st, 456-7.
 Was, John : see Vasæus.
 WAS, PETER, Abbot of St. Gertrude's, 107 128 147.
 Watermael, Philippote of, 99 ; — *f*, John, 99.
 Wechel, Christian, pr, 41 64 125 163 168 235 416 439 524 538 ; — Andrew, pr, 339 497 524.
 Weckhardt, Katherine, 231.
 Weede, Elizabeth van, 221.
 Weiditz, Christoph, mdl, 20.
 Weinsberg, Hermann von, chronicler, 227 366 ; — *n*, Christian, 227 ; — *n*, Drutgin, 227.
 Weldam, Cornelius van, cc, 336.
 Wellæus, Jer., pr, 304 490.
 Welser, Velser, Mark, mayor, 321.
 Werchin-Barbançon, Peter de, Kt, seneschal, 276 348 ; — *n*, Yolande, 348.
 Werden Abbey, on the Ruhr, 310.
 Werter, John von, 599.
 Werve, family van de, 421 ; — Henry van de Werve, 224 ; — *d*, Catherine, 224.
 Wesalius, Andreas, Bruxellensis, 536 : see Vesale.
 Wesel, Mary Boot van, 324.
 Wessel Gansfoort, hm, I, 254-56.
 WESEMBEEK, PETER VAN, Wesenbeck, jp, pf, 519 ; — *f*, Matthias van, jp, 519.
 Weyden, Isabeau van der, 221.
 Weygel, Hans, pr, 327.
 WEZE, JOHN DE, Abp of Lund, Bp of Constance, admin. of Abb. of Waldsassen & Reichenau, 15-16 38 195 200 282 283 286 ; — *n*, Henry : see Haitzhovel.
 WIDMANSTADT, JOHN Alberti of, (= Lucretius), orientalist, cc, 284.
 Wied, Herman de, Abp of Cologne, 141 363 450 469.
 Wielant, Philip, cc, II, 438.
 Wierius, John, md, 288.
 Wieze, Lord of, 493.
 Willemaers, Leonard, md, pf, II, 323-325.
 Willerie, Lord of, 493.
 Wilson, Thomas, wr, 275.
 Winantii (= Nicolas van Winghe, and confratres, p 73) : see Winghe.
 Winckel, Peter, Erasmus' warden, 387.
 WINCKELE, JOHN DE, md, pf, I, 381 ; — *f*, John, 381.
 Winghe, Antony de, Abbot of Liessies, 253.
 Winghe, Hermes de, jp, pf, 121 417.
 WINGHE, JEROME DE, 50 ; — ss, Jerome, cn, 50 308 ; Maximilian, cn, 50 ; Antony, mk, 50 ; PHILIP, numismatist, 50 308 ; — *d*, Barbara, 50.
 Winghe, Nicolas van (*Winantius*), mk of St. Martin's, 26 73-4 208.
 Winter, Guinterus, John of Andernach, md, pf, II, 323 326 328 330 339 343 363.
witches, measures against, 228.
 Withagius, John, pr, 247.
 Witttaert, Nicolas, 581.
 WITTE, JOHN DE, Bp of Cuba, 297 334 482.
 WITTING, JOHN, van Wesel, Wesalius, (ggf of Vesale) pf, md, 324 ; — s, Everard, md, 324 ; — gs, Andrew (Vesale's father), chemist, 324.
 WITZEL, GEORGE, Wicelius, Vice-lius, 301.
 Wolfaert, John Sterck, st, Kt, 454-55 (*called James and Wolsaert*) ; — cp. Sterck, John Wolfaert.
 Wolff, Jerome, hln, 367.
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 423 427 474 553.
 WOUTERS, CORNELIUS, Gualteri, cn, lt, 297-298 299 302 307 310 475 482 ; — *f*, John, Ld of Vinderhoute & Meerendre, cc, 297.

Wouwer, John van den, 277.
 Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 84.
 Wyenhorst, John de, 233.
 Wyten, Arnold, Abbot of Parc,
 128.
 Wyts, Giles, pens, 293.

X

Xenophon, 4 105.
 XIMENES, CARD Gonzalez Francis,
 65 78-80.

Y

Yetzweirts, James, poet, 359.
 Ypres & mendicity, 291.
 Ypres : *see* Gheeraerts, Hyperius.

Z

ZAGHERE, WILLIAM DE, lm, pens,
 cc, 265-66 532.
 Zamora, Alfonso, pf, 27.
 Zandelyn, Cornelius, de Dordraco,
 224.
 Zanen, van, Johannite, 270.
 Zapolya, John, 37 495.
 Zassen, Servatius van, Zassenus
 (Sass-), pr, 48 49 409 533 543 556
 559 569 597.
 Zegers, Tacitus Nicolas, fr, 511.

Zegerscappelle, Cornelius of, st,
 u, 15 94 223 235 242; — f, Chris-
 tian, 15.
 Zenete, Cañete : *see* Mendoza.
 Zenocarus, Will. : *see* Snoeckaert.
 Zichen, Francis van, 359.
 Zierikzee, Amand of, fr, 57 153 511.
 Zimmerman, George, 192.
 ZIMMERN, CHRISTOPHER Froben,
 Baron, later Count, of, st, 465-
 66.
 ZOUPERUS, PASCHASIUS, Zoutterius,
 of Hondschoote, Cynopagita,
 441 443 445-46.
 ZOVITIUS, JAMES of Dreischor, Drie-
 scharius, lm, poet (*also styled*
Lumtius: Luutius?) 265-68 269.
 Zuderhuyzen, Herman, cc, 142.
 Zudoert, John van, 274.
 Zuichemus, Bucho, archdeac., 215.
 Zundert, pp of Great, 217.
 Zuniga, Louis d'Avila y, hist,
 411.
 Zurk, Peter, pp, 264.
 Zuutpene, Peter van, Zutpenius,
 jp, 435.
 Zweemere, Gerard, pr, 442.
 Zwingli, 105-6 193 203.
 Zwolle, Monastery of St. Agnes :
its mss, 491-92.
 Zyl, Wendelmonda de, 381.

CONTENTS

Preface	pp v
-------------------	------

PRESIDENCY OF VAN DER HOEVEN

CHAPTER XIV. — I. MANAGEMENT

1. MANAGEMENT	
A. Recapitulating	1
B. The New President	9
C. Building Enlarged	12
2. DISTINGUISHED VISITORS	
A. John Dantiscus	15
B. Francis de Mendoza y Bobadilla	23
C. Jerome Aleander	28
3. FRIENDS	
A. Nicolas Olah	36
B. Guy Morillon	44
C. Damian a Goes	50
4. FELLOW WORKERS	
A. Martin Lips	71
B. John van Heemstede	75
C. Godfrey Fabricius	77
5. IMITATORS	
A. 'Colegio Trilingue Complutense'	78
B. Languages in Germany and England	81
C. Paris Royal Professors	84
6. FINANCES	
A. Help requested by Erasmus	90
B. Goclenius' Quest of Prebends	93
C. Final Victory	98

CHAPTER XV. — II. DIFFICULTIES

1. A PROFESSOR-PRINTER	
A. Greek Editions	104
B. Promiscuous Printing	108
C. Later Issues	115
2. BUSINESS PURSUITS	
A. Boarding and Tutoring	118
B. Unsatiated Want	123
C. Encroaching Barred	125

3. MISGIVINGS OF THEOLOGIANs	
A. Eustace of Sichein	131
B. Dread of Second University.	137
C. Agrippa of Nettesheym	140
4. BIBLE STUDY	
A. Francis Titelmans	144
B. Open Hostilities	147
C. Retreat	151
5. CAMPENSIS' TROUBLE	
A. His Standing	154
B. Lack of Success	158
C. Specialized Study	160
6. CAMPENSIS' REVERSES	
A. Encroachings	164
B. Opposition to Bible Study	169
C. Licence Refused	175

CHAPTER XVI. — III. STAFF AND BOARDERS

1. CAMPENSIS' LEAVE	
A. Resigning	179
B. Clenardus Frustrated	185
C. Farewell to Louvain	190
2. CAMPENSIS' FURTHER CAREER	
A. Stay in Poland	195
B. Activity in Italy	200
C. Untimely Decease.	205
3. ANDREW VAN GENNEP BALENUS	
A. His Appointment.	208
B. His Professorate	212
C. Death and After Life	216
4. FURTHER CHANGES	
A. Chaplain	219
B. The Founder's Nephews	220
C. Bursars	222
5. FIRST INMATES	
A. Sandelin and Suys	223
B. Erasmus Froben	227
C. Horion and Sasbout	232
6. LATER ENTRIES	
A. Boisset and Assendelft	236
B. The Sauvage Brothers	239
C. Transitory Inmates	241

CHAPTER XVII. — IV. STUDENTS AND RULERS

1. PEDAGOGUES AND POETS	
A. First Arrivals	244
B. The Masius Constellation	257
C. Cornelius Valerius van Auwater.	270

2. LINGUISTS AND ERUDITES	
A. Andrew Masius	282
B. Cellarius	291
C. Cassander and Costerius	296
3. RESEARCH AND EPIGRAPHY	
A. Antony Morillon	305
B. Arlenius and Visbroeck	312
C. Martin de Smet	316
4. SCIENTISTS	
A. Vesale and Anatomy	322
B. Pantin and Lemnius	333
C. Dodoens and Botany	337
— <i>Dodonæus' Letter about Greek Chronology : October 1, 1550</i>	344
5. PUBLIC SERVANTS	
A. Church- and Statemanship	345
B. Diplomacy and Finances	355
C. Erudites from Home and Abroad	361
6. HOME GOING	
A. Robbyns and Stercke	373
B. A Prosperous Heritage.	376
C. Van der Hoeven's Decease	380

PRESIDENCY OF CONRAD GOCLENIUS

CHAPTER XVIII. — I. MANAGEMENT AND BOARDERS

1. GOCLENIUS' APPOINTMENT	
A. The New Vice-President	383
B. Erasmus' Trustee	384
C. Erasmus' Wills	388
2. ERASMUS' DEATH	
A. Goclenius, Heir and Executor	390
— <i>Receipt of Goclenius' heritage : Intt. September 1536 ; correspondence about Goclenius' trust : August 19-September 1, 1536</i>	391-92
B. Lambert Coomans	394
C. Glenardus and Musius	400
3. MOURNING OF FRIENDS	
A. Cranevelt, Olah & Nannius	403
B. Francis of Fallais of Burgundy	406
C. Cellarius and Jespersen	412
— <i>Dedicatory letter of Jespersen to Rescius : March 1, 1537</i>	413-14
4. EPITAPHS BY TRILINGUE STUDENTS	
A. Thomas Lineus	415
B. Pyrrhus and Frias	419
C. Helyar and Fellow-Students	423
5. EPITAPHS BY ADMIRERS	
A. Guielmus Piscis	431
B. James de Meyere	432
C. Various Scholars	446

6. COLLEGE LIFE	
A. Boarders	453
B. Later Arrival	455
C. Bursars	456

CHAPTER XIX. — II. STUDENTS

1. LINGUISTICS AS CULTURE	
A. Affluence of Auditors	458
B. Matthew Hermann and his Friends	461
C. Christ. v. Zimmern & Mathias	465
2. NICOLAS MAMERANUS	
A. Chronicles and Records	466
B. Pedagogics and Verses	471
C. Controversy and Censoring	475
3. ERUDITES	
A. James Cruquius	481
B. Petreius Tiara	487
C. John Vlimmer	489
4. OGIER DE BUSBEEK	
A. Studies and Friends	492
B. Embassies and Reports	495
C. Tutor and Superintendent	502
5. IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE	
A. Councillor & Mæcenas	505
B. Professor & Preacher	509
C. Teacher and Poet	512
6. JURISPRUDENTS	
A. Jurisprudence & Poetry	517
B. Jurisprudence and History	518
C. Jurisprudence and Controversy	521

CHAPTER XX. — III. SUDDEN END

1. THE STAFF	
A. A Malignant Epidemy	530
B. The Professors	534
C. Rescius' Activity as Printer.	535
2. GOCLENIUS' SIGNIFICANCE	
A. Pre-eminent Professor	538
B. An Ingenious Erudite	541
C. A Trustworthy Friend	547
3. GOCLENIUS' INFLUENCE	
A. Fatherly Kindness	555
B. Provident Wisdom	557
C. Appreciative Gratitude	560
4. GOCLENIUS' DEATH	
A. Illness and Decease	565
B. Grateful Appreciation	567
C. The Indebtedness of the Trilingue	570

5. HIS SUCCESSORS

A. 'Provisor' de Corte	572
B. 'Provisor' Tapper	575
C. Provisional Administrator	581
— <i>Goclenius' Purchase of an Annuity : June 20, 1538</i>	584

6. RESCIUS' MANAGEMENT

A. The Temptation	585
B. The Occasion	587
C. The Retribution	590

APPENDIX IV *GOCLENIUS' CORRESPONDENCE*

A. List	595
B. Texts	599
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	614
LIST OF PERSONAGES	629
CONTENTS	665



Merito & Tempore



**ABSOLVTVM EST HOC OPVS
LOVANI
IN OFFICINA FORMVLARIA
TRIVM REGVM MAGORVM
IDIBVS IVLII
M. CM. LIV**